



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

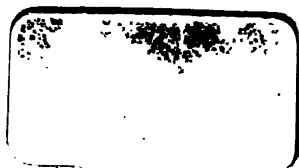
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

= A. t. 4321

= AG. W. 70  
2









THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.



*Of this Edition 500 Copies are printed on small paper,  
and 50 on large.*

# HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY

FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE CLOSE  
OF THE SIXTEENTH  
CENTURY.

BY THOMAS WARTON, B.D.

FELLOW OF TRIN. COLL., OXFORD; F.S.A.; PROFESSOR OF  
POETRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

WITH A PREFACE BY RICHARD PRICE, AND NOTES VARIORUM.

EDITED BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.

WITH NEW NOTES AND OTHER ADDITIONS BY SIR FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., F.R.S.;  
THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.; W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.; REV.  
WALTER W. SKEAT, M.A.; RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D;  
F. J. FURNIVAL, M.A.; AND THE EDITOR.

WITH INDEXES OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.



LONDON:

REEVES AND TURNER, 196, STRAND.

1871.



CHISWICK PRESS:—PRINTED BY WHITTINGHAM AND WILKINS,  
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.



# The History of English Poetry.

## SECTION XVIII.



It is not my intention to dedicate a volume to Chaucer, how much soever he may deserve it; nor can it be expected that, in a work of this general nature, I should enter into a critical examination of all Chaucer's pieces. Enough has been said to prove that in elevation and elegance, in harmony and perspicuity, of versification he surpasses his predecessors in an infinite proportion: that his genius was universal, and adapted to themes of unbounded variety: that his merit was not less in painting familiar manners with humour and propriety, than in moving the passions, and in representing the beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and sublimity. In a word, that he appeared with all the lustre and dignity of a true poet, in an age which compelled him to struggle with a barbarous language and a national want of taste; and when to write verses at all was regarded as a singular qualification. It is true, indeed, that he lived at a time when the French and Italians had made considerable advances and improvements in poetry: and although proofs have already been occasionally given of his imitations from these sources, I shall close my account of him with a distinct and comprehensive view of the nature of the poetry which subsisted in France and Italy when he wrote: pointing out, in the mean time, how far and in what manner the popular models of those nations contributed to form his taste and influence his genius.

I have already mentioned the troubadours of Provence, and have observed that they were fond of moral and allegorical fables. A taste for this sort of composition they partly acquired by reading Boethius and the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, two favourite classics of the dark ages: and partly from the Saracens their neighbours in Spain, who were great inventors of apologues. The French have a very early metrical romance *De Fortune et de Felicité*, a translation from Boethius, *De Consolatione* by Regnier de Saint-

Trudon, a Dominican friar.<sup>1</sup> From this source came the *Tournament of Antichrist* above mentioned, which contains a combat of the Virtues and Vices: the Romaunt of Richard de Lisle, in which Modesty fighting with Lust<sup>2</sup> is thrown into the river Seine at Paris: and above all, the *Romaunt of the Rose*, translated by Chaucer, and already mentioned at large in its proper place. Visions were a branch of this species of poetry, which admitted the most licentious excursions of fancy in forming personifications, and in feigning imaginary beings and ideal habitations. Under these we may rank Chaucer's *House of Fame*, which I have before hinted to have been probably the production of Provence.

But the principal subject of their poems, dictated in great measure by the spirit of chivalry, was love: especially among the troubadours of rank and distinction, whose castles, being crowded with ladies, presented perpetual scenes of the most splendid gallantry. This passion they spiritualised into various metaphysical refinements, and filled it with abstracted notions of visionary perfection and felicity. Here too they were perhaps influenced by their neighbours the Saracens, whose philosophy chiefly consisted of fantastic abstractions. It is manifest, however, that nothing can exceed the profound pedantry with which they treated this favourite argument. They defined the essence and characteristics of true love with all the parade of a Scotist in his professorial chair: and bewildered their imaginations in speculative questions concerning the most desperate or the most happy situations of a sincere and sentimental heart.<sup>3</sup> But it would be endless, and indeed ridiculous, to describe at length the systematical solemnity with which they clothed this passion.<sup>4</sup> The *Romaunt of the*

<sup>1</sup> See [Brunet, last edit. i. 1034-5. This was printed at Bruges in 1477.] I have before mentioned John of Meun's translation of Boethius. It is in verse. Jean de Langres is said to have made a translation in prose, about 1336. It is highly probable that Chaucer translated Boethius from some of the French translations. In the Bodleian library [and elsewhere] there is a gloss on Boethius by our countryman Nicholas Trivett [a Dominican,] who died before 1329. [This is not a rare MS.]

<sup>2</sup> Puterie. Properly bawdry, obscenity. Modesty is drowned in the river, which gives occasion to this conclusion, "Dont vien que plus n'y a Honte dans Paris." The author lived about the year 1300.

<sup>3</sup> In the mean time the greatest liberties and indecencies were practised and encouraged. These doctrines did not influence the manners of the times. In an old French tale, a countess in the absence of her lord having received a knight into her castle, and conducted him in great state to his repose, will not suffer him to sleep alone; with infinite politeness she orders one of her damsels, "la plus cortoise et la plus belle," into his bed-chamber, "avec ce chevalier gésir." *Mem. Cheval.* ut supr. tom. ii. p. 70, not. 17.

<sup>4</sup> This infatuation continued among the French down to modern times. "Les gens de qualité," says the ingenious M. de Sainte Palaye, "conservoient encore ce goût que leurs pères avoient pris dans nos anciennes cours: ce fut sans doute pour complaire à son fondateur, que l'Académie Française traita, dans ses premiers séances, plusieurs sujets qui concernoient l'Amour; et l'on vit encore dans l'hôtel du Longueville les personnes les plus qualifiées et les plus spirituelles du siècle de Louis XIV. se disputer à qui commenteroit et raffineroit le mieux sur la délicatesse du cœur et des sentimens, à qui feroit, sur ce chapitre, les distinctions les plus subtiles." *Mem. Cheval.* ut supr. tom. ii. p. v. pag. 17.

*Rose*, which I have just alleged as a proof of their allegorising turn, is not less an instance of their affectation in writing on this subject: in which the poet, under the agency of allegorical personages, displays the gradual approaches and impediments to fruition, and introduces a regular disputation conducted with much formality between Reason and a lover. [The later prose work called the] *Testament of Love*<sup>1</sup> [which has been mistakenly attributed to Chaucer], is also formed on this philosophy of gallantry. It is a lover's parody of the work of Boethius *De Consolatione* mentioned above. [The] poem called *La Belle Dame sans Mercy*<sup>2</sup> and [the] *Assemble of Ladies*, [both thoughtlessly assigned to Chaucer by some writers,] are from the same school.<sup>3</sup> Chaucer's *Priores* and *Monk*, whose lives were devoted to religious reflection and the most serious engagements, and while they are actually travelling on a pilgrimage to visit the shrine of a sainted martyr, openly avow the universal influence of love. They exhibit, on their apparel, badges entirely inconsistent with their profession, but easily accountable for from these principles. The *Priores* wears a bracelet on which is inscribed, with a crowned A, *Amor vincit omnia*.<sup>4</sup> The *Monk* ties his hood with a true lover's knot.<sup>5</sup> The early poets of Provence, as I before hinted, formed a society called the *Court of Love*, which gave rise to others in Gascony, Languedoc, Poitou, and Dauphiny: and Picardy, the constant rival of Provence, had a similar institution called *Plaids et Gieus sous l'Ormel*. These establishments consisted of ladies and gentlemen of the highest rank, exercised and approved in courtesy, who tried with the most consummate ceremony, and decided with supreme authority, cases in love brought before their tribunal. Marechal d'Auvergne, an old French poet, for the diversion and at the request of the Countess of Beaujeu, [published a collection of these supposed Decrees in prose under the title of] *Arresta amorum*, or the Decrees of Love, which is a humorous description of the *Plaids* of Picardy. Fontenelle has recited one of their processess, which conveys an idea of all the rest.<sup>6</sup> A queen of France was appealed to from an unjust sentence pronounced in

<sup>1</sup> ["We do not propose here to dwell upon this question, but rather to throw out a hint, and to make a quotation from the end of the *Testament of Love*, in which the writer (if Chaucer) is made to bestow upon himself and upon one of his works most extravagant laudation. It seems to us impossible to suppose that a man of Chaucer's genius and modesty (always coupled) would thus have written of himself."—Collier, *Introd. to Seven Poetical Miscellanies*, 1867.]

<sup>2</sup> Translated or imitated from a French poem of Alain Chartier, v. 111:

"Which Maistir Alayne made of remembrance  
Chief secretary to the king of France."

He was secretary to Charles the Sixth and Seventh. But he is chiefly famous for his prose. [Alain Chartier was certainly living near fifty years after Chaucer's death, which makes it quite incredible that the latter should have translated anything of his. In MS. Harl. 372, *La belle Dame sans Mercie* is attributed to Sir Richard Ros.—*Tyrwhitt*. Mr. Tyrwhitt also rejects the *Assemble of Ladies* from the list of Chaucer's works.—*Price*.]

<sup>3</sup> So is Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, as we shall see hereafter.

<sup>4</sup> v. 162.

<sup>5</sup> v. 197.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. Theat. Franc.* p. 15, tom. iii. *Oeuvr.* Paris, 1742.

the love-pleas, where the Countess of Champagne presided. The queen did not choose to interpose in a matter of so much consequence, nor to reverse the decrees of a court whose decision was absolute and final. She answered, "God forbid, that I should presume to contradict the sentence of the Countess of Champagne!" This was about the year 1206. Chaucer has a poem called the *Court of Love*, which is nothing more than the love-court of Provence:<sup>1</sup> it contains the twenty statutes which that court prescribed to be universally observed under the severest penalties.<sup>2</sup> Not long afterwards, on the same principle, a society was established in Languedoc, called the *Fraternity of the Penitents of Love*. Enthusiasm was here carried to as high a pitch of extravagance as ever it was in religion. It was a contention of ladies and gentlemen, who should best sustain the honour of their amorous fanaticism. Their object was to prove the excess of their love, by shewing with an invincible fortitude and consistency of conduct, and with no less obstinacy of opinion, that they could bear extremes of heat and cold. Accordingly the resolute knights and esquires, the dames and damsels, who had the hardiness to embrace this severe institution, dressed themselves during the heat of summer in the thickest mantles lined with the warmest fur. In this they demonstrated, according to the ancient poets, that love works the most wonderful and extraordinary changes. In winter, their love again perverted the nature of the seasons: they then clothed themselves in the lightest and thinnest stuffs which could be procured. It was a crime to wear fur on a day of the most piercing cold; or to appear with a hood, cloak, gloves, or muff. The flame of love kept them sufficiently warm. Fires, all the winter, were utterly banished from their houses; and they dressed their apartments with evergreens. In the most intense frost their beds were covered only with a piece of canvass. It must be remembered, that in the mean time they passed the greater part of the day abroad, in wandering about from castle to

<sup>1</sup> See also Chaucer's *Ten Commandments of Love*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vie de Petrarque*, tom. ii. not. xix. p. 60. Probably the *Cour d'Amour* was the origin of that called *La Cour Amoureuse*, established under the gallant reign of Charles VI. in 1410. The latter had the most considerable families of France for its members, and a parade of grand officers, like those in the royal household and courts of law. See *Hist. Acad. Inscript.* tom. vii. p. 287, *seq.* 4to. See also *Hist. Langued.* tom. iii. p. 25, *seq.*

The most uniform and unembarrassed view of the establishment and usages of this *Court*, which I can at present recollect, is thrown together from scattered and scarce materials by the ingenious author of *Vie de Petrarque*, tom. ii. p. 45, *seq.* not. xix. But for a complete account of these institutions, and other curious particulars relating to the ancient manners and ancient poetry of the French, the [reader may be referred to] the history of the Provençal poets written by Sainte Palaye, who has copied most of their MSS. with great care and expense. [The only authentic source of information on this subject is a work written about the year 170 and published (among other places) at Dordmund in 1610. *Erotica seu imatoria Andreæ capellarii regis*, &c. See [Raynouard's] *Poésies des Troubadours*, von Aretins *Aufsprüche der Minnegerichte München*, 1813, and No. v. of the *Retrospective Review*.—Price. See also Cochrane's *Foreign Quarterly Review* for 1835.—*Rye*.]

castle; infomuch that many of these devotees, during so desperate a pilgrimage, perished by the inclemency of the weather, and died martyrs to their profession.<sup>1</sup>

The early universality of the French language greatly contributed to facilitate the circulation of the poetry of the troubadours in other countries. The Frankish language was familiar even at Constantinople and its dependent provinces in the eleventh century, and long afterwards. Raymond Montaniero, an historian of Catalonia, who wrote about the year 1300, says that the French tongue was as well known in the Morea and at Athens as at Paris. "E parlavan axi belle Francis com dins en Paris."<sup>2</sup> The oldest Italian poetry seems to be founded on that of Provence. The word *sonnet* was adopted from the French into the Italian versification. It occurs in the *Roman de la Rose*, "Lais d'amour et *sonnets* courtois."<sup>3</sup> Boccaccio copied many of his best tales from the troubadours.<sup>4</sup> Several of

<sup>1</sup> See D. Vaisette, *Hist. du Languedoc*, tom. iv. p. 184, seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Arragon*, c. 261.

<sup>3</sup> v. 720.

<sup>4</sup> Particularly from Rutebeuf and Herbers. Rutebeuf was living in the year 1310. He wrote tales and stories of entertainment in verse, [a collected edition of which was published by Jubinal, 1839, two vols., 8vo.] It is certain that Boccaccio took from this old French minstrel Nov. x. Giorn. ix. And perhaps two or three others. Herbers lived about the year [1260. See Raynouard, *ut sup.*] He wrote a French romance in verse, called *Dolopathos*. He translated it from the Latin of [Jean, moine de Hauteville:

"blans moines de bone vie,  
De Haute-selve l'abaie,  
A ceste estoire novellée;  
Par biau latin l'a ordenée.  
Herberz la velt en romanz trère,  
Et del romanz .i. livre fere."

*Dolopathos*, edit. 1856, p. 4.]

It has great variety, and contains several agreeable stories, pleasant adventures, emblems, and proverbs. Boccaccio has taken from it four tales, viz., Nov. ii. Giorn. iii. Nov. iv. Giorn. vii. Nov. viii. Giorn. viii.; and the Tale of the Boy who had never seen a woman, since finely touched by Fontaine. An Italian book called *Eraffus* is compiled from this *Romance of the Seven Sages*. It is said to have been first composed by Sandaber the Indian, a writer of proverbs: that it afterwards appeared successively in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and Greek; was at length translated into Latin by the monk above mentioned, and from thence into French by Herbers. It is very probable that the monk translated it from some Greek manuscript of the dark ages, which Huet says was to be found in some libraries. Three hundred years after its composition, the *Roman* of Herbers was translated into Dutch, and again from the Dutch into Latin. There is an English abridgment of it, which is a story-book for children. See *Mem. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 731. Fauchet, p. 106, 160. Huet, *Orig. Fab. Rom.* 136. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* x. 339. Maffieu, *Poes. Fr.* p. 137. Crescimben. *Volg. Poes.* vol. i. l. v. p. 332.

The ground-work of *Dolopathos* is a Greek story-book called *Syntipas*, often cited by Du Cange, whose copy appears to have been translated from the Syriac. See *Gloss. Med. et Infim. Græcitat.*—*Ind. Auſor*, p. 33. In Harl. MSS. 5560, is another, which is said to be translated from the Persian. Fabricius says, that *Syntipas* was printed at Venice, *lingua vulgari*. *Bibl. Gr.* x. 515. On the whole, the plan of *Syntipas* appears to be exactly the same with that of *Les Sept Sages*, the Italian *Eraffo*, and our own little story-book the *Seven Wise Masters*; except that, instead of Dioclesian of Rome, the king is called *Cyrus of Persia*; and, instead of one Tale, each of the philosophers tells two. The circumstance of Persia is an argument, that *Syntipas* was originally an oriental composition. See what is collected on this

Dante's fictions are derived from the same fountain. Dante has honoured some of them with a seat in his *Paradise*:<sup>1</sup> and in his tract *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, has mentioned Thibault, King of Navarre, as a pattern for writing poetry.<sup>2</sup> With regard to Dante's capital work, the *Inferno*, Raoul de Houdane, a French bard, about the year 1180, wrote a poem, entitled *Le Voye ou le Songe d'Enfer*.<sup>3</sup> Both Boccaccio and Dante studied at Paris, where they much improved their taste by reading the songs of Thibault, King of Navarre, Gaces Brules, Chatelain de Coucy, and other ancient French fabulists.<sup>4</sup> Petrarch's refined ideas of love are chiefly drawn from those amorous reveries of the Provençals which I have above described; heightened, perhaps, by the Platonic system, and exaggerated by the subtilising spirit of Italian fancy. Varchi and Pignatelli have written professed treatises on the nature of Petrarch's love. But neither they, nor the rest of the Italians who to this day continue to debate a point of so much consequence, consider how powerfully Petrarch must have been influenced, to talk of love in so peculiar a strain, by studying the poets of Provence. His *Triumfo d'Amore* has much imagery copied from Auçelm Fayditt, one of the most celebrated of these bards. He has likewise many imitations from the works of Arnaud Daniel, who is called the most eloquent of the troubadours.<sup>5</sup> Petrarch, in one of his sonnets, represents his mistress Laura sailing on the River Rhone, in company with twelve Provençal ladies, who at that time presided over the *Court of Love*.<sup>6</sup>

Pasquier observes, that the Italian poetry arose as the Provençal declined.<sup>7</sup> It is a proof of the decay of invention among the French in the beginning of the fourteenth century, that about that period

---

curious subject, which is intimately concerned with the history of the invention of the middle ages by [Tyrwhitt, Wright, and others]. There is a translation of this romance in octosyllable verse, MSS. Cotton. Galb. E ix. It is entitled *The Proses of the Seven Sages*, and agrees entirely with *Les Sept Sages de Rome* in French prose. MSS. Harl. 3860. See also MSS. C. C. Coll. Oxon. 252. The Latin book, called *Historia Septem Sapientum Roma*, is not a very scarce MS.; it was printed before [1480], see Mr. Wright's *Dissert. on the Seven Sages*, prefixed to the present work, where the whole subject is much more systematically and satisfactorily handled than in the incidental and desultory note introduced by Warton here rather out of place.] Many of the old French minstrels deal much in tales and novels of humour and amusement, like those of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. They call them *Fabliaux*. [It is from these *Fabliaux* that Boccaccio has borrowed many of his tales, and not from the Troubadours, who were, more properly speaking, the poets of Provence.—Douce.]

<sup>1</sup> Compare Crescimben. *Volg. Poës.* l. i. c. xiv. p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> *Commed. Infern.* cant. 22. <sup>3</sup> Fauch. *Rec.* p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> See Fauchet, *Rec.* pp. 47, 116; and Huet, *Rom.* pp. 121, 108.

<sup>5</sup> He lived about 1189. Beauchamps, *Recherch.* p. 5. Nostradamus asserts, that Petrarch stole many things from a troubadour, called Richard seigneur de Barbezieux, who is placed under 1383. Petrarch, however, was dead at that time.

<sup>6</sup> Sonnet clxxxviii. *Dodici Donne*, &c. The *Accademici della Crusca*, in their *Dictionary*, quote a MS. entitled *Libro d'Amore* of the year 1408. It is also referred to by Crescimbeni in his *Lives of the Provençal Poets*. It contains verdicts or determinations in the *Court of Love*.

<sup>7</sup> Palq. *Recherch. de la France*, vii. 5, pp. 609, 611, edit. 1633.

they began to translate into prose their old metrical romances: such as the fables of King Arthur, of Charlemagne, of Ogier le Danois, of Renaud de Montauban, and other illustrious champions, whom their early writers had celebrated in rhyme.<sup>1</sup> At length, about 1380, in the place of the Provençal a new species of poetry succeeded in France, consisting of Chants Royaux,<sup>2</sup> Balades, Rondeaux, and Pastorales.<sup>3</sup> This was distinguished by the appellation of the New Poetry: and Froissart, who has been mentioned above chiefly in the character of an historian, cultivated it with so much success, that he has been called its author. The titles of Froissart's poetical pieces will alone serve to illustrate the nature of this poetry; but they prove, at the same time, that the Provençal cast of composition still continued to prevail. They are, *The Paradise of Love*, *A Panegyric on the Month of May*, *The Temple of Honour*, *The Flower of the Daisy*, *Amorous Lays*, *Pastorals*, *The Amorous Prison*, *Royal Ballads in honour of our Lady*, *The Ditty of the Amorous* [Espinette, or little Thorn,] *Virelais*, *Rondeaus*, and *The Plea of the Rose and Violet*.<sup>4</sup> Whoever examines Chaucer's smaller pieces will perceive that they

<sup>1</sup> These translations, in which the originals were much enlarged, produced an infinite number of other romances in prose; and the old metrical romances soon became unfashionable and neglected. The romance of *Perceforest*, one of the largest of the French romances of chivalry, was written in verse about 1220. It was not till many years afterwards translated into prose. M. Falconet, an ingenious inquirer into the early literature of France, is of opinion, that the most ancient romances, such as that of the *Round Table*, were first written in Latin prose: it being well known that Turpin's *Charlemagne*, as it is now extant, was originally composed in that language. He thinks they were translated into French rhymes, and at last into French prose, *tels que nous les avons aujourd'hui*. See *Hist. Acad. Inscript.* vii. 293. But part of this doctrine may be justly doubted.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the *Chaunt Royal*, Pasquier describes it to be a song in honour of God, the holy Virgin, or any other argument of dignity, especially if joined with distress. It was written in heroic stanzas, and closed with a *l'Envoi*, or stanza containing a recapitulation, dedication, or the like. Chaucer calls the *Chant royal* above mentioned a *Kyngis Note*. *Mill. T.* v. 111, p. 25. His *Complaint of Venus* [as well as the] *Cuckow and Nightingale* and *La belle Dame sans Mercy*, [both wrongly attributed to him] have all a *l'Envoi*, and belong to this species of French verse. Chaucer's *l'Envoi* to the *Complaint of Venus*, or *Mars and Venus*, ends with these lines:

"And eke to me hit is a grete penaunce,  
Syth ryme in English hath such *scarcelé*,  
To folowe worde by worde the curiosité  
Of Graunson flour of hem that make, in Fraunce."

[Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 247, v. 377.] *Make* signifies to write poetry; and here we see that this poem was translated from the French. See also [the poem called] *Chaucer's Dream*, v. 2204. Petrarch has the *Envoi*.

<sup>3</sup> About this time, a Prior of S. Genevieve at Paris wrote a small treatise entitled, *L'Art de Diſtier Ballades et Rondelles*. See Beauchamp's *Rech. Theatr.* p. 88. Maffieu says this is the first *Art of Poetry* printed in France. *Hist. Poes. Fr.* p. 222. See [Pelletier,] *L'Art Poétique*, 1555, liv. 11, ch. i. *De l'Ode*. [Compare *infra*, iv. 252-3.]

<sup>4</sup> Pasquier, *ubi ſupr.* p. 612. Who calls ſuch pieces *Mignardises*. [In vol. vii. of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions*, p. 287, there is an account of a manuſcript deſcribing a ſociety called "La Cour amoureuſe des Rois des Eſpinettes."—*Douce*.]

are altogether formed on this plan, and often compounded of these ideas. Chaucer himself declares that he wrote

many an ympne for your holy dayes  
 'That highten Balades, Roundels, Virelayes.'

But above all, [the] *Flower and the Leaf*, [attributed to Chaucer, but most probably written many years after he died], in which an air of rural description predominates, and where the allegory is principally conducted by mysterious allusions to the virtues or beauties of the vegetable world, to flowers and plants, exclusive of its general romantic and allegoric vein, bears a strong resemblance to some of these subjects. The poet is happily placed in a delicious arbour, interwoven with eglantine. Imaginary troops of knights and ladies advance: some of the ladies are crowned with flowers, and others with chaplets of agnus castus, and these are respectively subject to a *Lady of the Flower* and a *Lady of the Leaf*.<sup>3</sup> Some are clothed in green, and others in white. Many of the knights are distinguished in much the same manner. But others are crowned with leaves of oak or of other trees: others carry branches of oak, laurel, hawthorn, and woodbine.<sup>4</sup> Besides this profusion of vernal ornaments, the whole procession glitters with gold, pearls, rubies, and other costly decorations. They are preceded by minstrels clothed in green and crowned with flowers. One of the ladies sings a bargaret, or pastoral, in praise of the daisy:

A bargaret<sup>5</sup> in praïsing the daisie<sup>6</sup>  
 For, as me thought, among her notes swete,  
 She said, *Si douje est la Margarete*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here is an ellipsis. He means, *And Poems*.

<sup>2</sup> [*Prolog. Leg. Good Women*. Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 289, ver. 422.] He mentions this sort of poetry in the *Frankleyn's Tale*, ver. [218, edit. Morris.]

"Of fuche matiere [love] maden he many layes,  
 Songes compleyntes, roundeleles, virelayes."

Compare *Chaucer's Dreame*, ver. 973. In the *Floure and Leafe* we have the words of a French Roundeau, ver. 177.

<sup>3</sup> In a decision of the Court of Love cited by Fontenelle, the judge is called *Le Marquis des fleurs et violettes*. Font. *ubi sup.* p. 15. ver. 270.

<sup>4</sup> Rather *Bergerette*. A song du *Berger*, of a *shepherd*. [Hence also perhaps the Barginet (or pastoral) of Antimachus in England's Helicon, 1600. Barginet is mentioned as a dance by Sir T. Elyot and Geo. Gascoigne, whence Mr. Steevens conjectured that the phrase might be equivalent to our *Nancy Dawson's jig*, and might signify a short metrical performance as well as a dance. See note on the term in *Cens. Lit.* i. 422.—*Park*.]

<sup>5</sup> [Morris's *Chaucer*, iv. 99, ver. 348.]

<sup>7</sup> A panegyric on this flower is again introduced in the Prologue to the *Leg. of G. Wom.* ver. 180:

"The longe day I shoope me for tabide  
 For nothing ellis, and I shal nat lye,  
 But for to loke upon the daycie;  
 That men by reson wel it callè may  
 The daisie, or elles the ye of day,  
 The emperice, and floure of floures alle," &c.

Speght supposes that he means to pay a compliment to Lady Margaret, countess of Pembroke, King Edward's daughter, one of his patronesses. See the *Balade* beginning In Fevrere, &c., ver. 688. Froissart's song in praise of the daisy might

This might have been Froissart's song: at least this is one of his subjects. In the mean time a nightingale, seated in a laurel-tree, whose shade would cover an hundred persons, sings the whole service, "longing to May." Some of the knights and ladies do obeysance to the leaf, and some to the flower of the daisy. Others are represented as worshipping a bed of flowers. Flora is introduced "of these flouris goddesse." The lady of the leaf invites the lady of the flower to a banquet. Under these symbols is much morality couched. The leaf signifies perseverance and virtue: the flower denotes indolence and pleasure. Among those who are crowned with the leaf, are the knights of King Arthur's round table, and Charlemagne's Twelve Peers; together with the knights of the order of the Garter [lately] established by Edward III.<sup>1</sup>

But these fancies seem more immediately to have taken their rise from the Floral Games instituted in France in the year 1324,<sup>2</sup> which filled the French poetry with images of this sort.<sup>3</sup> They were founded by Clementina Isabeau, countess of Toulouse, and annually celebrated in the month of May. She published an edict, which assembled all the poets of France in artificial arbours dressed with flowers: and he that produced the best poem was rewarded with a violet of gold. There were likewise inferior prizes of flowers made in silver. In the mean time the conquerors were crowned with natural chaplets of their own respective flowers. During the ceremony, degrees were also conferred. He who had won a prize three times was created a doctor *en gaye Science*, the name of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours. The instrument of creation was in verse.<sup>4</sup> This institution, however fantastic, soon became common through the whole kingdom of France: and these romantic rewards, distributed with the most impartial attention to merit, at least infused an useful emulation, and in some measure revived the languishing genius of the French poetry.

---

have the same tendency: for he was patronized both by Edward and Philippa. Marguarite is French for Daisy. Perhaps the same compliment is intended by the "Margarite perle," *Test. Love*, p. 483, col. i. &c. Urr. See also *Prol. Leg. G. Wom.* v. 218, 224. That Prologue has many images like those in the *Flower and the Leaf*.

See *Le dit de la fleur de lis et de la Marguerite*, by Guillaume Machaut, *Acad. Inscript.* xx. p. 381, x. 669. On the whole, it may be doubted whether either Froissart or Chaucer means Margaret, countess of Pembroke. For compare *Append. Pref. Canterb. Tales*, vol. i. p. xxxiv. [edit. Tyrwhitt.] I add, that in the year 1547, the poetical pieces of Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, were collected and published under the title of *Marguerite de la Marguerite des princesses, tres illustre royaume de Navarre*, by [Symon] de la Haye, her valet de chambre. It was common in France to give the title of Marguerites to studied panegyrics and flowery compositions of every kind, both in prose and verse.

<sup>1</sup> ver. 516, 517, 519.

<sup>2</sup> *Mem. Lit.* tom. vii. p. 422, 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Hence Froissart in the *Epinette Amoureuse*, describing his romantic amusements, says he was delighted with

"Violettes en leur saisons

Et roses blanches et vermeilles," &c.

See *Mem. Lit.* x. 665, 287.

<sup>4</sup> *Recherches sur les poètes couronnés.* (*Mem. Lit.* x. 567.)

The French and Italian poets, whom Chaucer imitates, abound in allegorical personages : and it is remarkable that the early poets of Greece and Rome were fond of these creations. Homer has given us *Strife*, *Contention*, *Fear*, *Terror*, *Tumult*, *Desire*, *Persuasion*, and *Benevolence*. We have in Hesiod *Darkness*, and many others, if the Shield of Hercules be of his hand. *Comus* occurs in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus ; and in the *Prometheus* of the same poet *Strength* and *Force* are two persons of the drama, and perform the capital parts. The fragments of Ennius indicate that his poetry consisted much of personifications. He says, that in one of the Carthaginian wars the gigantic image of *Sorrow* appeared in every place : "Omnibus endo locis ingens apparet imago *Tristitias*." Lucretius has drawn the great and terrible figure of *Superstition*, "*Quæ caput e cœli regionibus ostendebat*." He also mentions, in a beautiful procession of the Seasons, *Calor aridus*, *Hyems*, and *Algis*. He introduces *Medicine* muttering with silent fear, in the midst of the deadly pestilence at Athens. It seems to have escaped the many critics who have written on Milton's noble but romantic allegory of *Sin* and *Death*, that he took the person of Death from the *Alceſtis* of his favourite tragedian Euripides, where *Θάνατος* is a principal agent in the drama. As knowledge and learning increase, poetry begins to deal less in imagination : and these fantastic beings give way to real manners and living characters.

[Of Laurence Minot, the contemporary of Chaucer, who in the beginning of the year 1352 wrote, or at least completed,<sup>1</sup> a series of poems on the wars of Edward III., some short account may be here not unfitly introduced. Minot appears to have been a native of one of the northern counties. "The latest event they (his poems) commemorate, is the capture of Guînes-Castle, which happened, according to Avesbury, on St. Vincent's day, the 22nd of January, 1351-2."]

The stanza of one of Minot's poems on the wars of Edward III. is the same as Chaucer's *Sir Topas* :<sup>2</sup>

Edward oure cumly king  
In Braband has his woning,  
With mani cumly knight,  
And in that land, trewly to tell,  
Ordains he still for to dwell,  
To time he think to fight.  
  
Now God that es of mightes maste,  
Grant him grace of the Haly Gaste,  
His heritage to win ;  
And Mari moder of mercy fre,  
Save oure king, and his menye,  
Fro sorow, schame, and syn.  
  
Thus in Braband has he bene,  
Whare he bifore was seldom sene,  
For to prove thaire japes ;

<sup>1</sup> [Minot's *Poems*, ed. 1795, *Introd.*]

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Cott. Galb. E. ix.

Now no langer wil he spare,  
 Bot unto Fraunce fast will he fare,  
 To confort him with grapes.

Furth he ferd into France,  
 God save him fro mischance,  
 And all his cumpany;  
 The nobill duc of Braband  
 With him went into that land,  
 Redy to lif or dy.

Than the riche floure de lice  
 Wan thare ful litill prife,  
 Fast he fled for ferde;  
 The right aire<sup>1</sup> of that cuntre  
 Es cumen with all his knightes fre  
 To schac<sup>2</sup> him by the berd.

Sir Philip the Valayse,  
 Wit his men in tho dayes,  
 To batale had he thought;  
 He bad his men tham purway  
 Withowten lenger delay,  
 Bot he ne held it nocht.

He broght folk ful grete wone,  
 Ay fevyn ogains one,  
 That ful wele wapind<sup>3</sup> were;  
 Bot sone when he herd ascry,  
 That king Edward was nere tharby,  
 Than durft he nocht cum nere.

In that morning fell a myft;  
 And whenoure Inglis men it wist,  
 It changed all thaire chere:  
 Oure king unto God made his bone,  
 And God sent him gude confort sone,  
 The weder wex ful clere.

Oure king and his men held the felde,  
 Stalworthly with spere and schelde,  
 And thought to win his right;  
 With lordes and with knightes kene,  
 And other doghty men bydene,  
 That war ful frek to fight.

When sir Philip of France herd tell,  
 That king Edward in feld wallid dwell,  
 Than gayned him no gle;  
 He traifted of no better bote,  
 Bot both on hors and on fote,  
 He hasted him to fle.

It semid he was ferd for strokes,  
 When he did fell his grete okes  
 About his pavilyoune.  
 Abated was than all his pride,  
 For langer thare durft he nocht bide,  
 His boft was broght all doune.

<sup>1</sup> heir.<sup>2</sup> shake.<sup>3</sup> weaponed, armed.

The king of Beme had cares colde,  
 That was ful hardy, and bolde,  
 A stede to umfstride :  
 [He and] The king als of Naverne  
 War faire ferd in the ferne  
 Thaire heviddes for to hide.

And leves wele, it is no lye,  
 The felde bat Flemangrye  
 That king Edward was in ;  
 With princes that war stif ande bolde,  
 And dukes that war doghty tolde,  
 In batayle to begin.

The princes that war riche on raw,  
 Gert nakers strikes and trumpes blaw,  
 And made mirth at thaire might ;  
 Both ablast and many a bow,  
 War redy railed opon a row,  
 And ful frek for to fight.

Gladly thai gaf mete and drink,  
 So that thai suld the better swink,  
 The wight men that thar ware :  
 Sir Philip of Fraunce fled for dout,  
 And hied him hame with all his rout,  
 Coward, God giff him care.

For thare than had the lely flowre  
 Lorn all halely his honowre,  
 That so gat fled for ferd ;  
 Bot oure king Edward come ful still,  
 When that he trowed no harm him till,  
 And keped him in the berde.<sup>1</sup>

[A few other specimens of Minot may here be added] :

Men may rede in Romance<sup>2</sup> right,  
 Of a grete clerk that Merlin hight :  
 Ful many bokes er of him wreten,  
 Als thir clerkes wele may witten ;  
 And ȝit in many prevé nokes  
 May men find of Merlin bokes.  
 Merlin said thus with his mowth,  
 Out of the north into the fowth,  
 Suld cum a bare over the se,  
 That suld mak many man to fle ;  
 And in the se, he said ful right,  
 Suld he schew ful mekill might ;  
 And in France he suld bigin  
 To mak tham wrath that er tharein :  
 Untill the se his taile reche sale,  
 All folk of France to mekill bale.

<sup>1</sup> [This and the following specimens from Minot have been corrected by Mr. Ritson's edition of his poems.]

<sup>2</sup> In another place Minot calls the book on which his narrative is founded, the *Romance* :

“ How Edward, als the Romance saies,  
 Held his sege before Calais.”

Thus have I mater for to make  
 For a nobill prince sake.  
 Help me god, my wit is thin,  
 Now Laurence Minot will bigin.  
 A Bore es broght on bankes bare,  
 With ful batail bifor his brest,  
 For John of France will he noght spare.  
 In Normondy to tak his rest,—  
 At Creffy when thai brak the brig,  
 That saw Edward with both his ine;  
 Than liked him no langer to lig,  
 Ilk Inglis-man on others rig;  
 Over that water er thai went,  
 To batail er thai baldly big,  
 With brade ax, and with bowes bent,  
 With bent bowes thai war ful bolde,  
 For to fell of the Frankisch-men.  
 Thai gert tham lig with cares colde.  
 Ful fari was fir Philip then:  
 He saw the toun o ferrum bren,  
 And folk for ferd war fast fleand:  
 The teres he lete ful rathly ren  
 Out of his eghen, I understand.  
 Than cum Philip, ful redy dight,  
 Toward the toun with all his rowt:  
 With him come mani a kumly knight,  
 And all umset the bare about:  
 The bare made tham ful law to lout,  
 And delt them knockes to thaire mede.  
 He gert tham stumbill that war stout.  
 Thare helpid nowther staf ne stede  
 Stedes strong bilevid still  
 Bifide Creffy opon the grene  
 Sir Philip wanted all his will  
 That was wele on his sembland sene,  
 With spere and schelde, and helmis schene  
 The bare than durst thai noght habide.  
 The king of Beme<sup>1</sup> was cant and kene,  
 Bot thare he left both play and pride.  
 Pride in prese ne prais I noght.  
 Omong thir princes prowd in pall,  
 Princes suld be wele bithoght  
 When kinges suld tham tyll counfail call.

The fame boar, that is, Edward [Baliol], is introduced by Minot as resisting the Scottish invasion in 1347, at Nevil's Cross, near Durham.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John, king of Bohemia. By Froissart he is called inaccurately the king of Behaigne, or Charles of Luxemburgh. See Froissart, *ut supr.* fol. lxiv. b. The Lord Charles of Bohemia, his son, was also in the battle and killed, being lately elected emperor. Holinsh. iii. 372.

<sup>2</sup> The reader will recollect that this versification is in the structure of that of the *Lives of the Saints*, where two lines are thrown into one, viz. *Vndecim millia virginum*, MSS. Col. Trin. Oxon. 57.

“Ellevene thousand virgines, that fair companye was,  
 Imartird wer for godis sone, ich wille telle that cas.  
 A kyng ther was in Bretaygne, Maur was his name,  
 A dougter he hadde that het Vrse, a mayde of good fame.”

Sir David the Brufe<sup>1</sup>  
 Was at distance,  
 When Edward the Baliolfc,<sup>2</sup>  
 Rade with his lance :  
 The north end of Ingland,  
 Teched him to daunce,  
 When he was met on the more,  
 With mekill mischance.  
 Sir Philip the Valayse,  
 May him noght avance,  
 The flowres that faire war,  
 Er fallen in Fraunce ;  
 The flowres er now fallen,  
 That fers war and fell,  
 A bare with his bataille,  
 Has done tham to dwell.  
 Sir David the Brufe,  
 Said he fulde fonde  
 To ride thurgh all Ingland,  
 Wuld he noght wonde :  
 At the Westminster Hall,  
 Suld his stedes fonde,  
 Whils oure king Edward  
 War out of the londe.

Edward's victory over the Spaniards in a sea-fight, in 1350, was a part of Minot's general subject :

I wald noght spare for to speke,  
 Wiſt I to ſpede,

So fair woman me nyfte non, ne ſo guod in none poynte,  
 Criſtene was al hire ken, ſwithe noble and queynte :  
 Of hire fairhede and guodneſſe me told in eche ſonde fide,  
 That the word com into Engelonde, and ſelle wher wide.  
 A kyng ther was in Engelonde, man of gret powër,  
 Of this maide he herde telle gret nobleiſe far and ner."

The minstrel, who used the perpetual return of a kind of plain chant, made his pause or close at every hemistick. In the same manner the verses of the following poem were divided by the minstrel. MSS. Cott. Jul. V. fol. 175. [The transcript is not later than the year 1300:]

" Als y yod on ay Monday, by twene Wiltindon and Walle,  
 Me ane after brade way, ay litel man y mette withalle,  
 The leſte that ever y ſathe, to ſay oither in boure oither in halle,  
 His robe was noither grene na gray, bot alle yt was of riche palle.  
 On me he cald and bad me bide, wel ſtille y ſtode ay litel ſpace ;  
 Fro Lancheſter the Parke ſyde, yeen he come wel faire his pace : &c.  
 I biheld that litel man, bi the ſtrete als we gon gae,  
 His berde was ſyde ay large ſpan, and glided als the fether of pac.  
 His heved was wyte as any ſwan, his higehen were gret and grai, &c.  
 His robe was al golde biganne, well criſtlik maked i underſtande,  
 Botones aſurd everilke ane, from his elbouthes on til his hande."

They enter a caſtle :

" The bankers on the binkes lay, and faire lordes ſette y fonde,  
 In ilk ay hirn y herd ay lay, and levedys ſouthe me loud ſange."

<sup>1</sup> David Bruce, king of Scotland. See Langtoft, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> [Edward de Baliol. Edward III. was not in England when the affair at Nevill's Cross happened.—*Risſon*.]

Of wight men with wapin,  
 And worthly in wede.  
 That now er driven to dale,  
 And ded all thaire dede,  
 Thai sail in the see-gronde,  
 Fiffches to fede!  
 Fele Fiffches thai fede,  
 For all thaire grete fare,  
 It was in the waniand  
 That thai come thare.  
 Thai sailed furth in the Swin  
 In a somers tyde,  
 With trompes and taburns,  
 And mikell other pryde.

## SECTION XIX.

**I**F Chaucer had not existed, the compositions of John Gower, the next poet in succession, would alone have been sufficient to rescue the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. from the imputation of barbarism. His education was liberal and uncircumscribed, his course of reading extensive, and he tempered his severer studies with a knowledge of life. By a critical cultivation of his native language, he laboured to reform its irregularities, and to establish an English style. In these respects he resembled his friend and contemporary Chaucer:<sup>1</sup> but he participated in no considerable portion of Chaucer's spirit, imagination, and elegance. His language is tolerably perspicuous, and his versification often harmonious; but his poetry is of a grave and sententious turn. He has much good sense, solid reflection, and useful observation. But he is serious and didactic on all occasions: he preserves the tone of the scholar and the moralist on the most lively topics. For this reason he seems to have been characterized by Chaucer with the appellation of the *moral* Gower.<sup>2</sup> But his talent is not confined to English verse only. He wrote also in Latin, and copied Ovid's *Elegies* with some degree of purity, and with fewer false quantities and corrupt phrases than any of our countrymen had yet exhibited since the twelfth century.

Gower's capital work [or, as he calls it, *Cronica Tripartita*,] consists of three parts, only the last of which properly furnishes matter

<sup>1</sup> It is certain that they both lived and wrote together. But I have considered Chaucer first, among other reasons hereafter given, as Gower survived him [several years.] Chaucer died October 25, 1400, aged 72 years. Gower died [between the 15th of August and the 24th of October, 1408. See *Confessio Amantis*, ed. 1857, i. xvii.-xviii.]

<sup>2</sup> *Troil. and Cress.* ad calc.

for our present inquiry. It is entitled *Speculum Meditantis, Vox Clamantis, Confessio Amantis*. [The last] was finished in 139[2-3].<sup>1</sup> The *Speculum Meditantis* [is not known to exist.]<sup>2</sup> The *Vox Clamantis*, or the *Voice of one crying in the Wilderness*, which [has been printed for the Roxburghe Club,] contains seven books of Latin elegiacs. This work is chiefly historical, and is little more than a metrical chronicle of the insurrection of the Commons in [1381.] The best and most beautiful manuscript of it is in the library of All Souls College at Oxford, with a dedication in Latin verse, addressed by the author, when he was old and blind, to Archbishop Arundel.<sup>3</sup> The *Confessio Amantis*, or the *Lover's Confession*, is an English poem, in eight books, first printed by Caxton in 1483. It was written at the command of Richard II. who, meeting our poet Gower rowing on the Thames near London, invited him into the royal barge, and after much conversation requested him to *book some new thing*.<sup>4</sup>

This tripartite work is represented by three volumes on Gower's curious tomb in the conventual church of Saint Mary Overy in Southwark, [lately restored to something like] its ancient state; and this circumstance furnishes me with an obvious opportunity of adding an anecdote relating to our poet's munificence and piety, which ought not to be omitted. Although a poet, he largely contributed to rebuild that church in its present elegant form, and to render it a beautiful pattern of the lighter Gothic architecture; at the same time he founded, at his tomb, a perpetual chantry.

It is on the last of these pieces, the *Confessio Amantis*, that Gower's character and reputation as a poet are almost entirely founded. This poem, which bears no immediate reference to the other two divisions, is a dialogue between a lover and his confessor, who is a priest of Venus, and, like the mytagogue in the *Table of Cebes*, is called Genius. Here, as if it had been impossible for a lover not to be a good Catholic, the ritual of religion is applied to the tender passion,

<sup>1</sup> *Confess. Amant.* Prol. fol. 1, a, col. 1. [Bulleyn, in his *Dialogue both plesaunt and pitefull*, first printed before 1564, introduces a visionary description of old "moral Goore," with pen in hand, commending honest love without lust, and pleasure without pride, &c. And the dedication to Henry VIII., before Berthelet's edition of the *Confessio Amantis*, superadds to his established moral epithet the terms "worthy olde writer, and noble autour."—*Park*.]

<sup>2</sup> [Gower's *Speculum Meditantis* has never, I believe, been seen by any of our poetical antiquaries, nor does it exist in the Bodleian Library. Campbell, the author of Gower's article in the *Biographia Brit.*, and Warton, who profess to give an account of its contents, were deceived by the ambiguity of a reference in Tanner; and, instead of the work in question, describe a much shorter poem or *balade* by the same author.—*Ellis*. See also Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, ed. 1857, *Introd.* xxv.-vi. "At the end of the Bodl. MSS. N. E. F. 819, and Fairfax, 8, is subjoined," says Mr. Park, "a notice in Latin of Gower's three principal works, and so much as relates to the *Speculum* is given by Mr. Ellis."]

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Num. 26. It occurs more than once in the Bodleian Library, and, I believe, often in private hands. There is a fine MS. of it in the British Museum. It was written in the year 1397, as appears by the following line, MSS. Bodl. 294:

"Hos ego bis deno Ricardi regis in anno."

<sup>4</sup> *To the Reder*, in Berthelet's edition. From the *Prologue*.

and Ovid's *Art of Love* is blended with the breviary. In the course of the confession, every evil affection of the human heart, which may tend to impede the progress or counteract the success of love, is scientifically subdivided, and its fatal effects exemplified by a variety of apposite stories, extracted from classics and chronicles. The poet often introduces or recapitulates his matter in a few couplets of Latin long and short verses. This was in imitation of Boethius.

This poem is strongly tinged with those pedantic affectations concerning the passion of love, which the French and Italian poets of the fourteenth century borrowed from the troubadours of Provence, and which I have above examined at large. But the writer's particular model appears more immediately to have been John of Meun's celebrated *Roman de la Rose*. He has, however, seldom attempted to imitate the picturesque imageries and expressive personifications of that exquisite allegory. His most striking portraits, which yet are conceived with no powers of creation, nor delineated with any fertility of fancy, are *Idleness*, *Avarice*, *Misery* or *Thieving*, and *Negligence*, the secretary of *Sloth*.<sup>1</sup> Instead of boldly clothing these qualities with corporeal attributes, aptly and poetically imagined, he coldly yet sensibly describes their operations, and enumerates their properties. What Gower wanted in invention, he supplied from his common-place book, which appears to have been stored with an inexhaustible fund of instructive maxims, pleasant narrations, and philosophical definitions. It seems to have been his object to crowd all his erudition into this elaborate performance. Yet there is often some degree of contrivance and art in his manner of introducing and adapting subjects of a very distant nature, which are totally foreign to his general design.

In the fourth book our confessor turns chemist; and discoursing at large on the Hermetic science, develops its principles and exposes its abuses with great penetration.<sup>2</sup> He delivers the doctrines concerning the vegetable, mineral, and animal stones, to which Falstaff alludes in Shakespeare,<sup>3</sup> with amazing accuracy and perspicuity;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. f. 62, a, col. 1; lib. v. f. 94, a, col. 1; lib. iv. f. 68, a, col. 1; lib. v. f. 119, a, col. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iv. f. 76, b, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Falstaff mentions a philosopher's or chemist's two stones. See 2nd P. Henr. IV. act iii. sc. 2. Our author abundantly confirms Doctor Warburton's explication of this passage, which the rest of the commentators do not seem to have understood. See *Ashm. Theatr. Chemic.* p. 484, 1652.

The nations bordering upon the Jews, attributed the miraculous events of that people to those external means and material instruments, such as symbols, ceremonies, and other visible signs or circumstances, which by God's special appointment, under their mysterious dispensation, they were directed to use. Among the observations which the oriental Gentiles made on the history of the Jews, they found that the Divine will was to be known by certain appearances in precious stones. The Magi of the East, believing that the preternatural discoveries obtained by means of the Urim and Thummim, a contexture of gems in the breast-plate of the Mosaic priests, were owing to some virtue inherent in those stones, adopted the

<sup>4</sup> Lib. iv. f. 77, a, col. 1.

although this doctrine was adopted from systems then in vogue, as we shall see below. In another place he applies the Argonautic expedition in search of the golden fleece, which he relates at length, to the same visionary philosophy.<sup>1</sup> Gower very probably conducted his associate Chaucer into these profound mysteries, which had been just opened to our countrymen by the books of Roger Bacon.<sup>2</sup>

In the seventh book, the whole circle of the Aristotelic philosophy is explained; which our lover is desirous to learn, supposing that the importance and variety of its speculations might conduce to sooth his anxieties by diverting and engaging his attention. Such a discussion was not very likely to afford him much consolation: especially, as hardly a single ornamental digression is admitted, to decorate a field naturally so destitute of flowers. Almost the only one is the following description of the chariot and crown of the sun; in which the Arabian ideas concerning precious stones are interwoven with Ovid's fictions and the classical mythology:

Of golde glistrend spoke and whele  
The sonne his carte<sup>3</sup> hath faire and wele,  
In whiche he sitte, and is coroned  
With brighte stones environed,  
Of which if that I speke shall  
There be to-fore in speciall  
Set in the front of his corone  
Thre stones, whiche no persone  
Hath upon erthe, and the first is  
By name cleped Iucichis.  
That other two be cleped thus  
Astrices and ceramius  
In his corone, also behinde,  
By olde bokes as I finde,  
There ben of worthy stones thre  
Set ech of hem in his degre,  
Wherof a cristall is that one,  
Which that corone is set upon.

---

knowledge of the occult properties of gems as a branch of their magical system. Hence it became the peculiar profession of one class of their sages, to investigate and interpret the various shades and coruscations, and to explain, to a moral purpose, the different colours, the dews, clouds, and imageries, which gems, differently exposed to the sun, moon, stars, fire, or air, at particular seasons, and inspected by persons particularly qualified, were seen to exhibit. This notion being once established, a thousand extravagancies arose, of healing diseases, of procuring victory, and of seeing future events, by means of precious stones and other lucid substances. See Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxvii. 9, 10. These superstitions were soon ingrafted into the Arabian philosophy, from which they were propagated all over Europe, and continued to operate even so late as the visionary experiments of Dee and Kelly. It is not in the mean time at all improbable, that the Druidical doctrines concerning the virtues of stones were derived from these lessons of the Magi: and they are still to be traced among the traditions of the vulgar, in those parts of Britain and Ireland, where Druidism retained its latest establishments. See Martin's *West. Isles*, p. 167, 225. And Aubrey's *Miscell.* p. 128. When Richard I. in 1191 took Cyprus, he is said to have found the castles filled with rich furniture of gold and silver, "necon lapidibus pretiosis, et plurimam virtutem habentibus." G. Vines. *Iter Hierosol.* cap. xli. p. 328, *Hist. Anglic. Script.* vol. ii. Oxon. 1687.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. v. f. 101, 2, seq.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> chariot.

The seconde is an adamant.  
 The thridde is noble and avenaunt,  
 Which cleped is ydiades,  
 And over this yet netheles  
 Upon the sides of the werke,  
 After the writing of the clerke,  
 There sitten five stones mo,  
 The smaragdine is one of tho,  
 Jaspis and elitropius  
 And vendides and jacinctus.  
 Lo, thus the corone is beset,  
 Wherof it shineth well the bet,  
 And in such wise his light to sprede  
 Sit with his diademe on hede  
 The sonne shinend in his carte.  
 And for to lede him swithe and sinarte  
 After the brighte daies lawe  
 There ben ordeined for to drawe  
 Four hors his chare and him withall,  
 Wherof the names telle I shall.  
 Eritheus the first is hote,  
 The which is red and shineth hote,<sup>1</sup>  
 The second Asteos the bright,  
 Lampes the thridde courfer hight,  
 And Philogeus is the ferth,<sup>2</sup>  
 That bringen light unto this erth  
 And gone so swifte upon the heven, &c.<sup>3</sup>

Our author closes this course of the Aristotelic philosophy with a system of politics: not taken from Aristotle's genuine treatise on that subject, but from the first Chapter of a spurious compilation, entitled, *Secretum Secretorum Aristotelis*,<sup>4</sup> addressed under the name of Aristotle to his pupil Alexander the Great, and printed at Bologna in 1516. This work was treated as genuine, and explained with a learned gloss by Roger Bacon:<sup>5</sup> and was of such high reputation in Gower's age, that it was transcribed, and illustrated with a commentary, for the use of Edward III. by his chaplain Walter de Millemete, prebendary of the collegiate church of Glaseney in Cornwall.<sup>6</sup> Under this head, our author takes an opportunity of giving advice to a weak yet amiable prince, his patron Richard II., on a subject of the most difficult and delicate nature, with much freedom and dignity. It might also be proved, that Gower, through this detail of the sciences, copied in many other articles the *Secretum Secretorum*, which is a sort of an abridgment of the Aristotelic philosophy, filled with many Arabian innovations and absurdities, and enriched with an appendix concerning the choice of wines, phlebotomy, justice, public notaries, tournaments, and physiognomy, rather than from the Latin translations of Aristotle. It is evident, that he copied from this work the doctrine of the three chemical stones,

<sup>1</sup> named.<sup>2</sup> fourth.<sup>3</sup> [C. F. ed. 1857, iii. 112-113.]<sup>4</sup> [A prose translation (about 1450) is in Lambeth MS. 501.—F.]<sup>5</sup> See Wood, *Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon.* lib. i. p. 15, col. 1.<sup>6</sup> Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 527. It is cited by Bradwardine, a famous English theologift, in his grand work, *De Causa Dei*. He died 1349.

mentioned above.<sup>1</sup> That part of our author's astronomy, in which he speaks of the magician Neſtabanus inſtrucing Alexander the Great, when a youth, in the knowledge of the fifteen ſtars, and their reſpective plants and precious ſtones, appropriated to the operations of natural magic, ſeems to be borrowed from Calliſthenes, the fabulous writer of the life of Alexander.<sup>2</sup> Yet many wonderful inventions, which occur in this romance of Alexander, are alſo to be found in the *Secretum Secretorum*: particularly the fiction of Alexander's Stentorian horn, mentioned above, which was heard at the diſtance of ſixty miles, and of which Kircher has given a curious representation in his *Phonurgia*, copied from an ancient picture of this gigantic inſtrument, belonging to a MS. of the *Secretum Secretorum*, preſerved in the Vatican.<sup>3</sup>

It is pretended by the myſtic writers, that Ariſtotle in his old age reviewed his books, and digeſted his philoſophy into one ſyſtem or body, which he ſent, in the form of an epiſtle, to Alexander. This is the ſuppoſitious tract<sup>4</sup> of which I have been ſpeaking; and it is thus deſcribed by Lydgate, who has tranſlated a part of it.

Title of this boke Lapis Philoſophorum,  
Namyd alſo De Regimine Principum,  
Of philoſophres Secretum Secretorum.—  
The which booke direct to the kyng  
Alyſandre, both in the werre and pees,  
Lyke his requeſt and royall commanding,  
Fulle accompliſhid by Ariſtotiles.  
Feeble of age.

Then follows a rubric "How Ariſtotile declareth to kyng Alyſandre of the ſtonys."<sup>5</sup> It was early tranſlated into French proſe,<sup>6</sup> and printed in Engliſh.<sup>7</sup> This work will occur again under Lydgate. There is alſo another forgery conſecrated with the name

<sup>1</sup> There is an Epiſtle under the name of Alexander the Great, *De Lapide Philoſophorum*, among the *Scriptores Chemici artis auriferæ*, Baſil. 1593, tom. i. See next note.

<sup>2</sup> Or from fictitious books attributed to Alexander the Great, *De ſeptem Herbis ſeptem Planetarum*, &c. See Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* tom. ii. 206. See *ſupra*. Calliſthenes is mentioned twice in this poem, Lib. vii. f. 139, b. col. 2; and vi. f. 139, b. col. 2. See a chapter of Calliſthenes and Alexander, in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, b. iv. ch. 1, *ſeq.* fol. 99, edit. *ut infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Pag. 104. See *Secretum Secretorum*, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. D. i. 5, Cap. *penult.*, lib. 5.

<sup>4</sup> [Harl. MSS. 2251 and 7333; Sloane MS. 2027.—F.]

<sup>5</sup> MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud, B. 24, K. 53. Part of this manuſcript is printed by Aſhmole, *Theatr. Chemic.* ut ſupr. p. 397. See Julius Bartolocc. tom. i. *Bibl. Rabbiniſ.* p. 475; and Joann. a Lent, *Theol. Judaic.* p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xvii. p. 737, 4to.

<sup>7</sup> [*The ſecret of ſecrets of Ariſtotyle with the gouernale of princes*, &c., tranſlated and printed by R. Copland, 1528, 8vo.] A work called [*Ariſtoles Politiques, or Diſcourſes on Gouernment*], from the French of Louis le Roy, printed in [1597], and dedicated to Sir Robert Sidney, is Ariſtotle's genuine work. In Greſham college library there is "Alexandri M. Epiſtolæ ad preceptorem Ariſtolelem, Anglice factæ." MSS. 52. But [this can ſurely have nothing to do with] Lydgate's [imperfect] poem on the ſubject, [printed by Aſhmole].

of Aristotle, and often quoted by the astrologers, which Gower might have used: it is *de Regiminibus coelestibus*, which had been early translated from Arabic into Latin.<sup>1</sup>

Considered in a general view, the *Confessio Amantis* may be pronounced to be no unpleasing miscellany of those shorter tales which delighted the readers of the middle age. Most of these are now forgotten, together with the voluminous chronicles in which they were recorded. The book which appears to have accommodated our author with the largest quantity of materials in this article, was probably a chronicle entitled *Pantheon*, or *Memoriae Seculorum*, compiled in Latin, partly in prose and partly in verse, by Geoffrey of Viterbo, a chaplain and notary to three German emperors, who died in the year 1190.<sup>2</sup> It commences, according to the established practice of the historians of this age, with the creation of the world, and is brought down to the year 1186. It was first printed at Balle in 1569.<sup>3</sup> The learned Muratori has not scrupled to insert the five last sections of this universal history.<sup>4</sup> The subject of this work, to use the laborious compiler's own expressions, is the Old and New Testament; and all the emperors and kings, which have existed from the beginning of the world to his own times: of whom the origin, end, names, and achievements are commemorated.<sup>5</sup> The authors whom our chronicler professes to have consulted for the gentile story, are only Josephus, Dion Cassius, Strabo, Orosius, Hegefippus, Suetonius, Solinus, and Julius Africanus, among whom not one of the purer Roman historians occurs. Gower also seems to have used another chronicle written by the same Godfrey, never printed, called *Speculum Regum* or the *Mirror of Kings*, which is almost as multifarious as the last; containing a genealogy of all the potentates, Trojan and German, from Noah's flood to the reign of the emperor Henry VI., according to the chronicles of the venerable Bede, Eusebius, and Ambrosius.<sup>6</sup> There are, besides, two ancient collectors of marvellous and delectable occurrences to whom our author is indebted, Cassiodorus and Isidorus. Cassiodorus<sup>7</sup> wrote, at the command of the Gothic King Theodoric, a work named *Chronicon*

<sup>1</sup> Hotting. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 255. See Pic. Mirandulan, *contra Astrolog.* lib. i. p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Jacob. Quetif. i. p. 740.

<sup>3</sup> Again, among *Scriptor. de Reb. Germanicis*, by Pistorius, 1584. Lastly in a new edit. of Pistorius, by Struvius, Ratibon, 1726, fol. There is a chronicle, I believe sometimes confounded with Godfrey's *Pantheon*, called the *Pantaleone*, from the creation to 1162, about which time it was compiled by the Benedictine monk of Saint Pantaleon at Cologne, printed by Eccard, with a German translation, in the first volume of *Scriptores Medii Aevi*, pp. 683, 945. It was continued to 1237, by Godfridus, a Pantaleonist monk. This continuation, which has considerable merit as a history, is extant in Freherus, *Rev. Germanicar.* tom. i. edit. Struvius, p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> [*Rerum Ital. Script.* vii. p. 346.

<sup>5</sup> in *proem.*

<sup>6</sup> See Lambec. ii. p. 274.

<sup>7</sup> See *Confes. Amant.* lib. vii. f. 156, b, col. 1. And our author to King Henry, v. 330. In the prologue to the *Fruetus Temporum*, printed at St. Alban's in 1483, one of the authors is "Cassiodorus of the acts of emperours and bishopps."

*Breve*, commencing with our first parents, and deduced to the year 519, chiefly from Eusebius, the chronicles of Prosper and Jerom, and Aurelius Victor's Origin of the Roman nation.<sup>1</sup> An Italian translation by Lodovico Dolce was printed in 1561.<sup>2</sup> Isidorus Hispalensis, cited by [the author of the *Life of Alexander*] and by Chaucer, in the seventh century framed from the same author a Latin Chronicle, from Adam to the time of the Emperor Heraclius, first printed in [an Italian translation at Ascoli in 1477, and republished at Friuli in 1480. The original Latin was printed in 1593].<sup>3</sup>

These comprehensive systems of all sacred and profane events, which in the middle ages multiplied to an excessive degree, superseded the use of the classics and other established authors, whose materials they gave in a commodious abridgment, and in whose place, by selecting those stories only which suited the taste of the times, they substituted a more agreeable kind of reading: nor was it by these means only, that they greatly contributed to retard the acquisition of those ornaments of style and other arts of composition, which an attention to the genuine models would have afforded, but by being written without any ideas of elegance, and in the most barbarous phraseology. Yet productive as they were of these and other inconvenient consequences, they were not without their use in the rude periods of literature. By gradually weaning the minds of readers from monkish legends, they introduced a relish for real and rational history; and kindling an ardour for inquiring into the transactions of past ages, at length awakened a curiosity to obtain a more accurate and authentic knowledge of important events by searching the original authors. Nor are they to be entirely neglected in modern and more polished ages. For, besides that they contain curious pictures of the credulity and ignorance of our ancestors, they frequently preserve facts transcribed from books which have not descended to posterity. It is extremely probable that the plan on which they are all constructed, that of deducing a perpetual history from the creation of the writer's age, was partly taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and partly from the Bible.

In the meantime there are three histories of a less general nature, which Gower seems more immediately to have followed in some of his tales. These are Colonna's [*Gest Historial of the Destruction of*] *Troy*, the *Romance of Sir Lancelot*, and the *Gesta Romanorum*.

From Colonna's history, which he calls *The Tale of Troy*, *The Book of Troy*,<sup>4</sup> and sometimes *The Cronicle*,<sup>5</sup> he has taken all that relates to

<sup>1</sup> [*Chronica ab Adamo, &c. Opera*, 1729, i.]

<sup>2</sup> *Compendio di Sesto Ruffo, con la Cronica di Cassiodoro, de Fatti de Romani, &c.* 410.

<sup>3</sup> [See Brunet, iii. 464.]

<sup>4</sup> Of Palamedes and Nauplius, "The boke of Troie whoso rede." Lib. ii. f. 52, b. col. 2. The story of Jason and Medea, "whereof the tale in speciall is in the boke of Troie writte." Lib. v. f. 101, a, col. 2. Of the Syrens seen by Ulysses, "which in the tale of Troie I finde." Lib. i. f. 10, b, col. 1. Of the eloquence of Ulysses, "As in the boke of Troie is funde." Lib. vii. f. 150, a, col. 1, &c. &c. See *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> In the story of the Theban chief Capaneus, "This knight as the *Cronike* seine."

the Trojan and Grecian story, or, in Milton's language, *The Tale of Troy Divine*. This piece was first printed at Cologne [before] 1477.<sup>1</sup> An Italian translation appeared at Venice in 1481. It was translated into Italian so early as 1324 by Filippo Ceffi, a Florentine,<sup>2</sup> [according to some, or, as others say, not till 1333, and by Matteo Bellebuoni]. By some writers it is called the British as well as the Trojan story;<sup>3</sup> and there are MSS. in which it is entitled the history of Medea and Jason. In the Italian translation it is called *La Storia Trojana*. This history is repeatedly called the *Troie Boke* by Lydgate, who translated it into English verse.<sup>4</sup>

As to the romance of *Sir Lancelot*, our author, among others on the subject, refers to a volume of which he was the hero: perhaps that of Robert [de] Borron, altered soon afterwards by Godefroy de Leigny, under the title of *Le Roman de la Charette*, and printed with additions in 1494:

For if thou wilt the *bokes* rede  
Of Launcelot and other mo,  
Then might thou seen how it was tho  
Of armes, for this wolde atteine  
To love, which, withouten peine  
Maie not be gette of idleness;  
And that I take to witnesse  
An old cronique in speciall  
The whiche into memoriall  
Is write for his loves sake,  
How that a Knight shal undertake.<sup>5</sup>

He alludes to a story about Sir Trifram, which he supposes to be universally known, related in this romance:

In every mannes mouth it is  
How Trifram was of love drunke  
With Bele Ifolde, whan they dronke

Lib. i. f. 18, b. col. 2. Of Achilles and Teucer, "In a *Cronique* I fynde thus." Lib. iii. fol. 62, a, col. 1. Of Peleus and Phocus, "As the *Cronique* seithe." Lib. iii. f. 61, b. col. 1. Of Ulysses and Penelope, "In a *Cronique* I finde writte." Lib. iv. f. 63, b. col. 2. He mentions also the *Cronique* for tales of other nations. "In the *Cronique* as I finde, Cham was he which first the letters fonde, and wrote in Hebrew with his honde, of naturall philosophie." Lib. iv. f. 76, a, col. 1. For Darius's four questions, Lib. vii. f. 151, b. col. 1. For Perillus's brazen bull, f. 8c. See below.

<sup>1</sup> [See Brunet, last edit. ii. 169.]

<sup>2</sup> See Haym's *Bibl. Italian.* p. 35, edit. Venez. 1741, 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Sandius and Hallerwood, in their Supplement to Vossius's Latin Historians, suppose Colonna's Trojan and British chronicle the same. In Theodoric Engelhusen's *Chronica Chronicarum*, compiled about the year 1420, where the author speaks of Troy, he cites Colonna *de Bello Trojano*. In the Preface he mentions Colonna's *Chronica Britannorum*. See Engelhusen's first edit. Helmst. 1671; or rather, *Scriptor. Brunsvic. Leibnit.* p. 977. See also Fabyan and other historians.

<sup>4</sup> Bochas, B. i. ch. xvi. *How the translatoure wrote a booke of the siege of Troy, called Troie Boke*. And *ib.* St. 7, 17, 20, edit. Wayland, fol. xxx. b. xxxi. a. And in Lydg. *Defer. of Troy*.

<sup>5</sup> [Edit. 1857, ii. 70.]

The drink, which Brangweine hem betok,  
Er that king Mark, &c.<sup>1</sup>

And again, in the assembly of lovers :

Ther was Tristram which was beleved  
With Bele Isolde, and Lancelot  
Stood with Gunnor,<sup>2</sup> and Galahot  
With his lady.<sup>3</sup>

The *Gesta Romanorum*, [of which a sufficiently ample account has been furnished in one of the preliminary Dissertations,] somewhat resembles the plan of Gower's poem. In the rubric of the story of Julius and the poor knight, our author alludes to this book in the expression, *Hic secundum Gesta, &c.*<sup>4</sup> When he speaks of the emperors of Rome paying reverence to a virgin, he says he found this custom mentioned, "Of Rome among the *Gestes* olde."<sup>5</sup> Yet he adds, that the *Gestes* took it from Valerius Maximus. The story of Tarquin and his son Arrous is ushered in with this line, "So as these olde *Gestes* seyne."<sup>6</sup> The tale of Antiochus, as I have hinted, is in the *Gesta Romanorum*; although for some parts of it Gower was perhaps indebted to Geoffrey's *Pantheon* above mentioned. The foundation of Shakespeare's story of the three caskets in the *Merchant of Venice* is to be found in this favourite collection: this is likewise in our author (yet in a different form) who cites a *Cronike*<sup>7</sup> for his authority. I make no apology for giving the passage somewhat at large, as the source of this elegant little apologue, which seems to be of Eastern invention, has lately so much employed the searches of the commentators on Shakespeare, and that the circumstances of the story, as it is told by Gower, may be compared with those with which it appears in other books.

The poet is speaking of a king whose officers and courtiers complained that, after a long attendance, they had not received adequate rewards, and preferments due to their services. The king, who was

<sup>1</sup> [*Ibid.* iii. 17.]

<sup>2</sup> Geneura, Arthur's queen.

<sup>3</sup> [*Ibid.* iii. 359.]

<sup>4</sup> Lib. viii. f. 153, a, col. 1. And in other rubrics. In the rubric there is also *Gesta Alexandri*, lib. iii. f. 61, a, col. 1. And in the story of Sardanapalus, "These olde *Gestes* tellen us," lib. iii. 167, a, col. 1. [But, as Ritson pointed out, the term *Gesta*, here repeatedly used, may be applicable merely to the *histories* or *chronicles* consulted by Gower.]

<sup>5</sup> Lib. v. f. 118, a, col. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. vii. f. 169, a, col. 1.

<sup>7</sup> He refers to a *Cronike* for other stories, as the story of Lucius king of Rome, and the king's fool. "In a *Cronike* it telleth us." Lib. vii. f. 165, a, col. 2. Of the translation of the Roman empire to the Lombards. "This made an emperour anon, whose name, the *Chronicle* telleth, was Othes." Prol. fol. 5, b, col. 2. Of Constantine's leprosy. "For in *Cronike* thus I rede." Lib. iii. f. 46, b, col. 2. For which he also cites "the *bokes of Latine*," ib. f. 45, a, col. 1. In the story of Caius Fabricius, "In a *Cronique* I fynde thus." Lib. vii. f. 157, a, col. 2. Of the soothsayer and the emperor of Rome. "As in *Cronike* it is witholde."—"Which the *Chronike* hath autorized." Lib. vii. f. 154, b, col. 1, f. 155, b, col. 2. Of the emperour's son who serves the Soldan of Persia. "There was as the *Cronique* feith, an emperour," &c. Lib. ii. f. 41, b, col. 1. For the story of Carmidotoirus consul of Rome, he refers to these *olde bokes*. Lib. vii. f. 157, b, col. 2, &c.

no stranger to their complaints, artfully contrives a scheme to prove whether this defect proceeded from his own want of generosity, or their want of discernment.

Anone he let two cofres make  
Of one semblaunce and of o make  
So lich, that no life thilke throwe  
That one may fro that other knowe.  
They were into his chambre brought,  
But no man wot why they be wrought.  
And netheles the king hath bede,  
That they be set in prive stede,  
As he that was of wisdom sligh.  
Whan he therto his time sigh  
All privelich, that none it wist,  
His owne hondes that o kist  
Of fine golde and of fine perrie,  
The which out of his tresorie  
Was take, anone he filde full,  
That other cofre of strawe and mull  
With stones meind he filde also.  
Thus be they fulle bothe two.

The king assembles his courtiers, and shewing them the two chefts, acquaints them, that one of these is filled with gold and jewels; that they should choose which of the two they liked best, and that the contents should instantly be distributed among them all. A knight by common consent is appointed to choose for them, who fixes upon the chest filled with straw and stones:

This king than in the same stede  
Anone that other cofre undede,  
Where as they sighen great richeffe  
Wel more than they couthen gesse.  
Lo, saith the king, now may ye se,  
That there is no defaulte in me,  
Forthy<sup>1</sup> my self I woll acquit  
And bereth ye your owne wit  
Of that fortune hath you refused.<sup>2</sup>

It must be confessed, that there is a much greater and a more beautiful variety of incidents in this story, as it is related in the *Gesta Romanorum* which Shakespeare has followed, than in Gower: and were it not demonstrable, that this compilation preceded our author's age by some centuries, one would be tempted to conclude, that Gower's story was the original fable in its simple unimproved state. Whatever was the case, it is almost certain that one story produced the other.

In speaking of our author's sources, I must not omit a book translated by the unfortunate Antony Widville, Earl Rivers, chiefly with a view of proving its early popularity. It is the *Distes* [or *Sayengis*] of [the] *Philosophres*, which Lord Rivers translated from the French

<sup>1</sup> therefore.

<sup>2</sup> [Ed. 1857, ii. 206-7.] The story which follows is somewhat similar, in which the Emperor Frederick places before two beggars two paffies, one filled with capons, the other with florins. *Ibid.*

of William de Thignonville, provost of the city of Paris, [who died in 1414,] entitled *Les diâtes moraux des philosophes, les diâtes des sages et les secrets d'Aristote*.<sup>1</sup> The English translation was printed [thrice] by Caxton, [with the date] 1477 [and again by W. de Worde in 1528]. Gower refers to this [book,] which first existed in Latin, more than once; and it is most probable, that he consulted the Latin original.<sup>2</sup>

It is pleasant to observe the strange mistakes which Gower, a man of great learning and the most general scholar of his age, has committed in this poem concerning books which he never saw, his violent anachronisms, and misrepresentations of the most common facts and characters. He mentions the Greek poet Menander, as one of the first historians or "first enditours of the olde cronike," together with Esdras, Solinus, Josephus, Claudius Sulpicius, Termegis, Pandulfe, Frigidilles, Ephiloquorus, and Pandas. It is extraordinary that Moses should not be here mentioned, in preference to Esdras. Solinus is ranked so high, because he recorded nothing but wonders;<sup>3</sup> and Josephus, on account of his subject, had long been placed almost on a level with the Bible. He is seated on the first pillar in Chaucer's *House of Fame*. His *Jewish History*, translated into Latin by Rufinus in the fourth century, had given rise to many old poems and romances:<sup>4</sup> and his *Maccabaics*, or History of the seven Maccabees martyred with their father Eleazar under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, a separate work translated also by Rufinus, produced the *Judas Maccabee* of Belleperche in the year 1240, and at length enrolled the Maccabees among the most illustrious heroes of romance.<sup>5</sup> On this account too, perhaps, Esdras is here so respectably remembered. I suppose Sulpicius is Sulpicius Severus, a petty annalist of the fifth century. Termegis is probably Trismegistus, the mystic philosopher, certainly not an historian, at least not an ancient one. Pandulf seems to be Pandulphus of Pisa, who wrote lives of the popes, and died in the year 1198.<sup>6</sup> Frigidilles is perhaps Fregedaire, a Burgundian, who flourished about the

<sup>1</sup> See *Mem. de Litt.* xvii. 745, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> Among these other "*tales wise of philosophers* in this wise I rede," &c. lib. vii. f. 143, a, col. 1, f. 142, b, col. 2, &c. See Walpole's *Cat. Royal and Noble Authors*. There is another translation done in 1450, dedicated to Sir John Fastolfe, knight, by his son-in-law *Stevyn Scrope Squyer*. MSS. Harl. 2265. William de Thignonville is here said to have translated this book into French for the use of King Charles VI. [See *Blades' Caxton*, ii. 37.]

<sup>3</sup> Our author has a story from Solinus concerning a monstrous bird, lib. iii. f. 62, b, col. 2.

<sup>4</sup> There is *Josephus de la Bataille Judaique* [translated from Latin into French, and printed at Paris, 1492, folio.] All Josephus's works were printed in the old Latin translation, at Verona, 1480, folio. They were translated into French, German, Spanish, and Italian, and printed, between the years 1492 and 1554. See [Brunet, last edit. in v.] A French translation was made in 1460, or 1463. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Paris. 7015.

<sup>5</sup> In the British Museum there is "*Maccabeorum et Josephi Historiarum Epitome, metrice*." 10 A viii. 5. MSS. Reg. See MSS. Harl. 5713.

<sup>6</sup> See the story, in our author, of Pope Boniface supplanting Celestine. "In a Cronyke of tyme ago." Lib. ii. f. 42, a, col. 2.

year 641, and wrote a Chronicle from Adam to his own times; this has been often printed, and contains the best account of the Franks after Gregory of Tours.<sup>1</sup> Our author, who has partly suffered from ignorant transcribers and printers, by Ephiloquorus undoubtedly intended Eutropius. In the next paragraph, indeed, he mentions Herodotus: yet not as an early historian, but as the first writer of a system of the metrical art, "of metre, of ryme, and of cadence."<sup>2</sup> We smile, when Hector in Shakespeare quotes Aristotle: but Gower gravely informs his reader, that Ulysses was a *clerke*, accomplished in a knowledge of all the sciences, a great rhetorician and magician: that he learned rhetoric of Tully, magic of Zoroaster, astronomy of Ptolemy, philosophy of Plato, divination of the prophet Daniel, proverbial instruction of Solomon, botany of Macer, and medicine of Hippocrates.<sup>3</sup> In the seventh book Aristotle, or the *philosopher*, is introduced reciting to his scholar Alexander the Great a disputation between a Jew and a Pagan, who meet between Cairo and Babylon, concerning their respective religions: the end of the story is to shew the cunning, cruelty, and ingratitude of the Jew, which are at last deservedly punished.<sup>4</sup> But I believe Gower's apology must be, that he took this narrative from some christian legend, which was feigned (for a religious purpose) at the expense of all probability and propriety.

The only classic Roman writers which our author cites are Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Tully. Among the Italian poets, one is surprised he should not quote Petrarch: he mentions Dante only, who in the rubric is called "a certain poet of Italy named Dante," *quidam poeta Italiæ qui Dante vocabatur*.<sup>5</sup> He appears to have been well acquainted with the Homilies of Gregory the Great,<sup>6</sup> which were translated into Italian, and printed at Milan so early as 1479. I can hardly decipher, and must therefore be excused from transcribing, the names of all the renowned authors whom our author has quoted in alchemy, astrology, magic, palmistry, geomancy, and other branches of the occult philosophy. Among the astrological writers, he mentions Noah, Abraham, and Moses. But he is not sure that Abraham was an author, having never seen any of that patriarch's works: and he prefers Trismegistus to Moses.<sup>7</sup> Cabalistical tracts were however extant, not only under the names of Abraham, Noah, and Moses,

<sup>1</sup> See Ruinart. *Dissertat. de Fredegario ejusque Operibus*, tom. ii. *Hist. Franc.* p. 443. There is also Fridegodus, a monk of Dover, who wrote [a metrical version (from *Eddius Stephanus*) of the life of Wilfrid in 656. Other works are improperly attributed to him. See Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit.* 1843-6, A-S. Per. 433-4.] Also a Frigeridus, known only by a reference which Gregory of Tours makes to the *twelfth* book of his *History*, concerning the times preceding Valentinian III., and the humiliation of Rome by Attila. *Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Francor.* lib. ii. cap. 8, 9. If this last be the writer in the text, a MS. of Frigeridus, now lost, might have existed in Gower's age.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. vi. f. 76, b, col. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. vi. f. 135, a, col. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. vii. f. 156, b, col. ii.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. vii. f. 154, b, col. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Prolog. f. 2, b, col. 1. Lib. v. f. 93, a, col. 1, 2, f. 94, a, col. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Lib. vii. f. 134, b, col. 1, vii. f. 149, b, col. 1.

but of Adam, Abel, and Enoch.<sup>1</sup> He mentions with particular regard Ptolemy's *Almagest*, the grand source of all the superstitious notions propagated by the Arabian philosophers concerning the science of divination by the stars.<sup>2</sup> These infatuations seem to have completed their triumph over human credulity in the age of Gower, who probably was an ingenious adept in the false and frivolous speculations of this admired species of study.

Gower, amidst his graver literature, appears to have been a great reader of romances. The lover, in speaking of the gratification which his passion receives from the sense of hearing, says, that to hear his lady speak is more delicious, than to feast on all the dainties that could be compounded by a cook of Lombardy. They are not so restorative

As be the wordes of her mouth.<sup>3</sup>  
For as the windes of the south  
Ben most of alle debonaire,  
So whan her list<sup>4</sup> to speke faire,  
The vertue of her goodly speche  
Is verrily min hertes leche.

These are elegant verses. To hear her sing is paradise. Then he adds :

Ful ofte time it falleth so,  
Min ere with a good pitaunce  
Is fed of reding of romaunce  
Of Ydoine and of Amadas,  
That whilom were in my cas,  
And eke of other many a score,  
That loveden longe, er I was bore,  
For whan I of her loves rede,  
Min ere with the tale I fede  
And with the lust of her hystoire.  
Somtime I drewe into memoire,  
How sorwe may nought ever last,  
And so cometh hope in ate last.

The romance of *Idoyne and Amadas* is recited as a favourite history among others, in the prologue to a [copy of the] *Cursor mundi*. I have already observed our poet's references to *Sir Lancelot*.

Our author's account of the progress of the Latin language is extremely curious. He supposes that it was invented by the old Tuscan prophetess Carmens; that it was reduced to method, to composition, pronunciation, and prosody, by the grammarians Aristarchus, Donatus, and Didymus: adorned with the flowers of eloquence and rhetoric, by Tully: then enriched by translations from the Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek languages, more especially by the version of the Hebrew bible into Latin by Saint Jerom in the fourth century: and that at length, after the labours of many celebrated writers, it received its

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*. And Morhof. Polyhist. tom. ii. p. 455, seq. edit. 1747.

<sup>2</sup> Mabillon mentions, in a MS. of the *Almagest* written before the year 1240, a drawing of Ptolemy, holding a mirror, not an optical tube, in his hand, and contemplating the stars. *Itin. Germanic.* p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> [Ed. 1857, iii. 30, 31.]

<sup>4</sup> she chooses.

final consummation in Ovid, the poet of lovers. At the mention of Ovid's name, the poet, with the dexterity and address of a true master of transition, seizes the critical moment of bringing back the dialogue to its proper argument.<sup>1</sup>

The *Confessio Amantis* was most probably written after Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*. At the close of the poem, we are presented with an assemblage of the most illustrious lovers.<sup>2</sup> Together with the renowned heroes and heroines of love, mentioned either in romantic or classical history, we have David and Bathsheba, Samson and Dalilah, and Solomon with all his concubines. Virgil, also, Socrates, Plato, and Ovid, are enumerated as lovers. Nor must we be surprised to find Aristotle honoured with a place in this gallant group: for whom, says the poet, the queen of Greece made such a syllogism as destroyed all his logic. But, among the rest, Troilus and Cressida are introduced; seemingly with an intention of paying a compliment to Chaucer's poem on their story, which had been submitted to Gower's correction: although this famous pair had been also recently celebrated in Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. And in another place, speaking of his absolute devotion to his lady's will, he declares himself ready to acquiesce in her choice, whatsoever she shall command: whether, if when tired of dancing and caroling, she should choose to play at [dice] or read *Troilus and Cressida*. This is [probably] Chaucer's poem:

That whan her list on nightes wake<sup>3</sup>  
In chambre as to carole and daunce,  
Me thenketh I may me more avaunce,  
If I may gone upon her honde,  
Than if I wonne a kinges londe.  
For whan I may her hond beclippe,  
With such gladnesse I daunce and skippe,  
Me thenketh I touche nought the floor.  
The roo, which renneth on the moor,  
Is thanne nought so light as I.

And whan it falleth other gate,  
So that her like nought to daunce,  
But on the dees to caste chaunce  
Or axe of love some demaunde  
Or elles that her list commaunde  
To rede and here of Troilus.

That this poem was written after [the] *Flower and Leaf*, [might be perhaps collected from the following passage, which appears to be an imitation of [that piece], and is no bad specimen of Gower's most poetical manner, [if we were to forget that the *Flower and the Leaf* was in all probability not in existence during Gower's life-time]. Rosiphele, a beautiful princess, but setting love at defiance, the daughter of Herupus, king of Armenia, is taught obedience to the laws of Cupid by seeing a vision of ladies:

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. f. 77, b, col. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iv. [edit. 1857, ii. 95.]

<sup>3</sup> Lib. viii. f. 158, a, col. 2.

Whan come was the month of may,<sup>1</sup>  
 She wolde walke upon a day,  
 And that was er the sonne arif,  
 Of women but a fewe it wif.  
 And forth she wente prively  
 Unto the park was faste by,  
 All softe walkend on the gras,  
 Till she came there the launde was,  
 Through which ther ran a great rivere.  
 It thought her faire and saide: Here  
 I woll abide under the shawe,  
 And bad her women to withdrawe  
 And there she stood alone stille  
 To thenke what was in her wille.  
 She figh the swote floures springe,  
 She herde gladdes foules singe,  
 She figh the bestes in her kinde,  
 The buck, the doo, the hert, the hinde,  
 The male go with the femele.  
 And so began there a quarele  
 Betwene love and her owne herte,  
 Fro which she couthe nought avertere.  
 And as she cast her eye aboute,  
 She sigh clad in one sute a route  
 Of ladies, where they comen ride  
 A longe under the wodes side.  
 On faire amblende hors they set,  
 That were all white, faire and great,  
 And everychone ride on side.  
 The fadels were of suche a pride  
 With perle and gold so well begone,  
 So riche figh she never none,  
 In kirtles and in copes riche  
 They weren clothed alle aliche  
 Departed even of white and blewe  
 With alle lustes, that she knewe,  
 They were embrouded over all,  
 Her bodies weren longe and small.  
 The beaute fair upon her face  
 It may none erthly thing deface,  
 Corounes on her hede they bere  
 As eche of hem a quene were,  
 That all the golde of Crefus halle  
 The lefte coronall of alle  
 Ne might have bought after the worth.  
 Thus comen they ridende forth.  
 The kinges doughter, which this figh,  
 For pure abafshe drewe her adrigh  
 And helde her clofe under a bough.

At length she sees riding in the rear of this splendid troop, on a horse lean, galled, and lame, a beautiful lady in a tattered garment, her saddle mean and much worn, but her bridle richly studded with gold and jewels: and round her waist were more than a hundred halters. The princefs asks the meaning of this strange procession, and is answered by the lady on the lean horse, that these are spectres

---

<sup>1</sup> [Ed. 1857, ii. 44-5.]

of ladies who, when living, were obedient and faithful votaries of love. "As to myself," she adds, "I am now receiving my annual penance for being a rebel to love:"

For I whilom no love hadde,<sup>1</sup>  
My hors is now feble and badde  
And all to-tore is min array,  
And every yere this freshe may  
These lufy ladies ride aboute,  
And I muft nedes sue<sup>2</sup> her route  
In this maner, as ye now fe  
And trusse her halters forth with me  
And am but as her horfe knave.<sup>3</sup>

The princefs then asks her, why she wore the rich bridle, so inconsistent with the rest of her furniture, her drefs, and horfe? The lady answers, that it was a badge and reward for having loved a knight faithfully for the last fortnight of her life:

Nowe have ye herd all min answe<sup>4</sup>,  
To god, madame, I you betake,  
And warneth alle for my sake,  
Of love that they be nought idel  
And bid hem thenke upon my bridel.  
And with that worde all sodeinly  
She passeth as it were a skie<sup>5</sup>  
All cleue out of this ladies fight.

My readers will easily conjecture the change which this spectacle must naturally produce in the obdurate heart of the Princefs of Armenia. There is [an indication] that the [writer of the] *Floure and Leafe* [studied] the *Confessio Amantis*. In the eighth book, our author's lovers are crowned with the Flower and Leaf:

Min eye and as I caste aboutes<sup>6</sup>  
To know among hem who was who,  
I figh where lufy youthe tho,  
As he, which was a capitein  
To-fore all other upon the plein,  
Stood with his route well begon,  
Her hedes kempt and therupon  
Garlondes, nought o colour,  
Some of the lefe, some of the floure,  
And some of grete perles were.  
The newe guise of Beawme<sup>7</sup> there.

I believe on the whole, that Chaucer had published most of his poems before this piece of Gower appeared. Gower, in a sort of Epilogue to the *Confessio Amantis* [found only in certain MSS. of the work, and perhaps of doubtful authority,] is addressed by Venus, who commands him to greet Chaucer as her favourite poet and disciple, as one who had employed his youth in composing songs and ditties to her honour. She adds at the close:

Forthy now in his daies olde<sup>8</sup>  
Thou shalt him telle this message,

<sup>1</sup> [Ed. 1857, ii. 48-9.]

<sup>4</sup> [Ed. 1857, ii. 49.]

<sup>7</sup> Boeme, Bohemia.

<sup>2</sup> follow.

<sup>5</sup> a shadow; *zua*, umbra.

<sup>8</sup> [Ed. 1857, iii. 374.]

<sup>3</sup> their groom.

<sup>6</sup> [Ed. 1857, iii. 358.]

That he upon his later age  
 To sette an end of all his werke,  
 As he, which is min owne clerke,  
 Do make his testament of love,  
 As thou hast do thy shrifte above,  
 So that my court it may recorde.

[But it is hardly to be supposed that here Gower intends the prose work so called, erroneously ascribed to Chaucer. He, it seems more likely, refers to some poetical labour, which he proposed to Chaucer, and which was never produced.] Chaucer at this time was [about fifty-two] years of age. The Court of Love, one of the pedantries of French gallantry, occurs often [in Gower]. In an address to Venus, "Madame, I am a man of thine, that in thy Court have long served."<sup>1</sup> The [confessor] observes, that for want of patience, a man ought, "among the women alle in Loves Court, by judgement the name bere of pacient."<sup>2</sup> He declares, that many persons are condemned for disclosing secrets, "In Loves Courte, as it is saide, that let her tungen gone unteide."<sup>3</sup> By Thy Shrift, the author means his own poem now before us, the Lover's Confession.

There are also many manifest evidences which lead us to conclude, that this poem preceded Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, undoubtedly some of that poet's latest compositions, and probably not begun till after the year 1382. The *Man of Laws Tale* is circumstantially borrowed from Gower's *Constantia*:<sup>4</sup> and Chaucer, in that Tale, apparently censures Gower for his manner of relating the stories of Canace and Apollonius in the third and eighth books of the *Confessio Amantis*.<sup>5</sup> The *Wife of Bath's Tale* is founded on Gower's Florent, a knight of Rome, who delivers the king of Sicily's daughter from the incantations of her step-mother.<sup>6</sup> Chaucer, however, among other great improvements, has judiciously departed from the fable, in converting Sicily into the more popular court of King Arthur.

Perhaps, in estimating Gower's merit, I have pushed the notion too far that, because he shews so much learning, he had no great share of natural abilities. But it should be considered, that when books began to grow fashionable, and the reputation of learning conferred the highest honour, poets became ambitious of being thought scholars, and sacrificed their native powers of invention to the ostentation of displaying an extensive course of reading, and to the pride of profound erudition. On this account, the minstrels of these times, who were totally uneducated, and poured forth spontaneous rhymes in obedience

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. [ed. 1857, i. 47.]

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii. [*ibid.* 303.]

<sup>3</sup> [*Ibid.* 307.] In the same strain we have Cupid's parlement. Lib. viii. f. 187, b, col. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Conf. Amant.* Lib. ii. f. 30, b, col. 2. See particularly, *ibid.* f. 35, b, col. 2, a, col. 1. And compare Ch. *Man of L. T.* v. 5505. "Some men wold sayn, &c." That is, Gower.

<sup>5</sup> See Chaucer, *ibid.* v. 4500; and *Conf. Amant.* Lib. iii. f. 48, a, col. 1, *seq.* Lib. viii. f. 175, a, col. 2, *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Lib. i. f. 15, b, col. 2.

to the workings of nature, often exhibit more genuine strokes of passion and imagination, than the professed poets. Chaucer is an exception to this observation: his original feelings were too strong to be suppressed by books, and his learning was overbalanced by genius.

This affectation of appearing learned, which yet was natural at the revival of literature, in our old poets, even in those who were altogether destitute of talents, has lost to posterity many a curious picture of manners and many a romantic image. Some of our ancient bards, however, aimed at no other merit than that of being able to verify; and attempted nothing more than to clothe in rhyme those sentiments, which would have appeared with equal propriety in prose.

In [the library at Trentham,] there is a thin oblong MS. on vellum, containing some of Gower's poems in Latin, French, and English. By an entry in the first leaf, in the hand-writing and under the signature of Thomas lord Fairfax, Cromwell's general, an antiquarian, and a lover and collector of curious manuscripts,<sup>1</sup> it appears that this book was presented by the poet Gower, about the year 1400, to Henry IV.; and that it was given by Lord Fairfax to his friend and kinsman Sir Thomas Gower knight and baronet, in the year 1656. By another entry, Lord Fairfax acknowledges to have received it, in the same year, as a present from that learned gentleman Charles Gedde Esquire, of St. Andrews in Scotland: and at the end are five or six Latin anagrams on Gedde, written and signed by Lord Fairfax, with this title: "In nomen venerandi et annoſi Amici ſui Caroli Geddei." By King Henry IV. it ſeems to have been placed in the royal library: it appears at leaſt to have been in the hands of Henry VII. while Earl of Richmond, from the name Rychemond, inſerted in another of the blank leaves at the beginning, and explained by this note, "Liber Henrici Septimi tunc Comitſ Richmond, propria manu ſcriptiſ." This MS. is neatly written, with miniated and illuminated initials: and contains the following pieces. I. A Panegyric in ſtanſas, with a Latin prologue or rubric in ſeven hexameters, on Henry IV.<sup>2</sup>—II. A ſhort Latin poem in elegiacs on the ſame

<sup>1</sup> He gave twenty-nine ancient MSS. to the Bodleian library, one of which [MSS. Fairf. No. 3] is a beautiful copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. When the Record-tower in St. Mary's Abbey at York was accidentally blown up in the grand rebellion, he offered rewards to the soldiers who could bring him fragments of the scattered parchments. Luckily, however, the numerous original evidences lodged in this repository had been just before transcribed by Roger Dodsworth; and the transcripts, which formed the ground-work of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, consisting of forty-nine large folio volumes, were bequeathed by Fairfax to the same library. Fairfax also, when Oxford was garrisoned by the parliamentary forces, exerted his utmost diligence in preserving the Bodleian library from pillage; so that it suffered much less than when that city was in the possession of the royalists.

<sup>2</sup> This poem is printed in Urry's edit. of Chaucer, 1721, p. 540. [The title is, Carmen de pacis commendatione quod ad laudem et memoriam serenissimi principis domini regis Henrici quarti suus humilis orator Johannes Gower composuit. Et nunc sequitur Epistola in qua idem Johannes pro statu et salute dicti domini sui altissimi devocius exorat.—Todd.]

subject, beginning, "Rex cœli deus et dominus qui tempora solus."<sup>1</sup> This is followed by ten other very short pieces, both in French and [Latin] of the same tendency.—III. Cinkante Balades, or Fifty Sonnets in French. Part of the first is illegible. They are closed with the following epilogue and colophon :

O gentile Engleterre a toi iescrits,  
Pour remembrer ta ioie qest nouvelle,  
Qe te survient du noble Roi Henris,  
Par qui dieus ad redrefce ta querele,  
A dieu purceo prient et cil et celle,  
Qil de sa grace au fort Roi corone,  
Doingt peas, honour, ioie et prosperite.

"Expliciunt carmina Johis Gower que Gallice composita Balades dicuntur." IV. Two short Latin poems in elegiacs. The first beginning, "Ecce patet tensus ceci Cupidinis arcus." The second, "O Natura viri potuit quam tollere nemo." V. A French poem, imperfect at the beginning, *On the Dignity or Excellence of Marriage*, in one book. The subject is illustrated by examples. I transcribe one of the stories.

"Qualiter Jafon uxorem suam Medeam relinquens, Creusam Creontis regis filiam sibi carnaliter copulavit. Unde ipse cum duobus filiis suis postea infortunatus deceffit."

Li prus Jafon qeu lisse de Colchos  
Le toison dor pour laide de Medee  
Conquist dont il donour portoit grant loos  
Par tout le monde encourt la renomée  
La joefne dame ove soi ad amenée  
De son pais en grece et lespoufa  
Freinte espoufaile dieus le vengera.  
Quant Medea meulx quide estre en repos,  
Ove son mari et qelle avoit porte  
Deux fils de luy lors changea le purpos  
El quelle Jafon primer fust obligé  
Il ad del tout Medeam refuse  
Si prist la file au roi Creon Creusa  
Freinte espoufaile dieus le vengera.  
Medea qot le coer de dolour cloos  
En son corous et ceo fust grant pite  
Sas joefnes fils queux ot jadis en clos  
Deinz ses costees ensi com forseuee  
Devant ses oels Jafon ele ad tue  
Ceo qeu fust fait pecche le fortuna  
Freinte espoufaile dieus le vengera.

Towards the end of the piece the poet introduces an apology for any inaccuracies which, as an Englishman, he may have committed in the French idiom :

Al Univerfite de tout le monde  
JOHAN GOWER ceste balade envoie ;  
Et si jeo nai de francois la faconde,  
Pardonetz moi qe jeo de ceo forvoie.  
Jeo suis Englois : si quier par tiele voie

<sup>1</sup> [Another copy in MS. Cotton. Ortho, D. i. 4.]

Estre excusé mais quoiq; nulls endie  
Lamour parfit en dieu se justifie.

It is finished with a few Latin hexameters, viz. "Quis scit vel qualis facer ordo connubialis." This poem occurs at the end of two valuable folio MSS., illuminated and on vellum, of the *Confessio Amantis*, in the Bodleian Library.<sup>1</sup>

But the *Cinquante Balades* or fifty French Sonnets, above mentioned, are the curious and valuable part of [the Gower MS.] They do not appear in any other MS. of Gower which I have examined. But if they should be discovered in any other, I will venture to pronounce that a more authentic, unembarrassed, and practicable copy than this before us, will not be produced, although it is for the most part unpointed, and obscured with abbreviations and with those misspellings which flowed from a scribe unacquainted with the French language.

To say no more, however, of the value which these little pieces may derive from being so scarce and so little known, they have much real and intrinsic merit. They are tender, pathetic, and poetical, and place our old poet Gower in a more advantageous point of view than that in which he has hitherto been usually seen. I know not if any even among the French poets themselves, of this period, have left a set of more finished sonnets; for they were probably written when Gower was a young man, about the year 1350. Nor had yet any English poet treated the passion of love with equal delicacy of sentiment and elegance of composition. I will transcribe four of these balades as correctly and intelligibly as I am able, although I must confess there are some lines which I do not exactly comprehend:<sup>2</sup>

BALADE XXXVI.

Pour comparer ce Jolif tems de Maij,  
Jeole dirrai semblable a paradis;  
Car lors chantont et Merle et Papegai,  
Les champs sont vert, les herbes sont floris;  
Lors est nature dame du paijs:  
Dont venus poingt l'amant aut tiel affai,  
*Rencontre amour nest qui poet dire nai.*  
Quant tout ceo voi, et que jeo penserai,  
Coment nature ad tout le monde suspris,  
Dont pour le temps Se fait minote et gai,  
Et jeo des autres sui soulein horspris,  
Com til qui sanz amie est vrais amis,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Fairfax iii.; and NE. F. 8. 9.; also in the MS. at All Souls' College, Oxford, xxvi., described and cited above; and in MSS. Harl. 3869. In all these and, I believe, in many others, it is properly connected with the *Confessio Amantis* by the following rubric: "Puisqu'il a dit cidevant en Englois, par voie dessample, la sotie de celui qui par amours aimie par especial, dirra ore apres en Francois a tout le mond en general un Traitee selonc les aucteurs, pour ensamplier les amants marietz," &c. It begins,

"Le creature du tout creature."

<sup>2</sup> [*Balades and other Poems*, by John Gower. Printed from the original MS. in the library of the Marquis of Stafford at Trentham; printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1813, 4to.]

Nest pas mervaille lors si jeo mesmai,  
*Rencontre amour nest qui poet dire nai.*  
 En lieu de Rose, urtie cuilleraï,  
 Dont mes chapeals ferrai par tiel devis,  
 Qe tout joie et confort jeo lerrai,  
 Si celle soule eu qui jai mon coer mis,  
 Selonc le point qe jai sovent requis,  
 Ne deigne alegger les griefs mals qe jai,  
*Rencontre amour nest qui poet dire nai.*  
 Pour pite querre et pourchacer mercis,  
 Vât'en, balade, u jeo tenvoierai,  
 Qore en certain jeo lai trefbien apris  
*Rencontre amour nest qui poet dire nai.*

## BALADE XXXIV.

Saint Valentin, lamour et la nature,  
 Des toutz oiseals ad en gouvernement,  
 Dont chascun deaux, semblable a sa mesure,  
 Une compaignie honeste a son talent  
 Eslist tout dun acord et dun assent,  
 Pour celle soule laist a covenir;  
 Toutes les autres car nature aprent  
*V li coers est le corps fait obeir.*  
 Ma douce dame, ensi jeo vous assure,  
 Qe jeo vous ai eslieu semblablement,  
 Sur toutes autres estes dessure  
 De mon amour si trefentierement,  
 Qe riens y falt pourquoi joiousement,  
 De coer et corps jeo vous voldrai servir,  
 Car de reson cest une experiment,  
*V li coers est le corps fait obeir.*  
 Pour remembrer jadis celle aventure  
 De Alceone et Ceix ensement,  
 Com dieus muoit en oisel lour figure,  
 Ma volente ferroit tout tielement  
 Qe sanz envie et danger de la gent,  
 Nous porroions ensemble por loisir  
 Voler tout francs en nostre esbatement  
*V li coers est le corps fait obeir.*  
 Ma belle oisel, vers qui mon pensement  
 Seu vole ades sanz null contretenir  
 Preu cest escript car jeo sai voirement  
*V li coers est le corps fait obeir.*

## BALADE XLIII.

Plus trichierous qe Jason a Medee,  
 A Dejanire ou q' Eracles estoit,  
 Plus q' Eneas q' avoit Dido lesee,  
 Plus qe Theseus q' Adriagne<sup>1</sup> amoit,  
 Ou Demophon quant Phillis oubloit,  
 Je trieus, helas, qamer iadis soloie,  
 Dont chanterai desore en mon endroit  
*Cest ma dolour qe fust ancois ma joie.*  
 Unques Ector qama Pantasilee,<sup>2</sup>  
 En tiele haste a Troie ne sarmoit,  
 Qe tu tout mid nes deinz le lit couche  
 Amis as toutes quelq: venir doit,  
 Ne poet chaloir mais qune femme y soit,  
 Si es comun plus qe la halte voie,  
 Helas, qe la fortune me deçoit,

<sup>1</sup> Ariadne.<sup>2</sup> Penthesilea.

*Cest ma dolour qe fuisst ançois ma joie.*  
 De Lancelot<sup>1</sup> la fuissetz remembre,  
 Et de Tristrans, com il se contenoit,  
 Generides,<sup>2</sup> Florent,<sup>3</sup> Partonope,<sup>4</sup>  
 Chascun de ceaux sa loialte guardoit ;  
 Mais tu helas qest jeo qe te forvoit  
 De moi qa toi jamais mill jour falsoie,  
 Tu es a large et jeo sui en destroit,  
*Cest ma dolour qe fuisst ançois ma joie.*  
 Des toutz les mals tu qes le plus maloit,  
 Ceste compleignte a ton oraille envoie  
 Sante me laist, et langour me recoit,  
*Cest ma dolour qe fuisst ançois ma joie.*

BALADE [xxx].

Si com la Nief, quant le fort vent tempeste,  
 Pur halte mier se torne çï et la,  
 Ma dame, ensi mon coer manit en tempeste,  
 Quant le danger de vo parole orra,  
 Le Nief qe vostre bouche soufflera,  
 Me fait sigler sur le peril de vie,  
*Quest en danger salt quil merci supplie.*  
 Rois Uluxes, sicom nous dist la geste,  
 Vers son pais de Troie qui sigla,  
 Not tiel paour du peril et moleste,  
 Quant les Sereines en la mier passa,  
 Et le danger de circes eschapa,  
 Qe le paour nest plus de ma partie,  
*Quest en danger salt quil merci supplie.*  
 Danger qui tolt damour toute la feste,  
 Unques un mot de confort ne sona,  
 Ainç plus cruel qe nest la fiere beste  
 Au point quant danger me respondera.  
 La chiere porte et quant le nai dirra,  
 Plusqz la mort mestone celle oie  
*Quest en danger salt quil merci supplie.*  
 Vers vous, ma bone dame, horispris cella,  
 Qe danger manit en vostre compaignie,  
 Ceste balade en mon message irra  
*Quest en danger salt quil merci supplie.<sup>6</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Sir Lancelot's intrigue with Geneura, King Arthur's queen, and Sir Tristram with Bel Isoulde, incidents in Arthur's romance, are made the subject of one of the stories of the French poem just cited, viz. :

"Commes sont la cronique et listoire  
 De Lancelot et Tristrans ensement," &c.

<sup>2</sup> [The hero of a romance and a ballad-poem under the same name, of which there is an account in *Handbook of Early English Literature*, in voce.]

<sup>3</sup> Chaucer's *Wife of Bathes Tale* is founded on the story of Florent, [as just stated]. His story is also in our author's *Confessio Amantis*, lib. iii. fol. 42, a, col. 1, seq. lib. viii. fol. 175, a, col. 2, seq. and in the *Gesta Romanorum*. [There is a well-known] romance called *Le bone Florence de Rome*, which begins :

"As ferre as men ride or gon."

[And which has been printed by Ritson in his *Romances*, 1802.] I know not if this be Shakespeare's Florentius, *Tam. Shr.* i. [2, Dyce's edit. 1868, iii. 122] :

"Be she as foul as was Florentius' love."

<sup>4</sup> [*Parthenope de Blois*, of which the old English version has been printed from an unique but imperfect MS. by Mr. Buckley, 1862, 4to.]

<sup>6</sup> For the use, and indeed the knowledge, of this MS. I am obliged to the unsolicited kindness of Lord Trentham; a favour which his lordship was pleased to confer with the most polite condescension. [The text has now been collated with that of 1818, and many errors of transcription thus removed.]

## SECTION XX.



NE of the reasons which rendered the classic authors of the lower empire more popular than those of a purer age, was because they were Christians. Among these, no Roman writer appears to have been more studied and esteemed, from the beginning to the close of the barbarous centuries, than Boethius. Yet it is certain, that his allegorical personifications and his visionary philosophy, founded on the abstractions of the Platonic school, greatly concurred to make him a favourite.<sup>1</sup> His *Consolation of Philosophy* was translated into the Saxon tongue by King Alfred, the father of learning and civility in the midst of a rude and intractable people, and illustrated with a commentary by Affer, bishop of Saint David's, a prelate patronized by Alfred for his singular accomplishments in literature, about the year 890. Bishop Grosseteste is said to have left annotations on this admired system of morality. There is a very ancient MS. of it in the Laurentian library.<sup>2</sup> There are few of those distinguished ecclesiastics, whose erudition illuminated the thickest gloom of ignorance and superstition with uncommon lustre, but who either have cited this performance, or honoured it with a panegyric.<sup>3</sup> It has had many imitators. Eccard, a learned French Benedictine, wrote in imitation of this *Consolation of Philosophy* a work in verse and prose containing five books, entitled the *Consolation of the Monks*, about the year 1120.<sup>4</sup> John Gerson also, a doctor and chancellor of the University of Paris, wrote the *Consolation of Theology* in four books, about the year 1420.<sup>5</sup> It was the model of [the]

<sup>1</sup> It is observable that this Spirit of Personification tinctures the writings of some of the Christian fathers about, or rather before, this period. Most of the agents in the *Shepherd of Hermas* are ideal beings. An ancient lady converses with Hermas, and tells him that she is the Church of God. Afterwards several virgins appear and discourse with him; and when he desires to be informed who they are, he is told by the Shepherd-angel, that they are Faith, Abstinence, Patience, Chastity, Concord, &c. Saint Cyprian relates, that the church appeared in a vision, *in visione per noctem*, to Colerinus; and commanded him to assume the office of Reader, which he in humility had declined. Cyprian. *Epist.* xxxix. edit. Oxon. The church appearing as a woman they perhaps had from the Scripture, *Rev.* xli. 1, *Esdras*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Mabillon, *Itin. Ital.* p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> He is much commended as a catholic and philosopher by Hincmarus archbishop of Rheims, about the year 880. *De Prædestinat. contr. Godeschalch.* tom. i. 211, ii. 62, edit. Sirmond. And by John of Salisbury, for his eloquence and argument. *Polycrat.* vii. 15. And by many other writers of the same class.

<sup>4</sup> See Trithem. cap. 387, de S. E. And *Illustr. Benedictin.* ii. 107.

<sup>5</sup> *Opp.* tom. i. p. 130, edit. Dupin. I think there is a French *Consolatio Theologiae* by one Cerifier. [John de Tambaco wrote also a *Consolation of Theology* in fifteen books, 1366. It was very early printed, without name, date, signatures, paging, or catch-word.—Herbert, MS. note.—Park.]

*Testament of Love*. It was translated into French<sup>1</sup> and English before the [close of the fourteenth century].<sup>2</sup> Dante was an attentive reader of Boethius. In the *Purgatorio*, Dante gives Theology the name of Beatrix his mistress, the daughter of Fulco Portinari, who very gravely moralizes in that character. Being ambitious of following Virgil's steps in the descent of Eneas into hell, he introduces her, as a daughter of the empyreal heavens, bringing Virgil to guide him through that dark and dangerous region.<sup>3</sup> Leland, who lived when true literature began to be restored, says that the writings of Boethius still continued to retain that high estimation which they had acquired in the most early periods. I had almost forgotten to observe, that the *Consolatio* was translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes, the most learned and ingenious of the Constantinopolitan monks.<sup>4</sup>

I can assign only one poet to the reign of Henry IV., and this a translator of Boethius.<sup>5</sup> He is called Johannes Capellanus, or John the Chaplain, and he translated into English verse the treatise *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* in the year 1410.<sup>6</sup> His name is John Walton.<sup>7</sup> He was canon of Osney, and died subdean of York. It appears probable, that he was patronized by Thomas Chaundler, among other preferments dean of the king's chapel and of Hereford cathedral, chancellor of Wells, and successively warden of Wykeham's two colleges at Winchester and Oxford. Chandler is cha-

<sup>1</sup> See Haym. p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Besides John of Meun's French version of Boethius, printed [about 1485, and afterwards reprinted] with a translation of Virgil, there is one by De Cis, or Thri, an old French poet. Matt. *Annal. Typogr.* i. p. 171. Francis. a Cruce, *Bibl. Gallie*. pp. 216, 247. [Brunet seems to indicate no fewer than three French metrical versions]. It was printed in Dutch at Ghent, 1485, fol. In Spanish at [Seville, 1499], fol. Polycarpus Leyferus, in that very scarce book *De Poesi Medii ævi*, [printed Halæ, 1721, 8vo.] enumerates many curious old editions of Boethius, pp. 95, 105. [Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus. 10, 340, and 16, 165, and Harl. MS. 2421, are copies of the prose translation of Boethius, said to be Chaucer's.—F. Printed by the Early English Text Society, ed. Morris, 1868, as above stated. As to Warton's bibliography of Boethius, the reader may compare the last edition of Brunet, i. 1035-8.]

<sup>3</sup> See *Purgat.* Cant. xxx.

<sup>4</sup> Montfauc. *Bibl. Coislin.* p. 140. Of a Hebrew version, see Wolf. *Bibl. Hebr.* i. pp. 229, 1092, 243, 354, 369.

<sup>5</sup> I am aware that Occleve's poem, called the *Letter of Cupid*, was written in this king's reign (1402). "In the year of grace joyfull and joconde, a thousand fower hundred and seconde." Urry's Chaucer, p. 537, v. 475. But there are reasons for making Occleve, as I have done, something later. Nor is Gower's *Ballade to Henry IV.* a sufficient reason for placing him in that reign. Ibid. p. 540. The same may be said of Chaucer.

<sup>6</sup> [Royal MS. 18. A. 13; Harl. MSS. 43-4; Rawlinson MSS. 151 (imperfect at beginning); Sloane MSS. 554. See also Bracegirdle's translation in hexameters and other metres, temp. Eliz. in Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 11,401.—F.]

<sup>7</sup> [A manuscript of this work noticed by Mr. Todd (and now in the possession of Sir Thomas Philipps, Bart.) has the following colophon: "Explicit liber Boecii de consolatione philosophiæ de latino in Anglicum translatus anno dñi millesimo ccccx. per Capellanum Johannem Tebaud alias Watyrbeche." *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer* (1810), Introd. p. xxxi.]

characterized by Wood as an able critic in polite literature, and by Leland as a rare example of a doctor in theology who graced scholastic disputation with the flowers of a pure latinity.<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum there is a correct MS. on parchment of Walton's translation of Boethius: and the margin is filled throughout with the Latin text, written by Chaundler above mentioned.<sup>2</sup> There is another less elegant MS. in the same collection. But at the end is this note: "Explicit liber Boecij de Consolatione Philosophie de Latino in Anglicum translatus A.D. 1410, per Capellanum Joannem."<sup>3</sup> This is the beginning of the prologue: "In suffisaunce of cunnyng and witte." And of the translation, "Alas I wretch that whilom was in welth." I have seen a third copy in the library of Lincoln cathedral,<sup>4</sup> and a fourth in Baliol college.<sup>5</sup> This is the translation of Boethius printed in the monastery of Tavistock in 1525, and in octave stanzas.<sup>6</sup> This translation was made at the request of Elizabeth Berkeley. I forbear to load these pages with specimens not original, and which appear to have contributed no degree of improvement to our poetry or our phraseology. Henry IV. died in 1399.

The coronation of Henry V. was celebrated in Westminster Hall with a solemnity proportioned to the lustre of those great achievements which afterwards distinguished the annals of that victorious monarch. By way of preserving order, and to add to the splendour of the spectacle, many of the nobility were ranged along the sides of the tables on large war-horses at this stately festival which, says my chronicle, was a second feast of Ahasuerus.<sup>7</sup> But I mention this ceremony, to introduce a circumstance very pertinent to our purpose; which is, that the number of harpers in the hall was innumerable,<sup>8</sup> and these undoubtedly accompanied their instruments with heroic rhymes. The king, however, was no great encourager of the popular minstrelsy, which seems at this time to have flourished in the highest degree of perfection. When he entered the city of London in triumph after the battle of Agincourt, the gates and streets were hung with tapestry, representing the histories of ancient heroes; and children were placed in artificial turrets, singing verses.<sup>9</sup> But Henry, disgusted at these secular vanities, commanded by a formal edict, that for the future no songs should be recited by the harpers, or others, in praise of the recent victory.<sup>10</sup> This prohibition

<sup>1</sup> Wood, *Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* ii. p. 134. Leland, *Script. Brit.* art. *Chaundlerus*.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Harl. 43, 1. And MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. 75.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Harl. 44.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. i. 53.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. B. 5. He bequeathed his *Biblia* and other books to this library.

<sup>6</sup> There is an English translation of Boethius by one George Colvil or Colde-well, bred at Oxford, with the Latin, "according to the boke of the translatour, which was a very old printe." Dedicated to Queen Mary, and printed in 1556.

<sup>7</sup> Elmham, *Vit. et Gest. Henr. V.* edit. Hearne, cap. xii. p. 23. Compare Lel. *Coll.* Append. iii. 226, edit. 1770.

<sup>8</sup> Elmham, *ubi sup.* p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* cap. xxxi. p. 72.

<sup>10</sup> "Cantus de suo triumpho fieri, seu per Citharistas vel alios quoscunque,

had no other effect than that of displaying Henry's humility, perhaps its principal and real design. Among many others, a minstrel-piece [attributed to John Lydgate],<sup>1</sup> soon appeared, evidently adapted to the harp, on the *Siege of Harflete and the Battle of Agincourt*. It was written about the year 1417. These are some of the most spirited lines :

Sent Jorge be fore our kyng they dyd se,<sup>a</sup>  
 They trompyd up full meryly,  
 The grete battell to gederes yed,<sup>a</sup>  
 Our archorys<sup>4</sup> they schot ful hartely,  
 They made the Frenche men faste to blede,  
 Her arrowys they went with full good spede.  
 Oure enemyes with them they gan down throwe  
 Thorow breste plats, habourgenys, and basnets.<sup>5</sup>  
 Eleven thousand was slayne on a rew.<sup>6</sup>  
 Deters of dethe men myȝt well deme,  
 So fercelly in ffelde theye gan fythe.<sup>7</sup>  
 The heve upon here helmyts schene<sup>8</sup>  
 With axes and with swerdys bryȝt.  
 When oure arowys were at a flyȝt,<sup>9</sup>  
 Amon the Frenche men was a wel fory schere.<sup>10</sup>  
 Ther was to bring of gold bokyld<sup>11</sup> so bryȝt  
 That a man myȝt holde a strong armoure.  
 Owre gracyus kyng men myȝt knowe  
 That day foȝt with hys owene hond,  
 The erlys was dyscomwityd up on a rowe,<sup>12</sup>  
 That he had slayne understond.  
 He there schevyd<sup>13</sup> oure other lordys of thys lond,  
 Forlothe that was a ful fayre daye.  
 Therefore all England maye this syng  
 Laws<sup>14</sup> Deo we may well saye.  
 The Duke of Glocester, that nys so nay,  
 That day full wordely he wroȝt,  
 On every side he made goode waye,  
 The Frenche men faste to grond they browȝt.  
 The erle of Hontynton sparyd noȝt,  
 The erle of Oxynforthe layd on all foo,  
 The young erle of Devynschyre he ne rouȝt,  
 The Frenche men fast to grunde gan goo.  
 Our Engliȝmen thei were froul seked do  
 And ferce to fyȝt as any lyone.  
 Basnets bryȝt they crafyd a to,  
 And bet the French banerys adoune ;  
 As thonder-strokys ther was a scownde,  
 Of axys and sperys ther they gan glyd.  
 The lordys of Franyse loȝt her renowne

Cantari, penitus prohibebat." *Ibid.* p. 72. And *Hearnii Prefat.* p. xxix. *seq.* § viii. See also Holinsh. *Chron.* iii. p. 556, col. 1, 40.

<sup>1</sup> [See the Percy Folio MS. ii. 159-60.—F.]

<sup>2</sup> "The French saw the standard of Saint George before our king."

<sup>3</sup> This is Milton's "Together rush'd both battles main."

<sup>4</sup> archers.

<sup>5</sup> breast-plates, habergeons and helmets.

<sup>6</sup> row.

<sup>7</sup> fight.

<sup>8</sup> "They struck upon their bright helmets."

<sup>9</sup> flying.

<sup>10</sup> much distress.

<sup>11</sup> buckled.

<sup>12</sup> I believe it is "The earls he had slain were all thrown together on a heap or in a row;" [discomfited?]

<sup>13</sup> shewed.

<sup>14</sup> laus.

With grefoly wondys they gan abyde.  
 The Frensche men, for all here pryde,  
 They fell downe all at a flyst:  
*Je me rende* they cryde, on every syde,  
 Our Englys men they understod noȝt aȝt.  
 Their pollaxis owt of her hondys they twiȝt,  
 And layde ham along fryte upon the graffe.  
 They sparyd nother deuke, erlle, ne knyght.<sup>1</sup>

These verses are much less intelligible than some of Gower's and Chaucer's pieces, which were written fifty years before. In the mean time we must not mistake provincial for national barbarisms. Every piece now written is by no means a proof of the actual state of style. The improved dialect, which yet is the estimate of a language, was confined only to a few writers, who lived more in the world and in polite life, and it was long before a general change in the public phraseology was effected. Nor must we expect among the minstrels, who were equally careless and illiterate, those refinements of diction which mark the compositions of men who professedly studied to embellish the English idiom.

Thomas Occleve is the first poet that occurs in the reign of Henry V. I place him about the year 1420. Occleve is a feeble writer, considered as a poet, and his chief merit seems to be that his writings contributed to propagate and establish those improvements in our language which were now beginning to take place. He was educated in the municipal law,<sup>2</sup> as were both Chaucer and Gower; and it reflects no small degree of honour on that very liberal profession that its students were some of the first who attempted to polish and adorn the English tongue.

The titles of Occleve's pieces, [several] of which have been [now] printed, indicate a coldness of genius, and on the whole promise no gratification to those who seek for invention and fancy. Such as, *The tale of Jonathas and of a wicked woman*.<sup>3</sup> *Fable of a certain em-*

<sup>1</sup> Printed [from MSS. Cotton. *Vitell.* D. xii. 11, fol. 214,] by Hearne, Elmham, ut sup. Append. p. 359, Num. vi. See p. 371, *seq.* [Of another performance of the same kind, copies are at Holkham, in Harl. MSS. 753 and 2256 (the last partly printed in *Archæologia*, xxii. 350-78), MS. Bodley, 124 (imperf. and printed *ibid.* xxi. 43-78), and in one of the Egerton MSS. The latter, which is of later date, was purchased for the British Museum at Lord Charlemont's sale in 1865. But almost all the MSS. differ from each other; see Sir F. Madden's remarks, *Arch.* xxii. 350 *et seq.* See *Rem. of the Early Pop. Poetry of England*, ii. 82. Another and less interesting narrative of the same event is inserted in the collection just quoted from an old printed copy in the Bodleian among Selden's books. The latter seems to be a sort of popular abridgment or *risacciento*.] See *Observat. on Spens.* ii. 41. Dr. Percy has printed an ancient ballad on this subject. *Reliques*, vol. ii. p. 24, edit. 1767. See Hearne's *Prefat.* ut sup. p. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> He studied in Chestres-inn, where Somerset-house now stands. See Buck, *De tertia Angliæ Accademia*, cap. xxv.

<sup>3</sup> *Ubi infr.* Bibl. Bodl. MSS. From the *Gesta Romanorum*. [A modernized version is in the *Shepherds Pipe*, 1614, by W. Browne, who tells us that he had all the writer's pieces by him. See Browne's *Works*, edit. Hazlitt, i. Introd. and Ritfon's *Bibl. Poetica*, v. Hoccleve, for a more ample list of his works, and compare James's *Iter Lancastrense*, ed. Corser, lix. Sixteen of Hoccleve's poems were printed in 1796 by Mr. George Mason from a MS. which he had bought at Dr.

peres.<sup>1</sup> A prologue of the nine lessons that is read over Allhalow-day.<sup>2</sup> The most profitable and holisome craft that is to cunne,<sup>3</sup> to lerne to dye.<sup>4</sup> Consolation offered by an old man.<sup>5</sup> Pentasticon to the king. Mercy as defined by Saint Austin. Dialogue to a friend.<sup>6</sup> Dialogue between Occleve and a beggar.<sup>7</sup> The letter of Cupid.<sup>8</sup> Verses to an empty purse.<sup>9</sup> But Occleve's most considerable poem is a piece called a translation of Egidius *De Regimine Principum*,<sup>10</sup> [addressed to Prince Henry, son of Henry IV., and consequently written before 1413.]

This is a sort of paraphrase of the first part of Aristotle's epistle to Alexander above mentioned, entitled *Secretum Secretorum*, by the said Egidius, and of Jacobus de Cassolis, whom he calls Jacob de Cassolis. Egidius, a native of Rome, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas, eminent among the schoolmen by the name of Doctor Fundatissimus, and an archbishop, flourished about the year 1280. He wrote this Latin tract in three books (*De Regimine Principum*, or the *Art of*

Askew's sale, and which was afterwards in the Heber collection. At Heber's sale it was bought for Sir Thomas Philipps.]

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Seld. *supr.* 53, Digb. 185, Laud. K. 78, MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 17 D. vi. 2. This story seems to be also taken from the *Gesta Romanorum*. Pr. "In the Roman actys writyn."

<sup>2</sup> *Ubi supr.* Bibl. Bodl. MSS.

<sup>3</sup> know.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Bodl. *ut supr.* and MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 17 D. vi. 3, 4, the best manuscript of Occleve.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. Digb. 185. More [Cant.] 427, [and see Horne's Catal. MSS. Queen's Coll. Camb. ii. 1000, *ut infra*.]

<sup>6</sup> MSS. Seld. *ut supr.*

<sup>7</sup> MSS. Harl. 4826, 6.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. Digb. 181, MSS. Arch. Bodl., Seld. B. 24. It is printed in Chaucer's Works, Urr. p. 534. Bale [MS. Glynn] mentions one or two more pieces, particularly *De Theseo Atheniensis*, lib. i. Pr. "Tum esset, ut veteres historiarum tradunt." This is the beginning of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, and there are other pieces in the libraries.

<sup>9</sup> This, and the *Pentasticon ad Regem*, are in MSS. Fairf. xvi. Bibl. Bodl. and in the editions of Chaucer. But the former appears to be Chaucer's, from the twenty additional stanzas not printed in Urry's *Chaucer*, page 549. MSS. Harl. 2251. 133, fol. 298.

<sup>10</sup> [Pinkerton (*Anc. Scottish Poems*, ii. 472-3) notices a quite different version in Maitland's folio MS. in the Pepys Library, beginning at p. 96, "Richt as all stringis ar cupillit in ane harpe," and being in 2 Parts. Part 2 beginning, p. 101, "Justice will have ane general presedent," and ending p. 105.—F. From the *Boke of Curtesye* or *Lytyll John*, printed by Caxton, and attributed to Chaucer by Urry :

"Beholde Ocklyf in his translation,  
In goodly langage and sentence passyng wyfe :  
How he gyueth his prynce suche exortacion  
As to the hyest he coude best deuysfe :  
Of trouthe, pees, mercy and iustise,  
And vertues leeting for no slouthes,  
To do his deuoir and quite him of his trouthe."—*Park*.

*De Regimine Principum* has been edited for the Roxburghe Club by Mr. T. Wright, 1860. In the library of Queen's College, Cambridge, is an English poem by Occleve, entitled *Consolatio sibi Oblata*, MS. on vellum in folio, fourteenth century (Horne's Cat. ii. 1000). The *Boke of Curtesye*, above quoted by Park, has been printed by Mr. Furnivall from Caxton's edition (1477-8), with two other texts (Oriell MS. 79, and Baliol MS. 354), in the Early English Text Society's Extra Series, 1868.]

*Government*) for the use of Philip le Hardi, son of Louis, king of France, a work highly esteemed in the middle ages, and translated early into Hebrew, French,<sup>1</sup> and Italian. In those days ecclesiastics and schoolmen presumed to dictate to kings, and to give rules for administering states, drawn from the narrow circle of speculation, and conceived amid the pedantries of a cloister. It was probably recommended to Occleve's notice by having been translated into English by John Trevisa, a celebrated translator about the year 1390.<sup>2</sup> The original was printed at Rome in 1482, and at Venice 1498, and, I think, again at the same place in 1598.<sup>3</sup> The [Spanish] translation was printed at Seville, in folio, 1494, "Trasladó de Latin en Romance Don Bernardo Obispo de Osma; impresso por Meynardo Ungut Alemano et Stanislao Polono companeros." The printed copies of the Latin are very rare, but the manuscripts innumerable. A third part of the third book, which treats *De Re Militari Veterum*, was printed by Hahnus in 1722.<sup>4</sup> One of Egidius's books, a commentary on Aristotle *de Anima*, is dedicated to our Edward I.<sup>5</sup>

Jacobus de [Cassolis,] or of Casali in Italy, another of the writers copied in this performance by our poet Occleve, was a French Dominican friar about the year 1290, and wrote in four parts a Latin treatise on chess, or, as it is entitled in some manuscripts, *De moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super Ludo Scaccorum*. In a parchment manuscript of the Harleian Library, neatly illuminated, it is thus entitled, *Liber Moralis de Ludo Scaccorum, ad honorem et solacium Nobilium et maxime ludencium, per fratrem Jacobum de Cassulis ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*. At the conclusion, this work appears to be a translation.<sup>6</sup> It was printed at Milan in 1479. I believe it was as great a favourite as Egidius on *Government*, for it was translated into French by Jean Ferron [in 1347, and dedicated to Bertrand de Auberi, and also by] John Vignay, a monk Hospitaller of Saint [Jacques] du Haut-[pas],<sup>7</sup> under the patronage of [John, duke of Normandy (after-

<sup>1</sup> Wolf. Biblioth. Hebr. tom. iii. p. 1206. It was translated into French by Henry de Gand, at the command of Philip, king of France. *Mem. de Lit.* tom. xvii. p. 733, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 233. *Princip*. "To his special, [&c.] politik sentence that is." In this manuscript there is an elegant picture of a monk or ecclesiastic, presenting a book to a king.

<sup>3</sup> All in folio. Those of 1482 and 1598 are in the Bodleian Library. In All-Souls College Library at Oxford there is a manuscript, *Tabula in Ægidium de Regimine Principum*, by one Thomas Abyndon. MSS. G. i. 5.

<sup>4</sup> In the first tome of *Collectio Monumentorum veter. et recent. ineditorum*. E. Cod. MS. in Biblioth. Obrecktina. The curious reader may see a full account of *Ægidius de Regimine Principum* in Morlier, *Essais de Littérature*, tom. i. p. 198, seq.; and of the Venetian edition in 1498, in Theophilus Sincerus, *De Libris Rariorib.* tom. i. p. 82, seq.

<sup>5</sup> Cave, p. 755, edit. 1688.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. Harl. 1275, 1; [MSS. Magd. Coll. Oxf. (dated 1456, and transcribed by Symon Aylward), MSS. No. 12.]

<sup>7</sup> Who also translated the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, and the *Specu-*

wards King of France), before the year 1350,] with the title of *Le Jeu des Echecs moralisé*, or *Le traite des Nobles et de Gens du Peuple selon le Jeu des Echecs*. This was afterwards translated by Caxton, who did not know that the French was a translation from the Latin, and who called his version the *Game of the Chefs*. It was also translated into German verse by Conrad van Ammenhasca<sup>1</sup> [in 1337, and at a later period into German prose, the latter of which was printed in 1477.]

Occeleve's poem was never printed [till lately.] This is a part of the [Address to the King :]<sup>2</sup>

Aristotle, most famous philosofre,<sup>3</sup>  
 His epistles to Alisaundre sent;  
 Whos sentence is wel bette than golde in cofre,  
 And more holfumer grounded in trewe entent:  
 For all that ever tho Epistles ment,  
 To sette was this worthy conquerour,  
 In reule how to sustene his honour,  
 The tendir love and the fervent chiertie,  
 That this worthy clerk ay to this kyng bere,  
 Trustyng his welthe durable to be,  
 Unto his hert flak and satte so nere,  
 That by writyng his counseille yave he clere  
 Unto his lorde to kepe hym fro myschaunce,  
 As witnesse the his booke of governaunce.<sup>4</sup>  
 Of whiche and of Gyes of Regement<sup>5</sup>  
 Of Prynces plotmele, thynke I to translete, &c.  
 My dere maister, God his soule quyte,  
 And fader Chaucer fayne would me han taught,  
 But I was dulle, and lernede right naught.  
 Allas my worthy maister honorable,  
 This londes verray trefour and richeffe,  
 Dethe by thy dethe hathe harme irreperable  
 Unto us none: hir vengeable dureffe  
 Dispoilede hathe this londe of the swetnesse  
 Of rettoryk, for unto Tullius  
 Was never man so like amonge us.  
 Also who was heir in phylosofye  
 To Aristotle in our tunge but thou?

*lum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. *Vie de Petr.* tom. iii. p. 548, and *Mem. Lit.* xvii. 742, 746, 747, edit. 4to.

<sup>1</sup> See Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 471, ii. p. 818. Lambec. tom. ii. *Bibl. Vindob.* p. 848.

<sup>2</sup> [The present text has received some emendations from Harl. MSS. 116 and 4866, and Royal MS. 17. D. vi.—*Price*. An imperfect MS. was sold among the books of the Rev. Thomas Corser, of Stand, in 1869. The text used by Mr. Wright was the Royal MS.]

<sup>3</sup> Gerard Langbaine, speaking of the *De Regimine Principum*, by Occeleve, says that it is "collected out of Aristotle, Alexander, and Ægidius on the same, and Jacobus de Cassolis (a fryar preacher) his book of chefs, viz. that part where he speaks of the king's draught," &c. *Bibl. Bodl. MSS.* Langb. Cod. xv. page 102. [In the same Langbaine MS. some lines occur, which form part of the Dialogue prefixed to Occeleve's poem, as edited by Mr. Wright in 1860.]

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle's *Secretum Secretorum*.

<sup>5</sup> Ægidius *de Regimine Principum*.

The steppes of Virgile in poyfye  
 Thou folwedest eke : men wote well ynow  
 That combre-worlde<sup>1</sup> that the my maister slowe :<sup>2</sup>  
 Wolde I slayne were ! dethe was to hastyfe  
 To renne on the, and reve the thy lyfe :

She myght han taryede hir vengeance a while  
 Til that some man hade egal to theb be :  
 Nay, lete be that ! she knewe wel that this yle  
 May never man bryng forthe like to the,  
 And hir offis nedes do mote she ;  
 God bade hir do so, I truste for the beste,  
 O maister, maister, God thy soulè reste !

In [the Proem, which is partly in the form of a dialogue], we have these pathetic lines, which seem to flow warm from the heart, to the memory of the immortal Chaucer, who I believe was rather Occleve's model than his master, or perhaps the patron and encourager of his studies :

But weleaway, so is myne hert wo  
 That the honour of Engliſhe tonge is dede,  
 Of whiche I was wonte have counſeille and rede !  
 O maister dere and fader reverent,  
 My maister Chaucer, floure of eloquence,  
 Mirrour of fructuous entendement,  
 O univerſal fader in ſcience,  
 Allas, that thou thyne excellent prudence  
 In thy bedde mortelle myghtest not bequethe,  
 What eyled dethe ? allas why wold he fle the !  
 O dethe, that didst noe harme ſingulere  
 In ſlaughtre of hym, but alle this londe it ſmerteth :  
 But natheles yit haſt thow no powere  
 His name to ſlee, his hye vertu aſtartethe  
 Unſlayne fro the, whiche ay us lyfly hertethe  
 Withe bookes of his ornat endityng,  
 That is to alle this londe enlumynyng.<sup>3</sup>

Occleve seems to have written some of these verses immediately on Chaucer's death, and to have introduced them long afterwards into this Prologue.

It is in the royal manuscript of this Poem in the British Museum

<sup>1</sup> [*i. e.* death.] The expression seems to be taken from Chaucer, where Troilus says of himself, "I combre-world, that maie of nothing serve." *Tr. and Cress.* v. 279.

<sup>2</sup> flew.

<sup>3</sup> [Edit. 1860, p. 71.] MSS. Rawlins. 647. fol. This poem has at the end "Explicit Ægidius de Regimine Principum" in MSS. Laud. K. 78. Bibl. Bodl. See also *ibid.* MSS. Selden. sup. 53. Digb. 185. MSS. Ashmol. 40. MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1. 17 D. xviii. MSS. Harl. 4826. 7. and 4866. In some of these [occurs a dialogue of some length between an old man and the author, in which many curious biographical particulars respecting the latter may be found, and which precedes the dedication in Mr. Wright's edition.] Occleve, in the [Address or Dedication] cited in the text, mentions Jacobus de Cassolis as one of his authors, which in the Museum MSS. precedes the translation of Ægidius. [The work of Cassolis, to which Occleve referred here, was the *Game of the Chess* moralized, which from a French translation was rendered into English, and printed by Caxton twice.]

that Occleve has left a drawing of Chaucer:<sup>1</sup> according to which Chaucer's portraiture was made on his monument, in the chapel of Saint Blase in Westminster Abbey, by the benefaction of Nicholas Brigham in the year 1556.<sup>2</sup> From this drawing, in 1598, John Speed procured the print of Chaucer prefixed to Speght's edition of his Works; which [was subsequently] copied in a most finished engraving by Vertue.<sup>3</sup> Yet it must be remembered, that the same drawing occurs in an Harleian MS. written about Occleve's age,<sup>4</sup> and in another of the Cottonian department.<sup>5</sup> Occleve himself mentions this drawing in his *Consolatio Servilis*. It exactly resembles the curious picture on board of our venerable bard, preserved in the Bodleian gallery at Oxford. I have a very old picture of Chaucer on board, much like Occleve's, formerly kept in Chaucer's house, a quadrangular stone-mansion at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, which commanded a prospect of the ancient magnificent royal palace, and of many beautiful scenes in the adjacent park: and whose last remains, chiefly consisting of what was called Chaucer's bed-chamber, with an old carved oaken roof evidently original, were demolished [in the last century only.] Among the ruins they found an ancient gold coin of the city of Florence.<sup>6</sup> Before the grand rebellion, there was in the windows of the church of Woodstock an escutcheon in painted glass of the arms of Sir Payne Rouet, a knight of Henault, whose daughter Chaucer married.

Occleve, in this poem and in others, often celebrates Humphrey, duke of Gloucester<sup>7</sup> who, at the dawn of science was a singular promoter of literature, and (however unqualified for political intrigues) the common patron of the scholars of the times. A sketch of his character in that view is therefore too closely connected with our subject to be censured as an unnecessary digression. About the year 1440, he gave to the university of Oxford a library containing six hundred volumes, only one hundred and twenty of which were valued at more than one thousand pounds. These books are called *Novi Tractatus*, or New Treatises, in the university-register,<sup>8</sup> and said to be *admirandi apparatus*.<sup>9</sup> They were the most splendid and costly copies that could be procured, finely written on vellum, and elegantly embellished with miniatures and illuminations. Among the rest was a translation into French of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> He was of Caverham in Oxfordshire. Educated at Hart-Hall in Oxford, and studied the law. He died at Westminster, 1559.

<sup>3</sup> In Urry's edit. 1721, fol.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Harl. 4866. The drawing is at fol. 91.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. Cotton. Oth. A. 18. [The Chaucer part is burnt.—F.]

<sup>6</sup> I think a Florentine, anciently common in England. Chaucer, *Pardon. Tale*, v. 2290. "For that the Florains ben so faire and bright." Edward III., in 1344, altered it from a lower value to 6s. 8d. The particular piece I have mentioned seems about that value.

<sup>7</sup> As he does John of Gaunt.

<sup>8</sup> Reg. F. fol. 52, 53, b. *Epist.* 142.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 57, b, 60, a, *Epist.* 148.

<sup>10</sup> Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 58, edit. 1770.

Only [four specimens] of these valuable volumes [have been] suffered to remain [and of them two are in the British Museum.] [One] is a beautiful MS. in folio of Valerius Maximus, enriched with the most elegant decorations, and written in Duke Humphrey's age, evidently with a design of being placed in this sumptuous collection. All the rest of the books which, like [these,] being highly ornamented, looked like missals, and conveyed ideas of popish superstition, were destroyed or removed by the pious visitors of the university in the reign of Edward VI., whose zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice. A great number of classics, in this grand work of reformation, were condemned as antichristian.<sup>1</sup> In the library of Oriel college at Oxford, we find a MS. *Commentary on Genesis*, written by John Capgrave,<sup>2</sup> a monk of Saint Austin's monastery at Canterbury, a

<sup>1</sup> Some however had been before stolen or mutilated. Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 58, edit. 1770.

<sup>2</sup> [By favour of Mr. Bliss of the Bodleian Library I am enabled to add, that Capgrave appears from one of the Rawlinson MSS. No. 118, to have been a considerable maker of verse, and the translator of a life of St. Catherine, written by Athanasius in Greek, rendered from that language into Latin by a priest named Arreck, and finally into English verse by Capgrave. Prefixed is an account of the work written by Sir Henry Spelman, in whose possession probably the volume once was, and of whom it deserves therefore to be remembered that he had stored up the production of a poet of the fourteenth century, at a time when the scattered remains of our poetical writers were more than commonly neglected. His description of the nature of the poem and of its authors it may be desirable to give : " A preifte, which this author, Jo. Capgrave, nameth Arreck, having hearde much of St. Katherin, bestowed eighteen years to searche out her life : and, for that purpose, spent twelve of them in Greece. At last, by direction of a vision in the days of Peter K. of Cyprus and Pope Urban V., he digged up in Cyprius an old booke of that very matter, written by Athanasius byshop of Alexandria (but whether he that made the Creede or not the author doubteth) and hidden there 100 yeares before by Amylon Fitz Amarack. Then did this Arreck compile her story into Latyn, saithe this author :

' For out of Greek he hath it first runge  
This holy lyfe into the Latyn tounge.'

And then also did he make it into English verse ; but leaving it unperfected, and in obscure rude English, Capgrave not only enlarged it, but refyned it to the phrase of his tyme, as himselfe testifyeth, speaking of the preift to St. Katherin :

' He made thy life in English tounge full wel,  
But yet he died or he had fully doo,  
And that he made, it is ful harde therto  
Right for strangnesse of his dark language.  
He is now dead ; thou hast give him his way,  
Now wil I, lady, more openly make thy life,  
Out of his worke yf thou wilt helpe therto.'

This preifte, as Capgrave also sheweth, died at Lynn, many yeares before his tyme, where Capgrave was a regular : for he saithe in his Prologue :

' Yf ye wil wite what that I am,  
My country is Norfolk, of the towne of Lynn.  
Out of the world, to my profit I cam,  
Unto the brotherhood which I am in.  
God send me grace never to blynn

learned theologist of the fourteenth century [and the reputed author of John of Tynemouth's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, published in 1516.] It is the author's autograph, and the work is dedicated to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. In the superb initial letter of the dedicatory epistle is a curious illumination of the author Capgrave, humbly presenting his book to his patron the duke, who is seated and covered with a sort of hat. At the end is this entry, [probably not] in the hand-writing of Duke Humphrey. "*Cest livre est a moy Humfrey duc de Gloucestre du don de frere Jehan Capgrave, quy le me fist presenter a mon manoyr de Penfberst le jour . . . de l'an. MCCCXXXVIII.*"<sup>1</sup> This is one of the books which Humphrey gave to his new library at Oxford, destroyed or dispersed by the active reformers of the young Edward.<sup>2</sup> John Whethamstede, a learned abbot of Saint Alban's, and a lover of scholars, but accused by his monks of neglecting their affairs, while he was too deeply engaged in studious employments and in procuring transcripts of useful books,<sup>3</sup> notwithstanding his unwearied assiduity in beautifying and enriching their monastery,<sup>4</sup> was in high favour with this munificent prince.<sup>5</sup> The duke was fond of visiting this monastery, and employed Abbot Whethamstede to collect valuable books for him.<sup>6</sup> Some of Whethamstede's tracts, MSS. copies of

---

To follow the steps of my faders before,  
Which to the rule of Austen were swore."

These may afford sufficient specimens of the poet's style: of the subject chosen no notice can be required.—*Park.*]

<sup>1</sup> Cod. MSS. 32.

<sup>2</sup> He gave also Capgrave *super Exodum et Regum libros*. Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. fol. 67, b.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, vol. i. See *Dissertat.* i. We are told in this abbot's *Gesta*, that soon after his instalment he built a library for his abbey, a design which had long employed his contemplation. He covered it with lead, and expended on the bare walls, besides desks, glazing, and embatteling, or to use the expressions of my chronologer, *deducta vitriacione, crestatione, positione descorum*, upwards of one hundred and [forty] pounds. *Apud* Hearne's *Otterbourne*, vol. i. Præfat. Append. p. cxxiii. ed. 1732. He founded also a library for all the students of his monastery at Oxford. *Ibid.* p. cxiii. And to each of these students he allowed an annual pension, at his own expence, of thirteen shillings and four-pence. *Ibid.* p. cxviii. See also p. cxxix. A grand transcript of the *Postilla* of Nicholas de Lyra on the Bible was begun during his abbacy, and at his command, with the most splendid ornaments and hand-writing. The monk who records this important anecdote, lived soon after him, and speaks of this great undertaking, then unfinished, as if it was some magnificent public edifice. "God grant," says he, "that this work in our days may receive a happy consummation!" *Ibid.* p. cxvi.

<sup>4</sup> Among other things, he expended forty pounds in adorning the roof and walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel with pictures. *Gest.* ut *supr.* p. cx. He gave to the choir of the church an organ, than which, says my chronicler, there was not one to be found in any monastery in England, more beautiful in appearance, more pleasing for its harmony, or more curious in its construction. It cost upwards of fifty pounds. *Ibid.* p. cxxviii. His new buildings were innumerable: and the Master of the Works was of his institution, with an ample salary. *Ibid.* p. cxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 437.

<sup>6</sup> Leland, *ibid.* 442, 432. See also Holinsh. *Chron.* f. 488, b. And f. 1234, 1235, 1080, 868, 662. Weever, *Fun. Mon.* pp. 562, 574. Whethamstede erected in his life-time the beautiful tabernacle or shrine of stone, now remaining, over

which often occur in our libraries, are dedicated to the duke:<sup>1</sup> who presented many of them, particularly a fine copy of Whethamstede's *Granarium*,<sup>2</sup> an immense work which Leland calls *ingenū volumen*, to the new library.<sup>3</sup> The copy of Valerius Maximus, which I mentioned before, has a curious table or index made by Whethamstede.<sup>4</sup> Many other abbots paid their court to the duke by sending him presents of books, whose margins were adorned with the most exquisite paintings.<sup>5</sup> Gilbert Kymer, physician to Henry VI. among other ecclesiastic promotions dean of Salisbury and chancellor of the university of Oxford,<sup>6</sup> inscribed to Duke Humphrey his famous medical system *Diaetarium de sanitatis custodia* in the year 1424.<sup>7</sup> I do not mean to anticipate when I remark, that Lydgate, a poet mentioned hereafter, translated Boccaccio's book *De Casibus virorum illustrium* at the recommendation and command, and under the protection and superintendence, of Duke Humphrey, whose condescension in conversing with learned ecclesiastics and diligence in study the translator displays at large, and in the strongest expressions of panegyric. He compares the duke to Julius Cæsar who, amidst the weightiest cares of state, was not ashamed to enter the rhetorical school of Cicero at Rome.<sup>8</sup> Nor was his patronage confined only to English scholars. His favour was solicited by the most celebrated

the tomb of Duke Humphrey in Saint Alban's abbey church. Hearne's *Otterb.* ut *supr.* p. cxxi. *seq.* See also *ibid.* pp. cxix. cxvi.

<sup>1</sup> See Whethamstede, *De viris illustribus*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. *Tiber.* D. vi. i. *Oth.* B. iv. And Hearne, *Pref. Pet. Langtoft.* p. xix. *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Registr. Univ. Oxon.* F. f. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Leland, *ubi infr.*

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Bodl. NE. vii. ii.

<sup>5</sup> "Multos codices, pulcherrime pictos, ab abbatibus dono accepit." The Duke wrote in the frontispieces of his books, Moun bien mondain. Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 58, ut *supr.*

<sup>6</sup> By the recommendatory letters of Duke Humphrey. *Registr. Univ. Oxon.* F. fol. 75. *Epist.* 180.

<sup>7</sup> See Hearne's *Append. ad Libr. Nigr. Scaccar.* p. 550. And *Prefat.* p. 34.

<sup>8</sup> *Prol. Sign. A.* ii. A. iii. edit. Wayland, ut *supr.* He adds :

" And hath joye with clarkes to commune,  
And no man is more expert in langage,  
Stable in study.—  
His courage never dothe appall  
To study in bokes of antiquitie.—  
He studieth ever to have intelligence,  
Readyng of bokes.—  
And with support of his magnificence,  
Under the wings of his protection.—  
I shall proceed in this translation.—  
Lowly submittyng, every houre and space,  
My rude langage to my lordes grace."

See also fol. xxxviii. b, col. 2. Lydgate has an epitaph on the duke, MSS. Ashmol. 59, 2; MSS. Harl. 2251, 6, fol. 7. There is a curious letter of Lydgate, in which he sends for a supply of money to the duke, while he was translating Boccaccio. "Littera dom. Joh. Lydgate missa ad ducem Glocestrie in tempore translationis *Bochasti*, pro oportunitate pecunie." MSS. *ibid.* 5, fol. 6. See also *ibid.* 131, fol. 279, b, of the duke's marriage.

writers of France and Italy, many of whom he bountifully rewarded.<sup>1</sup> Leonard Aretine, one of the first restorers of the Greek tongue in Italy which he learned of Emanuel Chrysoloras, and of polite literature in general, dictates to this universal patron his elegant Latin translation of Aristotle's *Politics*. The copy presented to the duke by the translator, most elegantly illuminated, is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.<sup>2</sup> To the same noble encourager of learning Petrus Candidus, the friend of Laurentius Valla, and secretary to the duke of Milan, inscribed by the advice of the archbishop of Milan a Latin version of Plato's *Republic*.<sup>3</sup> An illuminated MS. of this translation is in the British Museum, with two epistles prefixed from the duke to Petrus Candidus.<sup>4</sup> Petrus de Monte, a learned Venetian, in the dedication of his treatise *De Virtutum et Vitiolorum Differentia* to the duke of Gloucester, mentions the latter's ardent attachment to books of all kinds, and the singular avidity with which he pursued every species of literature.<sup>5</sup> A tract, entitled *Comparatio Studiorum et Rei Militaris*, written by Lapus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great translator into Latin of the Greek classics, is also inscribed to the duke at the desire of Zeno archbishop of Bayeux. I must not forget, that our illustrious duke invited into England the learned Italian, Tito Livio di Friuli, whom he naturalised, and constituted his poet and orator.<sup>6</sup> Humphrey also retained learned foreigners in his service, for the purpose of transcribing and translating from Greek into Latin. One of these was Antonio de Beccaria, a Veronese, a translator into Latin prose of the Greek poem of Dionysius Afer *De Situ Orbis*:<sup>7</sup> and him the duke employed to translate into Latin six tracts of Athanasius. This translation, inscribed to the duke, is now among the royal MSS. in the British Museum, and at the end, in his own hand-writing, is the following insertion: "Cest livre est a moi Homphrey Duc le Gloucestre: le quel je fis translater de Grec en Latin par un de mes secretares Antoyne de Beccara, nè de Verone."<sup>8</sup>

An astronomical tract, entitled by Leland *Tabulæ Directionum*,

<sup>1</sup> Leland, *Script.* p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> See MSS. Bodl. D. i. 8, 10. And Leland, *Script.* p. 443.

<sup>3</sup> Leland, *Script.* p. 422. And Mus. Ashmol. 789, f. 54, 56, where also is a copy of the Duke's two Epistles to Petrus Candidus, [mentioned below.]

<sup>4</sup> P. Candidi Decembrii, Duci Mediolani a secretis, Translatio Politicæ Platonis, ad Humfredum Gloucestric Ducem, &c. Cui præfiguntur duæ Epistolæ Ducis Gloucestric ad P. Candidum. Most elegantly written, *ad fin.* "Cest livre est a moy Humfrey Duc de Gloucestre du don P. Candidus secretaire du duc de Mylan." Catal. MSS. Angl. tom. ii. p. 212, Num. 6858. [See MSS. Harl. 1705, and Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* xx.]

<sup>5</sup> MSS. Nowic. More, 257, Bibl. Publ. Cantabrig.

<sup>6</sup> Author of the *Vita Henrici quinti* (printed by Hearne, Oxon. 1716) and of other pieces. See Holinsh. iii. 585.

<sup>7</sup> Printed at Venice 1477. *Ibid.* 1498. Paris, 1501. Basil. 1534, 4to.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. Reg. 5 F. [iii. 4to.] In the same library is a fine folio MS. of "Chronique des Roys de France jusques a la mort de S. Loys, l'an 1270." At the end is written with the Duke of Gloucester's hand, "Cest livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre du don des executeurs le Sr de Faunhore." 16 G. vi.

is falsely supposed to have been written by Duke Humphrey.<sup>1</sup> But it was compiled at the duke's instance, and according to tables which he himself had constructed, called by the anonymous author in his preface, *Tabulas illustrissimi principis et nobilissimi domini mei Humfredi, &c.*<sup>2</sup> In the library of Gresham college, however, there is a scheme of calculations in astronomy, which bears his name.<sup>3</sup> Astronomy was then a favourite science: nor is it to be doubted, that he was intimately acquainted with the politer branches of knowledge, which now began to acquire estimation, and which his liberal and judicious attention greatly contributed to restore.

I close this section with an apology for Chaucer, Gower and Occleve: who are supposed by the severer etymologists to have corrupted the purity of the English language, by affecting to introduce so many foreign words and phrases. But if we attend only to the politics of the times, we shall find these poets, as also some of their successors, much less blameable in this respect than the critics imagine. Our wars with France, which began in the reign of Edward III. were of long continuance. The principal nobility of England, at this period, resided in France, with their families, for many years. John, king of France, kept his court in England, to which exclusively of these French lords who were his fellow prisoners or necessary attendants, the chief nobles of his kingdom must have occasionally resorted. Edward the Black Prince made an expedition into Spain. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and his brother the Duke of York, were matched with the daughters of Don Pedro, king of Castile. All these circumstances must have concurred to produce a perceptible change in the language of the court. It is rational therefore, and it is equitable, to suppose that, instead of coining new words, they only complied with the common and fashionable modes of speech. Would Chaucer's poems have been the delight of those courts in which he lived, had they been filled with unintelligible pedantries? The cotemporaries of these poets never complained of their obscurity. But whether defensible on these principles or not, they much improved the vernacular style by the use of this exotic phraseology. It was thus that our primitive diction was enlarged and enriched. The English language owes its copiousness, elegance and harmony to these innovations.

<sup>1</sup> See Holinsh. *Chron.* sub ann. 1461, f. 662, col. 2.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. More, 820.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Gresh. 66. See MSS. Ashmol. 856.

## SECTION XXI.



CONSIDER Chaucer as a genial day in an English spring. A brilliant sun enlivens the face of nature with an unusual lustre: the sudden appearance of cloudless skies and the unexpected warmth of a tepid atmosphere, after the gloom and the inclemencies of a tedious winter, fill our hearts with the visionary prospect of a speedy summer: and we fondly anticipate a long continuance of gentle gales and vernal serenity. But winter returns with redoubled horrors: the clouds condense more formidably than before; and those tender buds and early blossoms, which were called forth by the transient gleam of a temporary sunshine, are nipped by frosts, and torn by tempests.

Most of the poets, who immediately succeeded Chaucer, seem rather relapsing into barbarism than availing themselves of those striking ornaments which his judgment and imagination had disclosed. They appear to have been insensible to his vigour of versification and his flights of fancy. It was not indeed likely that a poet should soon arise, equal to Chaucer: and it must be remembered that the national distractions, which ensued, had no small share in obstructing the exercise of those studies which delight in peace and repose. His successors, however, approach him in no degree of proportion. Among these, John Lydgate is the poet who follows him at the shortest interval.

I have placed Lydgate in the reign of Henry VI., and he seems to have arrived at his highest point of eminence about the year 1430.<sup>1</sup> Many of his poems, however, appeared before. He was a monk of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury in Suffolk, and an uncommon ornament of his profession. Yet his genius was so lively, and his accomplishments so numerous, that I suspect the holy father Saint Benedict would hardly have acknowledged him for a genuine disciple. After a short education at Oxford, he travelled into France and Italy,<sup>2</sup> and returned a complete master of the language and the literature of both countries. He chiefly studied the Italian and French poets, particu-

<sup>1</sup> In a copy of Lydgate's *Chronicle of English Kings*, there is a stanza of Edward IV. [added after Lydgate's death]. MSS. Harl. 2251, 3. In his poem *Ab inimicis nostris*, &c. Edward IV. his *Queen* and *Modir* are remembered. MSS. Harl. *ibid.* 9, fol. 10. But Lydgate was ordained a subdeacon, 1389; deacon, 1393; and priest, 1397. *Regist. Gul. Cratfield, abbat. de Bury*, MSS. Cott. Tiber. B. ix. fol. 1, 35, 52. Edward came to the crown, 1461. Pits says, that our author died, 1482, [but the event must be placed much earlier, though after 1461]. Lydgate, in his *Philomela*, mentions the death of Henry Lord Warwick, who died in 1446. MSS. Harl. *ibid.* 120, fol. 255.

<sup>2</sup> See one of his *Ditties*, MSS. Harl. 2255, 41, fol. 148:

"I have been offte in dyvers londys," &c.

larly Dante, Boccaccio, and Alain Chartier, and became so distinguished a proficient in polite learning, that he opened a school in his monastery for teaching the sons of the nobility the arts of verification and the elegancies of composition. Yet although philology was his object, he was not unfamiliar with the fashionable philosophy: he was not only a poet and a rhetorician, but a geometrician, an astronomer, a theologian, and a disputant. On the whole I am of opinion, that Lydgate made considerable additions to those amplifications of our language, in which Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve led the way: and that he is the first of our writers whose style is clothed with that perspicuity, in which the English phraseology appears at this day to an English reader.

To enumerate Lydgate's pieces, would be to write the catalogue of a little library. No poet seems to have possessed a greater versatility of talents. He moves with equal ease in every mode of composition. His hymns and his ballads have the same degree of merit; and whether his subject be the life of a hermit or a hero, of Saint Austen or Guy earl of Warwick, ludicrous or legendary, religious or romantic, a history or an allegory, he writes with facility. His transitions were rapid from works of the most serious and laborious kind to sallies of levity and pieces of popular entertainment. His muse was of universal access; and he was not only the poet of his monastery, but of the world in general. If a disguising was intended by the company of goldsmiths, a mask before his majesty at Eltham, a may-game for the Sheriffs and Aldermen of London, a mumming before the Lord Mayor; a procession of pageants from the creation for the festival of Corpus Christi, or a carol for the coronation, Lydgate was consulted, and gave the poetry.<sup>1</sup>

About the year 1430, Whethamstede, the learned and liberal Abbot of Saint Alban's, being desirous of familiarising the history of his patron saint to the monks of his convent, employed Lydgate, as it should seem, then a monk of Bury, to translate the Latin legend of his life in English rhymes. The chronicler, who records a part of this anecdote, seems to consider Lydgate's translation as a matter

<sup>1</sup> See a variety of his pieces of this kind, MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii. Stow says, that at the reception of Margaret, queen of Henry VI. several pageants, the verses by Lydgate, were shown at Paul's gate, in 1445. *Hist.* p. 385. See also MSS. Harl. 2251. 118. fol. 250. b. See the prologue to Feyld's *Controversye betwene a Lover and a Jave* :—

“Chaucer, floure of rethoryke eloquence,  
Compyled bookes pleasaunt and mervayllous,  
After hym noble Gower, experte in scyence,  
Wrote moralytees harde and delycious.  
But Lydgates workes are fruytefull and sentencious;  
Who of his bookes hathe redde the fyne  
He wyll hym cal a famous rethorycye.”—*Park.*

Mr. Ritson, in his *Bibliographia Poetica*, has furnished a list of 251 pieces written by Lydgate. Many of them, however, are attributed to him upon authority of no very early date, and he is doubtlessly made responsible for a large portion of the anonymous rhymes of his age.—*Price.*]

of mere manual mechanism; for he adds that Whethamstede paid for the translation, the writing, and illuminations, one hundred shillings. It was placed before the altar of the saint, which Whethamstede afterwards adorned with much magnificence, in the abbey church.<sup>1</sup>

Our author's stanzas, called the *Dance of Death*, which he translated from the French, at the request of [a French clerk or scholar,] to be inscribed under the representation of death leading all ranks of men about the cloister of [St. Paul's] church [London], in a curious series of paintings, are well known. But their history has not, I believe, yet appeared. These verses, founded on a sort of spiritual masquerade, anciently celebrated in churches,<sup>2</sup> were originally written by one Macaber in German rhymes, and were translated into Latin about the year 14[9]0 by Pierre Desfrey. This Latin translation was [re-]published by Goldastus.<sup>3</sup> But a French translation was made much earlier than the Latin, and written about the walls of Saint Innocents' cloister at Paris; [and from this version] Lydgate formed his English one.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gest. Joh. Whethamst.* ut supra, pp. cxvi. cxxvii. cxxiv. It is added, that Whethamstede expended on the binding and other exterior ornaments of the MS. upwards of three pounds. Bale and Pitts say, that Whethamstede himself made the translation, pp. 584. 630. It is in Trinity College at Oxford (MSS. 10) and in Lincoln Cathedral (MSS. I. 57). Among Lydgate's works is recited, *Vita S. Albani Martyris ad Joh. Frumentarium* [Whethamstede] *abbatem*. [A complete list of his printed works, including one or two unseen by Warton, will be found in *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Lydgate*. A selection from his Minor Poems has been printed for the Percy Society.]

<sup>2</sup> See supra, Note. A *Dance of Death* seems to be alluded to so early as in *Pierce Plowman*, written about [1362]:—

“Death came driving after and al to dust pathed  
Kyngs, and kaifars, knights, and popes.”

<sup>3</sup> At the end of the *Speculum omnium Statuum totius orbis terrarum* compiled by Rodericus [Sancius], and printed at Haynau in 1613.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Dauunce of Macabre*, MSS. Harl. 116. 9. fol. 129. And *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, vol. ii. p. 116, seq. The *Dance of Death*, falsely supposed to have been invented by Holbein, is different from this, though founded on the same idea. It was painted by Holbein in the Augustine monastery at Basil, 1543. But it appeared much earlier. In the chronicle of Hartmannus Schedelius [usually called *The Nuremberg Chronicle*,] 1493; in the Quotidian Offices of the church, Paris, 1515, 8vo.; in public buildings at Minden, in Westphalia, so early as 1383; at Lubeck, in the portico of Saint Mary's church, 1463; at Dresden, in the castle or palace, 1534; at Annaberg, 1525; at Leipzig, &c. Paul Christian Hilscher has written a very learned and entertaining German book on this subject, printed at Dresden, 1705, 8vo. Engravings of Holbein's pictures at Basle were published [by Merian] at Francfort 1649 and 1725. The German verses there ascribed appeared in Latin elegiacs, in Caspar Laudisman's *Decennalia humane Peregrinationis*, A.D. 1584. [See Douce's work on the *Dance of Death*, 1833, 8vo, and a good paper in the *Athenaeum*, Sept. 22, 1849.—*Rye*. The edition of the *Alphabet de la Mort*, by M. Anatole de Montaiglon, 1856, may also be consulted. The first edition of Holbein's *Dance of Death* appeared in 1538. But see a note in the last edition of Brunet, iii. 255.]

The most ancient complete French copy of *La Danse Macabre* was [probably that published at Paris between 1486 and 1490, twelve leaves folio, in two columns,

In the British Museum is a most splendid and elegant MS. on vellum, undoubtedly a present to Henry VI.<sup>1</sup> It contains a set of Lydgate's poems in honour of Saint Edmund, the patron of his monastery at Bury. Besides the decoration of illuminated initials, and one hundred and twenty pictures of various sizes, representing the incidents related in the poetry, executed with the most delicate pencil, and exhibiting the habits, weapons, architecture, utensils, and many other curious particulars belonging to the age of the ingenious illuminator, there are two exquisite portraits of the king, one of William Curteis, Abbot of Bury, and one of the poet Lydgate kneeling at Saint Edmund's shrine.<sup>2</sup> In one of the king's pictures, he is represented on his throne, crowned, and receiving this volume from the abbot kneeling; in another he appears as a child prostrate on a carpet at Saint Edmund's shrine, which is richly delineated, yet without any idea of perspective or proportion. The figures of a great number of monks and attendants are introduced. Among the rest, two noblemen, perhaps the king's uncles, with bonnets or caps of an uncommon shape. It appears that our pious monarch kept his Christmas at this magnificent monastery, and that he remained here, in a state of seclusion from the world and of an exemption from public cares, till the following Easter [1433], and that at his

---

with woodcuts. There are many later impressions.] To this work Erasmus alludes in the third book of his *Ratio Concionandi*, where he says, "Quin et vulgares rhetoristæ censuerunt hoc decus, qui interdum versibus certo numero comprehensis, pro clausula, accinunt brevem et argutam sententiam, velut in Rhythmis quos Gallus quispiam edidit in *Choream Mortis*." *Opp.* tom. v. p. 1007. Naude calls this allegory, "Chorea ab eximio Macabro edita." *Mascur.* p. 224. The Latin edition of Pierre Desfrey was printed at [Paris] in 1490. The French have an old poem, partly on the same idea, *La Danse des Aveugles*, under the conduct of Love, Fortune, and Death, written by Pierre Michault, [secretary to Charles, Duke of Burgundy]. See *Mem. Acad. Inscript. et Bel. Let.* ii. 742. And Goujet, *Bibl. Fr.* ix. 358. [The earliest edition of the *Danse Maccabre* mentioned in the last edition of Brunet is that of Paris, 1485, folio, but it is less complete than that described above.] In this edition the French rhymes are [erroneously] said to be by Michel Marot, *Bell. Lettr.* tom. i. p. 512, num. 3109. He has catalogued all the ancient editions of this piece in French, which are many. Pierre Desfrey, above mentioned wrote a French romance called *La Genealogie on Godfrey of Bouloign.* Paris, 1511. [Lydgate's poem is neither a literal nor complete translation of the French version, and this he avows:—

"Out of the French I drough it, of entant  
Not word by word, but folowyng in substaunce."

Again, the number of the characters in Lydgate is much less than that in the French, and he has not only omitted several, but supplied their places with others; so that if these lines were inscribed under the painting at St. Paul's, it must have differed materially from that at St. Innocent's, at Paris. All the ancient *Dances of Death*, though evidently deduced from one original, differed much in the number and designs of the characters; but they generally appear to have been accompanied with Macaber's verses, or with imitations of them.—*Park.*]

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Harl. 2278.

<sup>2</sup> There is an ancient drawing, probably coeval, of Lydgate presenting his poem called the *Pilgrim* to the Earl of Salisbury, MSS. Harl. 4826. 1. It was written 1426. Another of these drawings will be mentioned below.

departure he was created a brother of the chapter.<sup>1</sup> It is highly probable, that this sumptuous book, the poetry of which was undertaken by Lydgate at the command of Abbot Curteis,<sup>2</sup> was previously prepared, and presented to his majesty during the royal visit, or very soon afterwards. The substance of the whole work is the life or history of Saint Edmund,<sup>3</sup> whom the poet calls the "precious char-boncle of martirs alle."<sup>4</sup> In some of the prefatory pictures, there is a description and a delineation of two banners, pretended to belong

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Curteis was abbot of Bury between the years 1429 and 1445. It appears that Lydgate was also commanded, "Late charchyd in myn oold days," to make an English metrical translation of *De Profundis*, &c. To be hung against the walls of the abbey church. MSS. Harl. 2255. 11. fol. 40. See the last stanza.

<sup>3</sup> *The Life and ASs of St. Edmond, King and Martyr*, by John Lydgate, a splendid MS. on vellum, illuminated throughout, and embellished by fifty-two historical miniatures, was in the library of Topham Beauclerk, Esq. It began thus:—

"The noble story to putte in remembraunce  
Off Seynt Edmond, mayd martre and kyng,  
With his suppoort my style I wyl avaunce  
Firt to compyle afftre my konnyng:  
His glorious lyff, his birthe, and his 'gynnyng,  
And by discent, how he that was soo good,  
Was in Saxonye born, of the royal blood."

In the library of Mr. Dennis Daly, which was disposed of at Dublin in 1792, a MS. of Lydgate contained the life of St. Edmund, and with it the other legend by him of St. Fremund, presented to Edward IV. The latter began with these lines:—

"Off Burchardus folwe I shall the style,  
That of Seynt Fremund was whileom secretarye,  
Which of entent did his lyff compyle,  
Was his regifreer, and also his notarye,  
And in desert was with him folytarye,  
And with him ay present, remembryng every thing  
Wroot lyff and myracles of this hooly kyng."

The metrical orifons of the poet are thus offered up for his sovereign:—

"Encrease our kyng in knyghtly hygh prowesse,  
With alle his lordys of the spiritualtie;  
Pray God graunte conquestes and worthynesse,  
Be rightfull rule, to all the temporalte;  
And to Edward the Fourte, joye and felicyte!  
Off his two reemys, fayth love and obeyssance,  
Longe to perfever in his victoryesse  
As just enherytor of Yngelond and France."—*Park.*]

<sup>4</sup> The poet's *Prayer to Saint Edmund for his Assistance in compiling his Life*, fol. 9. The history begins thus, fol. 10, b:—

"In Saxonie whilom ther was a kyng  
Callid Alkmond of excellent noblesse."

It seems to be taken from John of Tynemouth's *Sandilogium*, who flourished about the year 1360. At the end, connected with St. Edmund's legend, and a part of the work, is the life of Saint Fremund, fol. 69, b. But Lydgate has made many additions. It begins thus:—

"Who han remembre the myracles merueilous  
Which Crist Jhesu list for his seyntes shewe."

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 1. 2. fol. 1. 25. 43, b, [and preceding note.]

to Saint Edmund.<sup>1</sup> One of these is most brilliantly displayed, and charged with Adam and Eve, the serpent with a human shape to the middle, the tree of life, the holy lamb, and a variety of symbolical ornaments. This banner our bard feigns to have been borne by his saint, who was a king of the East Angles, against the Danes: and he prophesies that King Henry, with this ensign, would always return victorious.<sup>2</sup> The other banner, given also to Saint Edmund, appears to be painted with the arms of our poet's monastery, and its blazoning is thus described:

The other standard, Feld sable, off colour ynde,<sup>3</sup>  
In which of gold been notable crownys thre,  
The first toknè: in cronycle men may fynde,  
Grauntyd to hym for royal dignyte:  
And the second for his virgynyte:  
For martyrdam the thridde, in his suffring.

To these annexyd feyth, hope, and charyte,  
In toknè he was martyr, mayd, and kyng.  
These three crownys<sup>4</sup> kyng Edmund bar certeyn,  
Whan he was sent by grace of goddis hand,  
At Geynesburhe for to sleyn kyng Sweyn.

A sort of office, or service to Saint Edmund, consisting of an antiphone, versicle, response, and collect is introduced with these verses:

To all men present, or in absence,  
Whiche to seynt Edmund have devocion  
With hool herte and dewe reverence,  
Seyn<sup>5</sup> this antephne and this orison;  
Two hundred days is grauntid of pardoun,  
Writ and registred afforn his holy shryne,  
Which for our feyth suffrede passioun,  
Blyssyd Edmund, kyng, martyr, and virgyne.

This is our poet's envoy:

Go littel book, be ferfull, quaak for drede,  
For to appere in so hye presence.<sup>6</sup>

Lydgate's poem, called the *Life of our Lady*, printed by Caxton [without date, and again in 1531],<sup>7</sup> is opened with these harmonious and elegant lines, which do not seem to be destitute of that eloquence which the author wishes to share with Tully, Petrarch, and Chaucer.<sup>8</sup> He compares the holy Virgin to a star:

O thoughtfull hertè, plunged in distresse  
With slombre of slouth, this long wynters night!  
Out of the slepe of mortal hevynesse  
Awake anon, and loke upon the light  
Of thilke sterre, that with her bemys bright,  
And with the thynynge of her stremes meryè,  
Is wont to glad all our hemisperie!<sup>9</sup>  
This sterre in beauteie passith Pleiades,  
Bothe of thynynge, and eke of stremes clere,

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 2. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See fol. 103, b, f. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Fol. 118, b.

<sup>8</sup> Cap. xxxiii. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 2.

<sup>7</sup> See MSS. Harl. 629. fol. membran.

<sup>9</sup> hemisphere.

<sup>3</sup> blue.

<sup>5</sup> [say.]

Bootes, and Arctur, and also Iades,  
 And Esperus, whan that it doth appere :  
 For this is Spica, with her brighte spere,<sup>1</sup>  
 That towarde evyn, at midnyght, and at morowe,  
 Downe from hevyn adawith<sup>2</sup> al our sorowe.—

And dryeth up the bytter terys wete  
 Of Aurora, after the morowe graye,  
 That she in wepyng dothe on floures flete,<sup>3</sup>  
 In lusty Aprill, and in freshe Maye :  
 And causeth Phebus, the bryght somers daye,  
 Wyth his wayne gold-yborned,<sup>4</sup> bryght and fayre,  
 To' enchafe the mystes of our cloudy ayre.

Now fayre sterre, O sterre of sterres all !  
 Whose lyght to se the angels do delyte,  
 So let the gold-dewe of thy grace yfall  
 Into my breste, lyke scalys fayre and whyte,  
 Me to enspire !<sup>5</sup>

Lydgate's manner is naturally verbose and diffuse. This circumstance contributed in no small degree to give a clearness and a fluency to his phraseology. For the same reason he is often tedious and languid. His chief excellence is in description, especially where the subject admits a flowery diction. He is seldom pathetic or animated.

In another part of this poem, where he collects arguments to convince unbelievers that Christ might be born of a pure virgin, he thus speaks of God's omnipotence :

And he that made the high and crystal heven,  
 The firmament, and also every sphere,  
 The golden ax-tre,<sup>6</sup> and the starres seven,  
 Citherea so lusty for to' appere,  
 And redde Mars,<sup>7</sup> with his sterne here ;  
 Myght he not eke onely for our sake  
 Wythyn a mayde of man his kynde<sup>8</sup> take ?

For he that doth the tender braunches sprynge,  
 And the freshe flouris in the grette mede,  
 That were in wynter dede and eke droupynge,  
 Of bawme all yvoyd and leftyhede ;  
 Myght he not make his grayne to growe and sede,  
 Within her brest, that was both mayd and wyte,  
 Whereof is made the sothfast<sup>9</sup> breade of lyfe ?<sup>10</sup>

We are surprised to find verses of so modern a cast as the following at such an early period ; and we should judge them to be a forgery, were not their genuineness authenticated, and their antiquity confirmed, by the venerable types of Caxton and a multitude of unquestionable MSS.

Like as the dewe descendeth on the rose  
 With sylver drops.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> sphere.<sup>2</sup> [awakens.]<sup>3</sup> float ; drop.

<sup>4</sup> Burnished with gold. So in Lydgate's *Legend on Dan Joss*, a monk, taken from Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*, the name Maria is *ful fayre graven* on a red rose, in lettris of bournid gold. MSS. Harl. 2251. 39. fol. 71. b.

<sup>5</sup> prologue.<sup>6</sup> of the sun.<sup>7</sup> Mars.<sup>8</sup> nature.<sup>9</sup> true.<sup>10</sup> Cap. xx.<sup>11</sup> Cap. xix.

Our Saviour's crucifixion is expressed by this remarkable metaphor :

Whan he of purple did his baner sprede  
On Calvarye abroad upon the rode,  
To save mankynde.<sup>1</sup>

Our author, in the course of his panegyric on the Virgin Mary, affirms that she exceeded Hester in meekness, and Judith in wisdom ; and in beauty, Helen, Polyxena, Lucretia, Dido, Bathsheba, and Rachel.<sup>2</sup> It is amazing, that in an age of the most superstitious devotion so little discrimination should have been made between sacred and profane characters and incidents. But the common sense of mankind had not yet attained a just estimate of things. Lydgate, in another piece, has versified the rubrics of the missal, which he applies to the god Cupid, and declares with how much delight he frequently meditated on the holy legend of those constant martyrs, who were not afraid to suffer death for the faith of that omnipotent divinity.<sup>3</sup> There are instances, in which religion was even made the instrument of love. Arnaud Daniel, a celebrated troubadour of the thirteenth century, in a fit of amorous despair, promises to found a multitude of annual masses, and to dedicate perpetual tapers to the shrines of saints, for the important purpose of obtaining the affections of an obdurate mistress.

[Lydgate's *Court of Sapience* was printed by Caxton about 1481. It is a poem of considerable length, and comprehends not only an allegorical fiction concerning the two courts of the castle of Sapience in which there is no imagination, but a system of natural philosophy, grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, astronomy, theology, and other topics of the fashionable literature. The writer's design is to describe the effects of wisdom from the beginning of the world : and the work is a history of knowledge or learning. In a vision, he meets the goddess Sapience in a delightful meadow ; who conducts him to her castle or mansion, and there displays all her miraculous operations. [Lydgate] in the poem invokes the *gylted goddess* and *moost facundyous lady* Clio, apologises to those *makers* who delight in *termes gay* for the inelegances of language which as a foreigner<sup>4</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> Cap. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. iv. In a *Life of the Virgin* in the British Museum, I find these easy lyrics introduced, MSS. Harl. 2382. 2. 3. fol. 75. fol. 86. b. Though I am not certain that they properly belong to this work :

" A mery tale I telle yow may  
Of seynt Marie that swete may :  
Alle the tale of this lessone  
Is of her Assumpcione.—  
Mary moder, welle thee be !  
Mary mayden, thenk on me !  
Mayden and moder was never none,  
Togader, lady, save thee allone."

But these lines will be considered again.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Fairfax, xvi. Bibl. Bodl.

<sup>4</sup> Caxton [who wrote the prologue] could only be deemed a *foreigner*, from having passed some time in foreign countries.—*Ashby*. It ought to be observed,

could not avoid, and modestly declares that he neither means to rival nor envy Gower and Chaucer.

Lydgate also produced a poem called the *Temple of Glas*, which was likewise printed by Caxton about 1479.] On a comparison,<sup>1</sup> it will be found to be a copy of the *House of Fame* of Chaucer, in which that poet sees in a vision a temple of glas, on the walls of which were engraved stories from Virgil's *Æneid* and Ovid's *Epistles*. It also strongly resembles that part of Chaucer's *Assembly of Fowls*, in which there is the fiction of a temple of brass, built on pillars of jasper, whose walls are painted with the stories of unfortunate lovers. In [the] *Assembly of Ladies*, in a chamber made of beryl and crystal, belonging to the sumptuous castle of Pleasant Regard, the walls are decorated with historical sculptures of the same kind. The situation of [Lydgate's] Temple on a craggy rock of ice, is evidently taken from that of Chaucer's *House of Fame*. In [the poem called] *Chaucer's Dream*, the poet is transported into an island, where "wall and yate was all of glasse." These structures of glas have their origin in the chemistry of the dark ages. This is [Lydgate's] exordium:

Me dyd oppresse a sodayne, dedely slepe :  
Within the whiche methought that I was  
Ravyshed in spyrite into a Temple of Glas,  
I ne wyft howe ful ferre in wyldernesse,  
That founded was, all by lykelynesse,  
Nat upon stele, but on a craggy roche

that Mr. Blades (*Life and Typogr. of Caxton*, ii. 115) considers the authorship of Lydgate by no means established, and certainly there is a good deal to be said in favour of Mr. Blades's view. We must recollect, however, that the highly respectable authority of Stow is on the other side, and supports the monk of Bury's claim. Of direct evidence there is not a tittle.

<sup>1</sup> In the [Bodleian] library are two MSS. of this poem. MSS. Fairfax. xvi. without a name. And MSS. Bodl. 638. In the first leaf of the Fairfax MS. is this entry: "I bought this at Gloucester, 8 Sept. 1650, intending to exchange it for a better boke. Fairfax." And at the end, in the same hand. "Here lacketh seven leaves that are in Joseph Holland's boke." This MS., however, contains as much as Berthelet's edition. In the Bodleian MS. (Bodl. 638), this poem, with manifest impropriety, is entitled the *Temple of Bras*. It there appears in the midst of many of Chaucer's poems. But at the end are two poems, *The Chaunse of the Dyse*, by Lydgate, and *Ragmanys Roll*. [The latter is printed in *Remains of the E. P. Poetry of England*, i. 68, *et seq.*] And, I believe, one or two more of Lydgate's poems are intermixed. It is a miscellany of old English poetry, chiefly by Chaucer: but none of the pieces is respectively distinguished with the author's name. This MS. is partly on paper and partly on vellum, and seems to have been written not long after the year 1500. [In an imperfect copy from the press of Caxton of Chaucer's *Assembly of Fowls* the piece is called *The Temple of Bras*. See Blades, ii. 61-3.]

[The following argument, says Mr. George Mason, since occurring, may strengthen the strong claim of Lydgate to be regarded as the author. In one of the Paston letters, published by Sir John Fenn, vol. ii. p. 90, and dated 1471, the *Temple of Glas* is mentioned as if it had then been written some years. This circumstance must ill accord with its being attributed to Hawes; besides that the language is older in many particulars than that which Hawes used.—MS. note in W. de Worde's edit. of the book which does not give the poem to Hawes, as Mr. Warton had been led to believe, from the misrepresentation of Ames.—*Park*.]

Lyke yf yfroze : and as I dyd approche,  
 Againe the sonne that shone, methought, so clere  
 As any crystall ; and ever, nere and nere,  
 As I gan nyghe this grisely dredefull place,  
 I wext astroyed, the lyght so in my face  
 Began to smyte, so perlyng ever in one,  
 On every parte where that I dyde gon,  
 That I ne mighte nothing as I wolde  
 Aboute me confyde, and beholde,  
 The wondre esters,<sup>1</sup> for brightnesse of the sonne :  
 Tyll at the laste, certayne ikeyes donne,<sup>2</sup>  
 With wynde<sup>3</sup> ychafed, han their course ywent,  
 Before the streames of Titan and iblent,<sup>4</sup>  
 So that I myght within and without,  
 Where so I wolde, behelden me about,  
 For to report the facyon and manere  
 Of all this place, that was circuler,  
 In cumpace-wyse rounde by yntale ywrought :  
 And whan I had longe goon, and well fought,  
 I founde a wicket, and entred yn as faste  
 Into the temple, and myne eyen caste  
 On every side, &c.<sup>5</sup>

The walls of this wonderful temple were richly pictured with the following historical portraitures from Virgil, Ovid, King Arthur's romance, and Chaucer :

I sawe depeynted upon a wall<sup>6</sup>  
 From est to west ful many a fayre ymage,  
 Of sondry lovers, lyke as they were of age  
 I set in ordre after they were true ;  
 With lyfely colours, wonders freshe of hewe,  
 And as methought I saw som syt and som stande,  
 And some knelyng, with bylles<sup>7</sup> in theyr hande,  
 And some with complaynt woful and pitious,  
 With dolefull chere, to put to Venus,  
 So as she late fletynge in the see,  
 Upon theyr wo for to have pite.  
 And fyrst of all I sawe there of Cartage  
 Dido the quene, so goodly of visage,  
 That gan complayne her aventure and caas,  
 Howe she disceyued was of Aeneas,  
 For all his hestes and his othes sworne,  
 And sayd helas that she was borne,  
 Whan she sawe that dede she must be.  
 And next her I sawe the complaynt of Medec,  
 Howe that she was falsed of Jafon.  
 And nygh by Venus sawe I syt Addon,  
 And all the maner howe the bore hym sloughe,  
 For whom she wepte and had pite inoughe.  
 There sawe I also howe Penelope,  
 For she so long ne myght her lorde se,  
 Was of colour both pale and grene.

§

<sup>1</sup> The wonderful chambers of this temple.

<sup>2</sup> dun, dark.

<sup>3</sup> i. e. collected.

<sup>4</sup> blinded, darkened the sun.

<sup>5</sup> This text is given from Berthelet's edition, collated with MSS. Fairfax, xvi.

<sup>6</sup> From Pr. Cop. and MSS. Fairfax. xvi. as before.

<sup>7</sup> bills of complaint.

And alder next was the frefshe quene ;  
 I mean Alcefte, the noble true wife,  
 And for Admete howe she loft her lyfe ;  
 And for her trouthe, if I shall nat lye,  
 Howe she was turned into a daysye.  
 There was also Grifildis innocence,  
 And all hir mekenesse and hir pacience.  
 There was eke Yfaude, and many other mo,  
 And all the tourment and all the cruell wo  
 That she had for Tristram all her lyue ;  
 And howe that Tyfbe her hert dyd ryue  
 With thylke swerde of syr Pyramus.  
 And all maner, howe that Theseus  
 The minotaure flewe, amynd the hous  
 That was forwrynked by craft of Dedalus,  
 Whan that he was in prifon shynt in Crete, &c.  
 And uppermore men depeinten might fee,  
 Howe with her ring goodlie Canace  
 Of every foule the leden<sup>1</sup> and the fong  
 Could understand, as she hem walkt among :  
 And how her brother fo often holpen was  
 In his mischefe by the ftede of brafs.<sup>2</sup>

We must acknowledge that all the picturesque invention, which appears in this composition, entirely belongs to Chaucer. Yet there was some merit in daring to depart from the dull taste of the times, and in choosing Chaucer for a model, after his sublime fancies had been so long forgotten, and had given place for almost a century, to legends, homilies, and chronicles in verse. In the mean time, there is reason to believe, that Chaucer himself copied these imageries from the romance of *Guigemar*, one of the *Lays of Marie de France*:<sup>3</sup> in which the walls of a chamber are painted with Venus and the *Art of Love* from Ovid.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Chaucer might not look further than the temples of Boccaccio's *Thesid* for these ornaments. At the same time it is to be remembered, that the imagination of these old poets must have been assisted in this respect, from the mode which anciently prevailed of entirely covering the walls of the more magnificent apartments in castles and palaces with stories from Scripture-history, the classics, and romance. I have already given instances of this practice, and I will here add more.<sup>5</sup> In 1277,

<sup>1</sup> language.

<sup>2</sup> See Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*.

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 141, MSS. Harl. 978. See *supr. Dissertat. i.* [It is evident, says Mr. Waldron, in a MS. note, from the conclusion of the passage above cited, that more of the *Squire's Tale* had been written than has been preserved.—*Park.*]

<sup>4</sup> A passage in Ovid's *Remedium Amoris* concerning Achilles' spear is supposed to be alluded to by a troubadour, Bernard Ventadour, who lived about the year 1150. *Hist. Troubad.* p. 27. This Mons. Millot calls "Un trait d'erudition singulier dans un troubadour." It is not, however, impossible, that he might get this fiction from some of the early romances about Troy.

<sup>5</sup> See *supr.* To the passages adduced from Chaucer these may be added from the poem of *Chaucer's Dream*, ver. 1320 :

"In a chamber paint  
 Full of stories old and divers."

Again, *ibid.* ver. 2167 :

Otho, duke of Milan, having restored the peace of that city by a signal victory, built a noble castle, in which he ordered every particular circumstance of that victory to be painted. Paulus Jovius relates that these paintings remained, in the great vaulted chamber of the castle, fresh and unimpaired so late as the year 1547.<sup>1</sup> That the castles and palaces of England were thus ornamented at a very early period, and in the most splendid style, appears from the following notices. [Walter de] Langton, bishop of Lichfield, commanded the coronation, marriages, wars, and funeral, of his patron Edward I. to be painted in the great hall of his episcopal palace, which he had newly built.<sup>2</sup> This must have been about the year 1312. The following anecdote relates to the old royal palace at Westminster. In the year 1322, one Symeon, a friar minor and a doctor in theology, wrote an Itinerary in which is this curious passage. He is speaking of Westminster Abbey. "Near this monastery stands the most famous royal palace of England; in which is that celebrated chamber, on whose walls all the warlike histories of the whole Bible are painted with inexpressible skill, and explained by a regular and complete series of texts, beautifully written in French over each battle, to the no small admiration of the beholder, and the increase of royal magnificence."<sup>3</sup> This

---

"For there was no lady ne cature,  
Save on the wals *old portraiture*  
Of horsfemen, hawkis, and houndes," &c.

Compare Dante's *Purgatorio*, c. x. p. 105, *seq.* edit. Ald.

<sup>1</sup> "Extantque adhuc in *maximo testudinatoque conclarvi*, incorruptæ præliorum cum *veris ducum vulgibus* imaginibus, *Latinis elegis* singula rerum elogia indicantibus." *Vit. Vicecomit. Mediolan.* p. 56, edit. 1549.

<sup>2</sup> Erdswicke's *Staffordshire*, p. 101, [and Le Neve's *Fasti Eccl. Anglic.* edit. Hardy, i. 549. Bishop Langton succeeded in 1295-6, and died in 1311.]

<sup>3</sup> "Eidem monasterio quasi immediate conjungitur illud famosissimum palatium regium Anglorum, in quo illa vulgata camera, in cujus *parietibus* sunt omnes Historiæ bellicæ totius Bibliæ ineffabiliter *depictæ*, atque in Gallico completissime et perfectissime constanter conscriptæ, in non modica intuitum admiratione, et maxima regali magnificentia." "*Itinerarium Symeonis et fratris Hugonis Illuminatoris ex Hibernia in terram sanctam*, A.D. MCCCXXII." MSS. C. C. C. Cantabr. G. 6, Princip. "Culmine honoris spreto." It comprehends a journey through England, and describes many curiosities now lost. See *supr.*

The old palace at Westminster was consumed by fire in 1299, but immediately rebuilt, I suppose by Edward I. Stow's *London*, p. 379, 387, edit. 1599. So that these paintings must have been done between the years 1299 and 1322. It was again destroyed by fire in 1512, and never afterwards re-edified. Stow, *ibid.* p. 389. About the year 1500, the walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel, built by Prior Silkeste, in the cathedral of Winchester, were elegantly painted with the miracles and other stories of the New Testament in small figures, many delicate traces of which now remain.

Falcandus, the old historian of Sicily, who wrote about the year 1200, says that the chapel in the royal palace at Palermo, had its walls decorated "de lapillulis quadris, partim aureis, partim diversicoloribus veteris ac novi Testamenti depictam historiam continentibus." *Sicil. Histor.* p. 10, edit. 1550. But this was mosaic work which, chiefly by means of the Crusades, was communicated to all parts of Europe from the Byzantine Greeks; and with which all the churches and other public edifices at Constantinople were adorned. *Epist. de Comparat. Vet. et Nov.*

ornament of a royal palace, while it conveys a curious history of the arts, admirably exemplifies the chivalry and the devotion of the times united. That part of the Old Testament indeed, which records the Jewish wars, was almost regarded as a book of chivalry: and their chief heroes, Joshua and David, the latter of whom killed a giant, are often recited among the champions of romance. In France, the battles of the kings of Israel with the Philistines and Assyrians were wrought into a grand volume, under the title of "*Plusieurs Batailles des roys d'Israel en contre les Philistines et Assyriens.*"<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the form of [Lydgate's] poem, I am of opinion that Visions, which are so common in the poetry of the middle ages, partly took their rise from Tully's *Somnium Scipionis*. Had this composition descended to posterity among Tully's six books *De Republica*, to the last of which it originally belonged, perhaps it would have been overlooked and neglected.<sup>2</sup> But being preserved, and illustrated with a prolix commentary by Macrobius, it quickly attracted the attention of readers who were fond of the marvelous, and with whom Macrobius was a more admired classic than Tully. It was printed [at Venice] subjoined to Tully's *Offices*, in [1470].<sup>3</sup> It was translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes,<sup>4</sup> and is frequently quoted by Chaucer.<sup>5</sup> Particularly in the *Assembly of*

Rome, p. 122. Man. Chrysolor. See *supr.* Leo Ostiensis says, that one of the abbots of Cassino in Italy, in the eleventh century, sent messengers to Constantinople, to bring over artificers in mosaic, to ornament the church of the monastery, after Rome or Italy had lost that art for five hundred years. He calls Rome *magistra Latinitas*. *Chron. Cassin.* lib. iii. c. 27. Compare Muratori, *Antich. Italian.* 1752, i. Dis. xxiv. p. 279.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Reg. [Brit. Mus.] 19 D. 7. There is an Arabic book, containing the Psalms of David, with an additional psalm, on the slaughter of the giant Goliath. MSS. Harl. 5476. See above.

<sup>2</sup> But they were extant about the year 1000, for they are cited by Gerbert. *Epist.* 83. And by Peter of Poitou, who died in 1197. See Barth. *Advers.* xxxii. 5, 58. Leland says, that Tully's *de Republica* was consumed by fire, among other books, in the library of William Selling, a learned abbot of Saint Austin's at Canterbury, who died in 1494. *Script. v. Cellinus.*

<sup>3</sup> [Brunet, *Man. du Libr.* last edit. ii. 19.]

<sup>4</sup> Lambecius mentions a Greek MS. of Julian, a cardinal of S. Angelo, 'ο ομιλος τοῦ Σκιπιαδου, 5, p. 153. The *Disputatio* of Favonius Elogius, a Carthaginian rhetorician, and a disciple of Saint Austin, on the *Somnium Scipionis*, was printed by G. Schottus, Antw. 1613, 4to.

<sup>5</sup> *Rom. Rose*, lib. i. ver. 7, [&c. edit. Morris.]

"An authour that highte Macrobes,  
That halte nat dremes false ne lees,  
But undoth us the avysoun,  
That whylom mette Kyng Cipoun."

*Nonnes Pr. Tale*, 303, edit. Morris.

"Macrobius, that writ the avysoun  
In Auffrik of the worthy Cipoun."

*Chaucer's Dreame*, ver. 284. [Chaucer] mentions this as the most wonderful of dreams. *House F. v.* 407. He describes a prospect more extensive and various than that which Scipio saw in his dream:

*Fowls*, he supposes himself to fall asleep after reading the *Somnium Scipionis*, and that Scipio shewed him the beautiful vision which is the subject of that poem.<sup>1</sup> Nor is it improbable that not only the form, but the first idea, of Dante's *Inferno* was suggested by this apologue which, in Chaucer's words, treats

"of Hevene, and Helle,"  
And erthe, and of soules that thereynne duelle."

Not to insist on Dante's subject, he uses the shade of Virgil for a mystagogue, as Tully supposes Scipio to have been shown the other world by his ancestor Africanus.

[Stephen Hawes, Lydgate's pupil, always speaks with affectionate respect of him. In his *Joyfull Medytacyon of the Coronacyon of Kyng Henry the eyght* [1509] he alludes to him not inelegantly :

The ryght eloquent poete and monke of bery  
Made many fayre bookes/ as it is probable  
From ydle derkenes/ to lyght and emyspery  
Whoe vertuous pastyme/ was moche comendable  
Presentynge his bookes/ gretely prouffitable  
To your worthy predeceffour the V. Kyng Henry  
Whiche regyftred is in the courte of memory.

And again, in the *Converfyon of Swerers*, 1509, there is this stanza :

Amonge all other my good mayfter Lydgate  
The eloquent poete and monke of bury  
Dyde bothe conteyne and also translate  
Many vertues bokes to be in memory  
Touchynge the trouthe well and sentencyously  
But syth that his deth was intollerable  
I praye God rewarde hym in lyfe perdurable.

Nor must we omit to take notice of Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Menfam*, are of the earliest codes of instruction for behaviour at table. There are several MSS. of it. Caxton printed it once and Wynkyn de Worde several times. Two other writers, John Russell and Hugh Rhodes, founded similar treatises upon it. The latter calls himself Lydgate's scholar.

Lydgate's translation of *The Life of St. Alban* and *The Life and Passion of St. Imphabel* was perhaps founded on the Latin elegiac poem composed in the twelfth century by Robert of Dunstable, and first printed at St. Albans in 1534, with many woodcuts. It is in seven-line stanzas ; it purports to have been published at the instigation of Robert Cotton, abbot of St. Albans. The poem seems to

"That sawe in dreame, at point devise,  
Heven and erth, hell, and paradise."

And in other places.

<sup>1</sup> He makes Scipio say to him, ver 109 :

"Thou hast the so wel borne  
In lokenge of myn olde booke al to torne,  
Of which Macrobe roght noght a lyte," &c.

<sup>2</sup> [Morris's *Chaucer*, iv. 52, ver. 32.]

have been written in 1439, and there is a MS. of it in the library of Trinity College, Oxford.]

Lydgate's chief *prose* work was a translation in 1413 (with additions), of the *Pelerinage de la vie humaine* of Guillaume De Deguileville, prior of Chalis.<sup>1</sup>

The French book, [from which he translated], is a vision, and has some degree of imagination. In the colophon to Caxton's English copy of De Deguileville's *Second Pilgrimage* are these words: "Here endeth the dreame of *Pylgremage of the soule* tranflatid oute of Frensch in to Englishe, with fomewhat of addicions, the yere of our lord m.cccc. & thyrten, and endeth in the Vigyle of seynt Bartholomew." The translator of this book, at least the author of the *Additions*, which altogether consist of poetry in seven-lined stanzas, I believe to be Lydgate. Not to insist on the correspondence of time and style, I observe, that the thirty-fourth chapter of Lydgate's metrical *Life of the Virgin Mary* is literally repeated in the thirty-fourth chapter of this Translation.<sup>2</sup> This chapter is a digression of five or six stanzas in praise of Chaucer; in which the writer feelingly laments the recent death of his "maister Chaucer, poete of Britaine," who used to "amende and correcte the wronge traces of my rude penne." No writer besides, in Lydgate's own life-time, can be supposed, with any sort of grace or propriety, to have mentioned those personal assistances of Chaucer in Lydgate's own words. And if we suppose that the Translation, or its "Additions," were written by Lydgate, before he wrote his *Life of the Virgin*, the proof will be the same.<sup>3</sup>

[But besides Lydgate's metrical copy of De Deguileville in 1413, we have to notice one in prose, executed about the same time by an anonymous writer, who speaks of the original author merely as *Johan the Preeffe*. This prose version was taken in fact from the French of Jean Gallopes, priest of Angers, who subsequently became Dean of the Collegiate Church of Saint Louis de Saulfoye, in Evreux, and chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. Gallopes professes to have undertaken his labour at the request of Jeanne Maillart, dame de Savegines, who seems to be identical with

<sup>1</sup> [*The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Soule*, &c. Edited by K. I. Cuff, 1859. The English was printed by W. Caxton in 1483, and is partly republished in Miss Cuff's volumes.]

<sup>2</sup> [De Deguileville produced three Pilgrimages, 1. *Of Man*: 2. *Of the Soul*: 3. *Of Christ*.—F. These appear to have been all written before 1358. Of the two former specimens have been afforded by Miss Cuff, in the two volumes printed in 1859, with some interesting facsimiles. The prose English translation mentioned in the text (whether prior to Lydgate's metrical version or not, seems to be uncertain), is in the University Library, Cambridge, and has been edited by Mr. W. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club, 1869. A beautiful, though not perhaps very early, MS. of the *Roman des Trois Pelerinages*, with very spirited and well-executed drawings, is in the possession of Mr. H. Huth. For further particulars as to the MSS. of De Deguileville's tripartite work, and of the early printed editions of it, see Mr. Aldis Wright's *Preface*.]

<sup>3</sup> Ad calc. Opp. Chauc. fol. 376, col. 1. Stow mentions Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the World* "by the commaundement of the earle of Salisburie, 1426." [MS. Cotton. Vitell. C. xiii. part-printed.—F.]

Jeanne de Laval, the name given to the lady in another MS. of the work. Gallopes, who survived till 1435, also accomplished, at the request of his patron the Regent Bedford, a prose translation of De Deguileville's *Second Pilgrimage* (*Pelerinage de l'ame*), which he dedicated to the duke.<sup>1</sup> In Bennet College Library there is an elegant illuminated MS. of Bonaventura's *Life of Christ*, translated by the same Gallopes, containing a curious picture of the translator presenting his book to Henry V.; this is the same *Speculum Vitæ Christi*, which Caxton printed in English (the translator unknown) about 1488.<sup>2</sup> The English is not a rare MS.<sup>3</sup>

## SECTION XXII.



LYDGATE'S [best-known] poems are the *Fall of Princes*, the *Siege of Thebes*, and the *Destruction of Troy*. Of all these I shall speak distinctly.

About the year 1360, Boccaccio wrote a Latin history in ten books, entitled *De Casibus Virorum et Feminarum illustrium*. Like other chronicles of the times, it commences with Adam, and is brought down to the author's age. Its last grand event is John, king of France taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1359.<sup>4</sup> This book of Boccaccio was twice translated into French [in the first instance by an anonymous hand, whose version appeared from the press of Colard Mansion at Bruges in 1476, and secondly] by [Laurence de Premierfait: in this case] so paraphrastically and with so many considerable additions, as almost to be rendered a new work.<sup>5</sup> Laurence's French translation was

<sup>1</sup> [The Warton Club (since dissolved) promised an edition of an early English translation of this second portion of De Deguileville from a MS. in the public library at Cambridge, with the title of the *Pylgrym*.]

<sup>2</sup> [See Blades, ii. 1946.]

[*Ibid.* 196.]

<sup>4</sup> [Often printed in Latin and French. See a copious bibliography in the last edit. of Brunet, i. 986, *et seqq.* A Spanish translation appeared at Seville in 1495, and an Italian one at Venice in 1545.]

<sup>5</sup> In Lydgate's *Prologue*, B. i. fol. i. a, col. 1, edit. Wayland:

"He that sumtime did his diligence  
The boke of Bochas in French to translate  
Out of Latin he was called Laurence."

He says that Laurence (in his Prologue) declares, that he avails himself of the privilege of skilful artificers, "who may chaunge and turne, by good discretion, shapen and forms, and newly them devise, make and unmake, &c." And that old authors may be rendered more agreeable, by being clothed in new ornaments of language, and improved with new inventions. *Ibid.* a, col. 1. He adds, that it was Laurence's design, in his translation into French, "to amende, correct, and declare, and not to spare thinges touched shortly." *Ibid.* col. 2. Afterwards he calls him this noble translatour. *Ibid.* b. col. 1. In another place, where a panegyric on France is introduced, he says that this passage is not Boccaccio's, but added,

[first] printed at Lyons in 1483;<sup>1</sup> it is the original of Lydgate's poem. This Laurence or Laurent, sometimes called Laurent de Premierfait, a village in the diocese of Troies, was an ecclesiastic and a famous translator. He also translated into French Boccaccio's *Decameron*, at the request of Jeanne, queen of Navarre: Cicero's *De Amicitia* and *de Senectute*; and Aristotle's *Oeconomics*, dedicated to Louis de Bourbon, the king's uncle. These versions appeared in the year[s] 1414 and 1416.<sup>2</sup> Caxton's [English versions of Cicero *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*] printed [together] in 1481, were translated from Laurence's French version. Caxton, in the [colophon], calls him *Laurence de primo facto*.

Lydgate's poem consists of nine books, and is entitled in the earliest edition: [*The Boke calledde Iohn Bochas Discriuinge the Falle of Princys.*]<sup>3</sup> The best and most authentic MS. of this piece is in the British Museum; probably written under the inspection of the author, and perhaps intended as a present to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, at whose gracious command the poem, as I have before hinted, was undertaken. It contains, among numerous miniatures illustrating the several histories, portraits of Lydgate and of another monk habited in black, perhaps an abbot of Bury, kneeling before a prince, who seems to be Saint Edmund, seated on a throne under a canopy, and grasping an arrow.<sup>4</sup>

The work is not improperly styled a set of tragedies. It is not merely a narrative of men eminent for their rank and misfortunes. The plan is perfectly dramatic, and partly suggested by the pageants of the times. Every personage is supposed to appear before the poet, and to relate his respective sufferings: and the figures of these spectres

"By one Laurence which was translatur  
Of this proesse to commende France;  
To praye that lande was all his pleasaunce."

B. ix. ch. 28, fol. 31, a, col. 1, edit. *ut infr.* Our author in the Prologue above cited, seems to speak as if there had been a previous translation of Boccaccio's book into French. *Ut supr.* a, col. 1:

"Thus Laurence from him envy excluded  
Though toforne him translated was this book."

[Alluding of course to the anonymous version of 1476.]

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Harl. See also *ibid.* MSS. Reg. 18 D. vii., and 16 G. v. And MSS. Bodl. F. 10, 2. [2465.] He is said to have translated this work in 1409. MSS. Reg. *ut supr.* 20 C. iv.] In folio. [In 1578, was published a third French version, "reduit en neuf livres, par Cl. Witart." See Brunet, *ut supr.* 988-9.]

<sup>2</sup> He died in 1418. See Martene, *Ampl. Collect.* tom. ii. 1405. And *Mem. de Litt.* xvii. 759, 4to. Compare du Verdier, *Biblioth.* Fr. p. 72. And *Bibl. Rom.* ii. 291. It is extraordinary that the piece before us should not be mentioned by the French antiquaries as one of Laurence's translations. Lydgate, in the Prologue above cited, observes that Laurence, who in "cunying did excel," undertook this translation at the request of some eminent personages in France, who had the interest of "rhetorike" at heart. *Ut supr.* a, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> [Lond. by R. Pynson, 1494, folio.] There is a small piece not connected with this, entitled: "The Tragedy of princes that were lecherous." MSS. Ashmol. 59, ii.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Harl. 1766, fol. 5.

are sometimes finely drawn. Hence a source is opened for moving compassion, and for a display of imagination. In some of the lives the author replies to the speaker, and a sort of dialogue is introduced for conducting the story. Brunchild, a queen of France, who murdered all her children, and was afterwards hewn in pieces, appears thus :

She came, arayed nothyng lyke a quene,  
Her heer vntressed, Bochas toke good hede ;  
In all his boke he had afore nat sene  
A more wofull creature in dede,  
With weping eyen, to-torne was all her wede :  
Rebuking Bochas cauſe he had left behynde  
Her wretchydnesse for to put in mynde.<sup>1</sup>

Yet in some of these interesting interviews our poet excites pity of another kind. When Adam appears, he familiarly accosts the author with the salutation of Cosyn Bochas.<sup>2</sup>

Nor does our dramatist deal only in real characters and historical personages. Boccaccio, standing pensive in his library, is alarmed at the sudden entrance of the gigantic and monstrous image of Fortune, whose agency has so powerful and universal an influence in human affairs, and especially in effecting those vicissitudes which are the subject of this work. There is a Gothic greatness in her figure, with some touches of the grotesque. An attribute of the early poetry of all nations, before ideas of selection have taken place. I must add, that it was the admired allegory of Boethius on the *Consolation of Philosophy*, which introduced personification into the poetry of the middle ages.

Whyle Bochas penyſe ſtode in his lybrary,  
With chere oppreſſed, pale in his vyſage,  
Somdeale abaſhed, alone and ſolytary ;  
To him appeared a monſtrous ymage,  
Parted on twayne of colour and corage,  
Her right ſyde full of ſommer floures,  
The tother oppreſſed with winter ſtormy ſhoures.

Bochas aſtonyed, fearfull for to abrayde,  
Whan he behelde the wonderfull fygure  
Of Fortune, thus to him ſelfe he ſayd.

“ What may this meane ? Is this a creature,  
Or a monſtre transfourmed agayne nature,  
Whoſe brenning eyen ſpercle of their light,  
As do ſterres the froſty wynter nyght ? ”

And of her chere full good hede he toke ;  
Her face ſemyng cruell and terrible,  
And by diſdayne manacinge of loke ;  
Her heare vntruſted, harde, ſharpe, and horryble,  
Frowarde of ſhap, lothſome, and odyble :  
An hundred handes ſhe had, of eche parte,<sup>3</sup>  
In ſondry wyſe her gyftes to departe.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Book ix. chap. 3.]

<sup>2</sup> B. i. [ed. 1527.] In the ſame ſtyle he calls Ixion Juno's ſecretary. B. i. ch. xii. fol. xxi. b, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> on either ſide.

<sup>4</sup> diſtribute.

Some of her handès lyft vp men alofte,  
 To hye estate of worldly dignyte;  
 Another hande griped full vniofte,  
 Whiche caste another in great aduerfyte,  
 Gaue one rycheffe, an other pouerte,  
 Gaue some also by reporte a good name,  
 Noyfed an other of flaundre and diffame.

Her habyte was of manyfolde colours,  
 Watchet blewe of fayned stedfastnesse,  
 Her golde allayed like son in watry shours,  
 Meynt<sup>1</sup> with grene, for chaunge and doublenesse.<sup>2</sup>

Her hundred hands, her burning eyes, and dishevelled tresses, are sublimely conceived. After a long silence, with a stern countenance she addresses Bochas, who is greatly terrified at her horrible appearance; and having made a long harangue on the revolutions and changes which it is her business to produce among men of the most prosperous condition and the most elevated station, she calls up Caius Marius, and presents him to the poet:

Blacke his wede, and his habyte also,  
 His heed vnkempt, his lockes hore and gray,  
 His loke down-cast in token of sorow and wo;  
 On his chekes the false teares lay,  
 Whiche bare recorde of his deedly affray.

His robe stayned was with Romaine blode,  
 His sworde aye redy whet to do vengeance;  
 Lyke a tyraunt most furyous and wode,<sup>3</sup>  
 In slaughter and murdre set all his plesaunce.<sup>4</sup>

She then teaches Bochas how to describe his life, and disappears:

These wordes sayd, Fortune made an ende,  
 She bete her wynges, and toke her to flight,  
 I can nat se what way she dyd wende;  
 Saue Bochas telleth, like an aungell bright,  
 At her departyng she shewed a great light.<sup>5</sup>

In another place Dante "of Florence, the laureate poete, demure of loke fullfilled with patience," appears to Boccaccio, and commands him to write the tale of Gualter, duke of Florence, whose days, "for his tyranny, lechery, and covetyse, ended in mischefe." Dante then vanishes, and only Duke Gualter is left alone with the poet.<sup>6</sup> Petrarch is also introduced for the same purpose.<sup>7</sup>

The following golden couplet, concerning the prodigies which preceded the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, indicates dawnings of that poetical colouring of expression and of that facility of versification, which mark the poetry of [later] times:

Serpentes and adders, scaled syluer-bright,  
 Were ouer Rome sene flyeng all the nyght.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> mingled.

<sup>2</sup> Book vi.

<sup>3</sup> mad.

<sup>4</sup> B. vi. ch. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> B. ix. In another place Dante's three books on heaven, purgatory, and hell, are particularly commended. B. iv. Prol.

<sup>7</sup> B. viii. Prol. He mentions all Petrarch's works, Prol. B. iv.

<sup>8</sup> B. vi. ch. 11.

These verses, in which the poet describes the reign of Saturn, have much harmony, strength, and dignity :

Fortytude stode tho in his might,  
Defended wydowes, and cheryfshed chastyte ;  
Knighthod in prowesse gaue so clere a light,  
Gyrte with his sworde of trouth and equite.<sup>1</sup>

Apollo, Diana- and Minerva, joining the Roman army, when Rome was besieged by Brennus, are poetically touched :

Appollo first shewed his presence,  
Freshe, yonge, and lusty, as any sonne thence,  
Armed all with golde ; and with great violence  
Entred the felde, as it was well sene :  
And Diana came with her arowes kene :  
And Mynerua in a bright haberioun ;  
Which in their comyng made a terrible soun.<sup>2</sup>

The following lines are remarkable :

God hath a thoufande handes to chastyse,  
A thoufande dartes of punicion,  
A thoufande bowes made in dyuers wyse,  
A thoufande arowblastes bent in his dongeon.<sup>3</sup>

Lydgate, in this poem, quotes Seneca's tragedies<sup>4</sup> (for the story of Oedipus), Tully, Virgil and his commentator Servius, Ovid, Livy, Lucan, Lactantius, Justin<sup>5</sup> or "prudent Justinus an old croniclere," Josephus, Valerius Maximus, Saint Jerom's chronicle, Boethius,<sup>6</sup> Plato on the immortality of the soul,<sup>7</sup> and Fulgentius the mythologist.<sup>8</sup> He mentions "noble Perfius," Prosper's epigrams, Vegetius on Tactics, which was highly esteemed (as its subject coincided with the chivalry of the times), and which had been just translated into French by [Christine de Pise], and into English by John Trevisa,<sup>9</sup> "the grene chaplet of Esop and Juvenal,"<sup>10</sup> Euripides "in his tyme a great tragician, because he wrote many tragedies," and another called *Clarke Demosthenes*.<sup>11</sup> For a catalogue of Tully's works, he refers to the *Speculum Historiale*<sup>12</sup> or *Myrrour Hystoriall*, of Vincent of Beauvais, and says that he wrote twelve books of Orations, and several "morall ditties."<sup>13</sup> Aristotle is introduced as teaching Alexander and Callisthenes philosophy.<sup>14</sup> With regard to Homer, he

<sup>1</sup> B. vii. ch. 10.

<sup>2</sup> B. iv. ch. 23.

<sup>3</sup> tower; castle. B. i. ch. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ch. 9.

<sup>5</sup> B. i. ch. 11; B. ii. ch. 6; B. iii. ch. 14; *ibid.* ch. 25; B. iv. ch. 11. See Prol. B. i.

<sup>6</sup> B. ii. ch. 15; *ibid.* ch. 16; *ibid.* ch. 2; *ibid.* ch. 30; B. viii. ch. 24.

<sup>7</sup> B. iii. ch. 5.

<sup>8</sup> B. ix. ch. 1, from whom Boccaccio largely transcribes in his *Genealogie Deorum*, hereafter mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 233. *Princip.* "In olde tyme it was the manere." Finished at the command of his patron Thomas lord Berkeley. [Christine de Pise's version of Vegetius (with much additional matter interspersed by the translator) was translated by Caxton 4 Hen. VII. See Blades, ii. 205-8.]

<sup>10</sup> Prol. B. iv.

<sup>11</sup> B. ii. ch. 22.

<sup>12</sup> See *supra*.

<sup>13</sup> B. vi. ch. 15.

<sup>14</sup> B. iv. ch. 9. This is from Aristotle's *Secretum Secretorum*, which Lydgate,

observes that "Grete Omerus, in Ifidore ye may see, founde amonge Grekes the crafte of eloquence."<sup>1</sup> By Ifidore he means the *Origines* or *Etymologies* of Isidorus [junior] Hispalensis, in twenty books; a system of universal information, the encyclopedia of the dark ages, and printed [at Augsburgh] before 1472.<sup>2</sup> In another place he censures the singular partiality of the book called *Omere*, which places Achilles above Hector.<sup>3</sup> Again, speaking of the Greek writers, he tells us that Boccaccio mentions a "scriveyn" or scribe, who in a small scroll of paper wrote the destruction of Troy, following Homer: he adds that this history was much esteemed among the Greeks on account of its brevity.<sup>4</sup> This was Dictys Cretensis or Dares Phrygius. But for perpetuating the achievements of the knights of the round table, he supposes that a clerk was appointed, and that he compiled a register from the poursuivants and heralds who attended their tournaments, and that thence the histories of those invincible champions were framed, which, whether read or sung, have afforded so much delight.<sup>5</sup> For the stories of Constantine and Arthur he brings as his vouchers the romantic chronicle called *Brut* and Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>6</sup> He concludes the legend of Constantine by telling us that an equestrian statue in brass is still to be seen at Constantinople of that emperor, in which he appears armed with a prodigious sword, menacing the Turks.<sup>7</sup> In describing the Pantheon at Rome, he gives us some circumstances highly romantic. He relates that this magnificent fane was full of gigantic idols, placed on lofty stages: these images were the gods of all the nations conquered by the Romans, and each turned his countenance to that province over which he presided. Every image held in his hand a bell framed by magic; and when any kingdom belonging to the Roman jurisdiction was

---

as I have mentioned above, translated. But he did not finish the translation, for about the middle of it we have this note, "Here dyed this translator and notable poet John Lydgate, monk of Bury; and Fowler bygan his prolog in this wyfe, 'Where floure of knighthood the bataile doth refuse.'" Fol. 336, MSS. Laud. K. 53. The Prologue consists of ten stanzas, in which he compares himself to a dwarf entering the lists, when the knight is foiled. But it is the *young* Fowler in MSS. Laud. B. xxiv. In the Harleian copy of this piece I find the following note, at fol. 236: "Here deyde the translatur a noble poete Dan Johne Lydgate, and his *folowere* began his prologe in this wise. Per Benedictum Burghie. 'Where floure of,' &c. MSS. Harl. 2251, 117. It must be observed that there was a Benedict Burghie coeval with Lydgate, and preferred to many dignities in the church, who translated into English verse, for the use of Lord Bourchier, son of the Earl of Essex, [*Magnus et Parvus Cato*, the latter being the later additions of Daniel Churcher at the end of the twelfth century. Of this Caxton printed two editions in 4to., and a third in folio.] More will be said of [Cato] in its proper place.

<sup>1</sup> B. ii. ch. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See Gesner. *Bibl.* p. 468 and Matt. *Annal. Typ.* i. p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> B. iv. Prol. fol. 93, a, col. 1.

<sup>4</sup> B. ii. cap. 15, fol. 51, b, col. 1.

<sup>5</sup> B. viii. ch. 25. See *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> B. viii. ch. 13. See *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> B. viii. Boccaccio wrote the original Latin of this work, long before the Turks took and sacked Constantinople in 1453.

meditating rebellion against the imperial city, the idol of that country gave, by some secret principle, a solemn warning of the distant treason by striking his bell, which never sounded on any other occasion.<sup>1</sup> Our author, following Boccaccio who wrote the *Theſeid*, supposes that Theseus founded the order of knighthood at Athens.<sup>2</sup> He introduces, much in the manner of Boethius, a disputation between Fortune and Poverty, supposed to have been written by Andalus the *blake*, a doctor of astronomy at Naples, who was one of Bochas's preceptors.

At Naples whylom, as he dothe specifiye,  
In his youth when he<sup>3</sup> to schole went,  
There was a doctour of astronomye.—  
And he was called *Andalus the blake*.<sup>4</sup>

Lydgate appears to have been far advanced in years when he finished this poem: for at the beginning of the eighth book he complains of his trembling joints, and declares that age, having benumbed his faculties, has deprived him "of all the subtylte of curious making in Englyshe to endyte."<sup>5</sup> Our author, in the structure and modulation of his style, seems to have been ambitious of rivaling Chaucer,<sup>6</sup> whose capital compositions he enumerates, and on whose poetry he bestows repeated encomiums.<sup>7</sup>

Lydgate's *Story of Thebes* was first printed [by Wynkyn de Worde, about 1500, with the *Temple of Glas* and the *Interpretacion of Godes and Goddesſes*,<sup>8</sup> in 4to, and was republished] by William Thynne, at the end of his edition of Chaucer's Works in 1561.

The author introduces it as an additional Canterbury Tale. After a severe sickness, having a design to visit the shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, he arrives in that city, while Chaucer's pilgrims were assembled there for the same purpose; and by mere accident, not suspecting to find so numerous and respectable a company, goes to their inn. There is some humour in our monk's travelling figure:<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. viii. ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> B. i. c. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Boccaccio.

<sup>4</sup> B. iii. ch. 1. "He rede in scholes the moving of the heavens," &c. Boccaccio mentions with much regard *Andalus de Nigro* as one of his masters in his *Geneal. Deor.* lib. xv. cap. vi. And says, that Andalus has extant many *Opuscula astrorum calique motus ostendentia*. I think Leander, in his *Italia*, calls this Andalus, *Andalotius niger, curiosus astrologus*. See Papyrius Maf. *Elog.* tom. ii. p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> B. vii. Prol. He calls himself older than sixty years.

<sup>6</sup> Prol. B. i.

[ Among these, the following invites citation :

" My master Chaucer with his fresh comedies,  
Is deade, alas, chiefe poete of Brytayne :  
That sumtime made ful piteous tragedies.  
The fall of prynces he did also complayne,  
As he that was of making fouerayne,  
Whom al this lande of ryght ought preſarre;  
Sith of our language he was the lode-ſtarre."—*Park.*]

<sup>8</sup> [ *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Lydgate.* ]

<sup>9</sup> Edit. 1598, ad calc. *Chaucer's Works*, fol. 370, Prol.

In a cope of blacke, and not of greene,  
On a palfray, slender, long, and lene,  
With rustie bridell, made not for the sale,  
My man toforne with a void male.<sup>1</sup>

He sees, standing in the hall of the inn, the convivial host of the tabard, full of his own importance; who without the least introduction or hesitation thus addresses our author, quite unprepared for such an abrupt salutation:

Dan Pers,  
Dan Dominike, Dan Godfray, or Clement,  
Ye be welcome newly into Kent;  
Though your bridel haue nother boos, ne bell,  
Beseeching you that ye wil tell,  
First of your name, and what countre  
Without more, shortly that ye be,  
That loke so pale, all deuoid of blood,  
Vpon your head a wonder thredbare hood.<sup>2</sup>

Our host then invites him to supper, and promises that he shall have made according to his own directions a large pudding, a round *bagis*, a French *moile*, or a *phrafe* of eggs: adding, that he looked extremely lean for a monk, and must certainly have been sick, or else belong to a poor monastery; that some nut-brown ale after supper will be of service, and that a quantity of the seed of annis, cummin, or coriander, taken before going to bed would remove flatulences. But above all, says the host, cheerful company would be your best physician. You shall not only sup with me and my companions this evening, but return with us to-morrow to London; yet on condition, that you will submit to one of the indispensable rules of our society, which is to tell an entertaining story while we are travelling.

What, looke vp, Monke! For by Cokes<sup>3</sup> blood,  
Thou shalt be merrie, who so that say nay;  
For to-morow, anon as it is day,  
And that it ginne in the east [to] daw,<sup>4</sup>  
Thou shalt be bound to a new law,  
At going out of Canterburie town,  
And lien aside thy professioun;  
Thou shalt not chese,<sup>5</sup> nor thy selfe withdraw,  
If any mirth be found in thy maw,  
Like the custome of this company;  
For none so proud that dare me denie,  
Knight, nor knaue, chanon, priest, ne nonne,  
To tell a tale plainly as they konne,<sup>6</sup>  
When I assigne, and see time oportune;  
And, for that we our purpose woll contune,<sup>7</sup>  
We will homeward the same custome vse.<sup>8</sup>

Our monk, unable to withstand this profusion of kindness and festivity, accepts the host's invitation, and sups with the pilgrims. The next morning, as they are all riding from Canterbury to Otpringe, the host reminds his friend Dan John of what he had men-

<sup>1</sup> portmanteau.<sup>3</sup> God's.<sup>6</sup> can, or know.<sup>2</sup> Edit. 1598, ad calc. *Chaucer's Works*, fol. 370, Prol.<sup>4</sup> dawn.<sup>7</sup> continue.<sup>5</sup> chuse.<sup>8</sup> Fol. 370, back.

tioned in the evening, and without farther ceremony calls for a story. Lydgate obeys his commands, and recites the tragical destruction of the city of Thebes.<sup>1</sup> As the story is very long, a pause is made in descending a very steep hill near the Thrope<sup>2</sup> of Broughton on the Blee; when our author, who was not furnished with that accommodation for knowing the time of the day, which modern improvements in science have given to the traveller, discovers by an accurate examination of [the cylinder or pocket-dial (mentioned by Shakespeare, and in much more recent times used in some rustic districts),] in which the sun's horary progress along the equator was marked—that it was nine in the morning.<sup>3</sup>

It has been said, but without any authority or probability, that Chaucer first wrote this story in a Latin narrative, which Lydgate afterwards translated into English verse. Our author's originals are Guido di Colonna, Statius, and Seneca the tragedian.<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Trivet, an English Dominican friar of London, who [died about 1529], has left a commentary on Seneca's tragedies.<sup>5</sup> [Seneca's works were] printed [at Naples] so early as [1475]. Lydgate in this poem often refers to "myne auctor" who, I suppose is Colonna.<sup>6</sup> He sometimes cites Boccaccio's Latin tracts: particularly the *Genealogiæ Deorum*, a work which at the restoration of learning greatly contributed to familiarise the classical stories: *De Casibus virorum illustrium*, the ground-work of the *Fall of Princes* just mentioned; and *De Claris Mulieribus*, in which Pope Joan is one of the heroines.<sup>7</sup> From the first, he has taken the story of Amphion building the walls of Thebes by the help of Mercury's harp, and the interpretation of that fable, together with the fictions<sup>8</sup> about Lycurgus, king of Thrace.<sup>9</sup> From the second, as I recollect, the accoutrements of Polymites:<sup>10</sup> and from the third, part of the tale of Isophile.<sup>11</sup> He also characterises Boccaccio for a talent, by which he is not now so generally known—

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Or Thorpe. Properly a lodge in a forest. A hamlet. It occurs again, pag. 651, col. 1:

"Bren townes, thropes, and villages."

And in the *Troye Boke*, he mentions, "provinces, borowes, vyllages, and thropes." B. ii. c. x.

<sup>3</sup> Pag. 630, col. 2. [Chilindre, or cylinder, a kind of pocket sun-dial.—F.]

<sup>4</sup> See pag. 630, col. 1.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 8, 6. Leland saw this Commentary in the library of the Cistercian abbey of Buckfast-Lees in Devonshire. Col. iii. p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> Pag. 623, col. 2; 630, col. 1; 632, col. 2; 635, col. 2; 647, col. 2; 654, col. 1; 659, col. 1. See *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> First printed, Ulm. 1473, fol. [For an account of an early English translation by Henry Parker, Lord Morley, temp. Hen. VIII., see *infra*, iv. 80.]

<sup>8</sup> Lydgate says, that this was the same Lycurgus who came as an ally with Palamon to Athens against his brother Arcite, drawn by four white bulls, and crowned with a wreath of gold. Pag. 650, col. 2. See *Kn. Tale*, v. 2131. Our author expressly refers to Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* about Theseus, and with some address, "As ye have before heard it related in passing through Deptford," &c.

<sup>9</sup> Pag. 623, col. 2; 624, col. 1; 651, col. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Pag. 634, col. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Pag. 648, col. 1, *seq.*

for his poetry; and styles him, "among poetes in Itaile stalled."<sup>1</sup> But Boccaccio's *Thefeid* was yet in vogue. He says, that when Oedipus was married, none of the Muses was present, as they were at the wedding of *Sapience* with *Eloquence*, described by that poet "whilom so sage, Matrician inamed de Capella." This is Mar-  
 cianus Mineus Felix de Capella, who lived about the year 470, and whose Latin profaico-metrical work, *de Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, in two books, an introduction to his seven books or system of the *Seven Sciences*, I have mentioned before: a writer highly extolled by Scotus Erigena,<sup>2</sup> Peter of Blois,<sup>3</sup> John of Salisbury, and other early authors in corrupt Latinity;<sup>4</sup> and of such estimation in the dark centuries, as to be taught in the seminaries of philological education as a classic.<sup>5</sup> Among the royal MSS. in the British Museum, one occurs written about the eleventh century, which is a commentary on these nine books of Capella, compiled by Duncant an Irish bishop,<sup>6</sup> and given to his scholars in the monastery of Saint Rhemigius.<sup>7</sup> They were early translated into Latin leonine rhymes, and are often imitated by Saxo Grammaticus.<sup>8</sup> Gregory of Tours has the vanity to hope, that no reader will think his Latinity barbarous: not even those, who have refined their taste, and enriched their understanding with a complete knowledge of every species of literature, by studying attentively this treatise of Capella.<sup>9</sup> Alexander Neckam, a learned abbot of Cirencester, and a voluminous Latin writer about the year 1210, wrote annotations on Capella, which are yet preserved.<sup>10</sup> His work was first printed in 1499, and [two or three other editions appeared during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.] This piece of Capella, dictated by the ideal philosophy of Plato, is supposed to have led the way to the celebrated Consolation of Philosophy<sup>11</sup> by Boethius.

The marriage of Sapience and Eloquence, or Mercury and Phi-

<sup>1</sup> Pag. 651, col. 1.    <sup>2</sup> *De Divis. Natur.* lib. iii. pp. 147-8.    <sup>3</sup> Epist. 101.

<sup>4</sup> See Alcuin. *De Sept. Artib.* p. 1256. Honorius Augustodunus, *De Philosophia Mundi*, lib. ii. cap. 5. And the book of Thomas Cantipratanus attributed to Boethius, *De Disciplina Scholarium*. Compare Barth. ad Claudian. p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Barth. ad Briton. p. 110. "Medii ævi scholas tenuit, adolescentibus prælectus," &c. See Wilibaldus, *Epist.* 147, tom. ii. *Vet. Monum.* Marten. p. 334.

<sup>6</sup> Leland says he saw this work in the library of Worcester abbey. *Coll.* iii. p. 268.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. Reg. 15, A. xxxiii. Liber olim S. Remig. Studio Gifardi scriptus. Labb. *Bibl. Nov. Manuscr.* p. 66. In imitation of the first part of this work, a Frenchman, Jo. Boræus, wrote *Nuptiæ Jurisconsulti et Philologiae*, Paris, 1651, 4to.

<sup>8</sup> Stephan. in Prolegomen. c. xix. And in the notes, *passim*. He is adduced by Fulgentius.

<sup>9</sup> *Hist. Fr.* lib. x. *ad calc.* A MS. of Capella, more than 700 years old, is mentioned by Pez. *Thesaur. Anecd.* [1721-9], tom. iii. p. 620. But by some writers of the early ages he is censured as obscure. Galfridus Canonicus, who flourished about 1170, declares, "Non petimus nos, aut lascivire cum Sidonio, aut vernare cum Hortensio, aut involvere cum Marciano." Apud Marten. *ubi supra*, tom. i. p. 506. He will occur again.

<sup>10</sup> Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 221; and in other places. As did Scotus Erigena (*Labb. Bibl. Nov. Manuscr.* p. 45) and others of that period.

<sup>11</sup> See Mabillon. *Itin. Ital.* p. 221.

lology, as described by Capella, at which Clio and Calliope with all their sisters assisted, and from which Discord and Sedition, the great enemies of literature, were excluded, is artfully introduced, and beautifully contrasted with that of Oedipus and Jocasta, which was celebrated by an assemblage of the most hideous beings :

Ne there was none of the Muses nint,  
But one accord to maken melody :  
For there song not, by heauenly armony,  
Neither Clio nor Caliope,  
None of the sustren in nomber thriſe thre,  
As they did, when Philolaie,<sup>1</sup>  
Ascended vp high aboute the skie,  
To be wedded : this Lady vertuous,  
Unto her Lord the God Mercurius.—  
But at his weddinge, plainly for to tell,  
Was Cerberus, chief porter of hell ;  
And Herebus, fader to Hatred,  
Was there present with his wholl kinred,  
His wife also<sup>2</sup> with her browes blacke  
And her daughters, sorow for to make,  
Hidously chered, and vgly for to see,  
Megera and Thesiphonee,  
Alecto eke : with Labour and Envie,  
Drede, Fraude, and falsē Tretcherie,  
Trefon, Povert, Indigence, and Nede,  
And cruell Death in his rent wede :<sup>3</sup>  
Wretchednesse, Complaint, and eke Rage,  
Fearfull Pale, Dronkenness, croked age :  
Cruell Mars, and many a Tigre wood,<sup>4</sup>  
Brenning<sup>5</sup> Ire, and vnkind blood,  
Fraternal hate, depe set in the root,  
Sauf only death that there was no boot :<sup>6</sup>  
Assured othes at fine vntrew,<sup>7</sup>  
All these folke were at wedding new,  
To make the towne desolate and bare,  
As the story after shall declare.<sup>8</sup>

The bare conception of the attendance of this allegorical group on these incestuous espousals is highly poetical : and although some of the personifications are not presented with the addition of any picturesque attributes, yet others are marked with the powerful pencil of Chaucer.

This poem is the *Thebais* of a troubadour. The old classical tale of Thebes is here clothed with feudal manners, enlarged with new fictions of the Gothic species, and furnished with the descriptions, circumstances and machineries appropriated to a romance of chivalry. The Sphinx is a terrible dragon, placed by a necromancer to guard a mountain, and to murder all travellers passing by.<sup>9</sup> Tydeus being wounded sees a castle on a rock, whose high towers and crested

<sup>1</sup> Philologia.

<sup>2</sup> garment.

<sup>3</sup> burning.

<sup>4</sup> "Oaths which proved false in the end."

<sup>5</sup> [*Story of Thebes* (Speght's Chaucer, 1598, fol. 374-5).]

<sup>6</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 373.]

<sup>7</sup> Night.

<sup>8</sup> the attendants on Mars.

<sup>9</sup> "Death was the only refuge or remedy."

pinnacles of polished stone glitter by the light of the moon : he gains admittance, is laid in a sumptuous bed of cloth and of gold, and healed of his wounds by a king's daughter.<sup>1</sup> Tydeus and Polymite tilt at midnight for a lodging before the gate of the palace of King Adrastus, who is awakened with the din of the strokes of their weapons which shake all the palace, and descends into the court with a long train by torch-light : he orders the two combatants to be disarmed, and clothed in rich mantles studded with pearls ; and they are conducted to repose by many a stair to a stately tower, after being served with a refectiō of hypocras from golden goblets. The next day they are both espoused to the king's two daughters, and entertained with tournaments, feasting, revels, and masques.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Tydeus having a message to deliver to Eteocles, king of Thebes, enters the hall of the royal palace, completely armed and on horseback, in the midst of a magnificent festival.<sup>3</sup> This palace, like a Norman fortress or feudal castle, is guarded with barbicans, portcullisses, chains, and fosses.<sup>4</sup> Adrastus wishes to close his old age in the repose of rural diversions, of hawking and hunting.<sup>5</sup>

The situation of Polymite, benighted in a solitary wilderness, is thus forcibly described :

Holding his way, of heart nothing light,  
Mate<sup>6</sup> and weary, till it draweth to night :  
And all the day beholding enuiron  
He neither saw Castle, Towre, ne toun ;  
The which thing greueth him full sore,  
And sodainly the Sea began to rore,  
Wind and tempest hidously t'arise,  
The raine down beat in full grisly wise ;  
That many a beast thereof was adrad,  
And nigh for fere gan to wexe mad,  
As it sempte by the wofull sownes  
Of Tigres, Beares, Bores, and Liouns ;  
Which to refute, and himselfe to saue,  
Euerich in hast draweth vnto his caue.  
But Polymite in this tempest huge  
Alas the while findeth no refuge.  
Ne him to shroud saw no where no succour,  
Till it was passed almost midnight houre.<sup>7</sup>

When Oedipus consults concerning his kindred the oracle of Apollo, whose image stood on a golden chariot with four wheels burned bright and sheen, animated with a fiend, the manner in which he receives his answer is touched with spirit and imagination :

And when Edippus by great deuocion  
Finished bath fully his orison,

<sup>1</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 382.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 377, *et seq.*] Concerning the dresses, perhaps in the masques, we have this line [*ibid.* fol. 378, *verso*.]

" And deuise of many a solein wede."

<sup>3</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 379.]

<sup>4</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 379, *verso*.]

<sup>5</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 378.]

<sup>6</sup> afraid ; fatigued.

<sup>7</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 376.]

The fiend anon, within inuifible,  
With a voice dreadful and horrible  
Bad him in haft take his voiage  
Toward Thebes, &c.<sup>1</sup>

In this poem, exclusively of that general one already mentioned, there are some curious mixtures of manners, and of classics and scripture. The nativity of Oedipus at his birth is calculated by the most learned astronomers and physicians.<sup>2</sup> Eteocles defends the walls of Thebes with great guns.<sup>3</sup> The priest Amphiorax or Amphiarus is styled a bishop, as in Chaucer;<sup>4</sup> and his wife is also mentioned. At a council held at Thebes, concerning the right of succession to the throne, Esdras and Solomon are cited: and the history of Nehemiah rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem is introduced.<sup>5</sup> The moral intended by this calamitous tale consists in shewing the pernicious effects of war: the diabolical nature of which our author still further illustrates by observing, that discord received its origin in hell, and that the first battle ever fought was that of Lucifer and his legion of rebel angels.<sup>6</sup> But that the argument may have the fullest confirmation, Saint Luke is then quoted to prove, that avarice, ambition and envy are the primary sources of contention, and that Christ came into the world to destroy these malignant principles, and to propagate universal charity.

At the close of the poem, the mediation of the holy virgin is invoked, to procure peace in this life and salvation in the next.<sup>7</sup> Yet it should be remembered, that this piece is written by a monk, and addressed to pilgrims.<sup>8</sup>

## SECTION XXIII.



HE third of Lydgate's poems which I proposed to consider, is the *Troy Book* or the *Destruction of Troy*. It was first printed at the command of Henry VIII., in the year 1513, with this title: [*"The bystorie / Sege and dystruceyon of Troye."*] On D 4 verso, occurs: "Here endette the Troye booke. Otherwise called the Sege of Troye / translated by Iohn Lydgate, monke of the Monastery of Bery."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 373.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 372.]

<sup>3</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 383-4.] Great and small, and some as large as *tonnes*.

<sup>4</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 384.]

<sup>5</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 378.]

<sup>6</sup> [*Ibid.* fol. 395 6.]

<sup>7</sup> [Pious invocations commonly conclude romances, as prayers for the king, &c. did plays and songs.—*A/hby.*]

<sup>8</sup> Lydgate was near fifty when this poem was written [fol. 370, edit. 1598].

<sup>9</sup> Among other curious decorations in the title-page [of edit. 1555] there are soldiers firing great guns at the city of Troy. Caxton, in his *Recuell of the Histories of Troye*, did not translate the account of the final destruction of the city from his French author Raoul le Feure, "for as moche as that worthifull and religio<sup>us</sup> man dan Iohn lidgate monke of Burye dide *translate hit but late*, after whos worke I fere to take vpon me," &c. At the end of B. ii.—[Blades, ii. 133.]

Another and a much more correct edition followed, under the care of [Robert] Braham, in the year 1555.<sup>1</sup> It was begun in 1414, the last year of the reign of Henry IV. It was written at that prince's command, and is dedicated to his successor. It was finished in 1420. In the Bodleian Library there is a MS. of this poem elegantly illuminated, with the picture of a monk presenting a book to a king.<sup>2</sup> From the splendour of the decorations, it appears to be the copy which Lydgate gave to Henry V.

This poem is professedly a translation or paraphrase of Guido di Colonna's romance, entitled *Historia Trojana*,<sup>3</sup> [and seems to have been taken from the French and Latin, one helping out the other, as was the usual practice with our old translators. The extreme probability is, that Lydgate was more familiar with the former language.]<sup>4</sup> I have before observed, that Colonna formed his Trojan History from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis,<sup>5</sup> who perpetually occur as authorities in Lydgate's translation. Homer is, however, referred to in this work; particularly in the catalogue or enumeration of the ships which brought the several Grecian leaders with their forces to the Trojan coast. It begins thus, on the testimony of Colonna:<sup>6</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> The full title may be seen in *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Colonna*. T. Heywood published a modernized version in 5-line stanzas, entitled *The Life and Death of Hector*, &c., 1614, folio.]

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Digb. 232. [Sir F. Madden seems to doubt whether Lydgate really was the translator. (Introd. to *Sir Gawayne*, xxxix.)]

<sup>3</sup> *Princip.* "Licet cotidie vetera recentioribus obruantur." [Of the original Latin, Panzer, in his *Annales Typographici*, enumerates about nine editions in the fifteenth century. See Dibdin's ed. of Herbert, i. 11.—*Park.*]

Of a Spanish version, by Petro Nuñez Degaldo, see [Brunet, last edition, ii. 171. This, however, was a romantic paraphrase, printed at Toledo in 1512. A translation of the work itself appeared at Seville in, if not before, 1502.]

<sup>4</sup> Yet he says, having finished his version, B. v. signat. EE i :

"I have no more of Latin to translate,  
After Dytes, Dares, and Guydo."

Again, he despairs of translating Guido's *Latin* elegantly. B. ii. c. x. [Guido's *Latin* can hardly mean anything but the original Colonna's *Historia Trojana*.—*Asby.*] See also B. iii. sign. R. iii.

<sup>5</sup> As Colonna's book is extremely scarce, and the subject interesting, I will translate a few lines from Colonna's Prologue and Postscript. From the Prologue. "These things, originally written by the Grecian Dictys and the Phrygian Dares, (who were present in the Trojan war, and faithful relators of what they saw,) are transferred into this book by Guido di Colonna, a judge. And although a certain Roman, Cornelius by name, the nephew of the great Sallustius, translated Dares and Dictys into Latin, yet, attempting to be concise, he has very improperly omitted those particulars of the history, which would have proved most agreeable to the reader. In my own book, therefore, every article belonging to the Trojan story will be comprehended."—And in his Postscript. "And I Guido de Colonna have followed the said Dictys in every particular; for this reason, because Dictys made his work perfect and complete in every thing. And I should have decorated this history with more metaphors and ornaments of style, and by incidental digressions, which are the pictures of composition. But deterred by the difficulty of the work," &c. Guido has indeed made Dictys nothing more than the groundwork of his story. All this is translated in Lydgate's Prologue.

<sup>6</sup> From Dict. Cretens. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 17, *seq.* edit. Dacer. Amstel. 1702. 4to.

Mine au'tour telleth howe Agamamnon,  
The worthi king, an hondred shippes brought.

And is closod with these lines :

Full many shyppe was in this nauye,  
Mo than Guydo maketh reherfayle,  
Towarde Troye with grekes for to fayle :  
For as Homer in his discrypcion  
Of Grekes shippes maketh mencion,  
Shortly affyrmyng the' man was neuer borne  
That such a nombre of shippes sawe toforne.<sup>1</sup>

In another place Homer, notwithstanding all his "rhetoryke and sugred eloquence," his "lusty songes" and "dytees swete," is blamed as a prejudiced writer, who favours the Greeks:<sup>2</sup> a censure which flowed from the favourite and prevailing notion held by the western nations of their descent from the Trojans. Homer is also said to paint with colours of gold and azure,<sup>3</sup>—a metaphor borrowed from the fashionable art of illumining. I do not however suppose that Colonna, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century, had ever seen

---

And Dar. Phryg. cap. xiv. p. 158, *ibid.* There [are two very ancient editions of Dares in quarto, without name or place. See Brunet, ii. 521.] Of Dictys [Cretensis there are also two very early editions, *absque nota*, in 4to, and it was reprinted] at Milan, 1477, 4to. Dares is in German, with cuts, by Marcus Tattius, Augst. Vindel. 1536, fol.; Dictys, by John Herold, at Basil, 1554. Both in Russian, at Moscow, 1712, 8vo. [A French version of Dares Phrygius was published in 1553, and was immediately translated into English by Thomas Paynel, Lond. 1553, 8vo. See also Brunet, ii. 522.]

<sup>1</sup> B. ii. c. xvi. [edit. 1555.]

<sup>2</sup> B. iv. cap. xxxi. In the *Prologue*, Virgil is censured for following the traces of Homer's style, in other respects a true writer. We have the same complaint in our author's *Fall of Princes*. See *supr.* In Chaucer's *House of Fame*, Colonna is introduced, among other authors of the Trojan story, making this objection to Homer's veracity. B. iii. ver. 387 [edit. Morris]:

"Oon seyde that Omere made lyes,  
Feynyng in hys poetries,  
And was to Grekes favorable ;  
Therfor held he hyt but fable."

[In the *Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy* (edit. 1869, ll. 103-24) there are two passages which bear on this point—that Homer was prejudiced, and favours the Greeks in all his statements, and that he did so simply because he was himself a Greek; our author thus writes:

"Thow Omer, þat oft tymes openly writis  
Of þat buerne in þi boke [Achilles], as best of his hondes,  
Or wegh þat is worshipfull, & wight of his dedis :  
He comendith hym kyndly as a knight noble !  
How be reason, or right, or rewle, may þou prine  
To deme hym so doghty in dedis of armys ?

Lilly, thi lesynges þou lappis full faire,  
Thurgh affection & faithe þou fezt with the grekes ;  
As þou said by þi-selfe, burgh sibradyn first  
Thou was aliet to þat lynage, as by lyne olde :  
Or ellis wodeness þe wrixlet, & þi wit faillet,  
And no reason by rewle þat renke to comend."—*Donaldson.*]

<sup>3</sup> B. iv. c. xxxi. signat. X ii.

Homer's poems : he might have known these and many other particulars contained in the Iliad from those factitious historians whom he professes to follow. Yet it is not, in the mean time, impossible that Lydgate might have seen the Iliad, at least in a Latin translation. Leontius Pilatus, already mentioned, one of the learned Constantinopolitan exiles, had translated the Iliad into Latin prose, with part of the Odyssey, at the desire of Boccaccio,<sup>1</sup> about the year 1360. This appears from Petrarch's Epistles to his friend Boccaccio,<sup>2</sup> in which, among other curious circumstances, the former requests Boccaccio to send him to Venice that part of the new Latin version of the Odyssey by Leontius, in which the descent of Ulysses into hell and the vestibule of Erebus are described. He wishes also to see how Homer, blind and an Asiatic, had described the lake Avernus and the mountain of Circe. In another part of these letters he acknowledges the receipt of the Latin Homer, and mentions with how much satisfaction and joy the report of its arrival in the public library at Venice was received by all the Greek and Latin scholars of that city.<sup>3</sup> The Iliad was also translated into French verse by Jacques Milet, a licentiate of laws, about the year 1430.<sup>4</sup> Yet I cannot believe that Lydgate had ever consulted these translations, although he had travelled in France and Italy. One may venture to pronounce peremptorily that he did not understand, as he probably never had seen, the original. After the migration of the Roman emperors to Greece, Boccaccio was [one of the few Europeans] that could read Homer ; nor [were] there perhaps [many copies] of either of Homer's poems existing in Europe till about the time the Greeks were driven by the Turks from Constantinople.<sup>5</sup> Long after Boccaccio's time the knowledge of the Greek tongue, and consequently of Homer, was confined only to a few scholars. Yet some ingenious French critics have insinuated that Homer was familiar in France very early ; and that Christin[e de Pise,] in a poem written in the year 1398,

<sup>1</sup> It is a slight error in Vigneul [de] Marville [*i. e.* Bonaventure d'Argonne,] that this translation was procured by Petrarch [*Mélanges d'Histoire, &c., 1740,*] tom. i. p. 21. The very ingenious and accurate author of *Mémoires pour la Vie de Petrarque* is mistaken in saying that Hody supposes this version to have been made by Petrarch himself. Lib. vi. tom. iii. p. 633. On the contrary, Hody has adjusted this matter with great perspicuity, and from the best authorities. *De Græc. Illust.* lib. i. c. 1, p. 2, *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> [*Epist.*] *Senil.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Hody, *ubi supra*, pp. 5, 6, 7, 9. The Latin Iliad in prose was published under the name of Laurentius Valla, with some slight alterations, in 1497.

<sup>4</sup> *Mem. de Litt.* xvii. p. 761, ed. 4to. [There is another translation into French verse, of the first ten books, by Hugues Salel, 1555 : this was rendered into English in 1581 by Arthur Hall.]

<sup>5</sup> See Boccac. *Geneal. Deor.* xv. 6, 7. Theodorus, [a native of Tarsus, and] archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century, brought from Rome into England a MS. of Homer which is now said to be in Bennet Library at Cambridge. See the Second Dissertation [and Wright's *Biogr. Brit. Liter.* A-S. Per. 31 *et alibi.*] In it is written with a modern hand, "Hic liber quondam Theodori archiepiscopi Cant." But probably this Theodore is Theodore Gaza, whose book, or whole transcript, it might have been. Hody, *ubi supra*, lib. i. c. 3, pp. 59, 60.

and entitled *L'Epitre d'Othea a Helior*,<sup>1</sup> borrowed the word Othea or Wisdom from *ω θεα* in Homer, a formal appellation by which that poet often invokes Minerva.<sup>2</sup> [This epistle occurs at the end of the early printed copies of the same author's *Cent Hyistoires de Troye*.]<sup>3</sup>

This poem is replete with descriptions of rural beauty, formed by a selection of very poetical and picturesque circumstances, and clothed in the most perspicuous and musical numbers. The colouring of our poet's mornings is often remarkably rich and splendid :

Whan that the rowes<sup>4</sup> & the rayes rede  
Estward to vs full early gonnen sprede,  
Even at the twelyght in the dawninge,  
When that the lark of custome gynneþ sing,  
For to salve<sup>5</sup> in her heauenly laye  
The lusty goddesse of the morowe graye,  
I meane Aurora, which afore the sonne  
Is wont tenchafe<sup>6</sup> the blacke skyes donne,  
And the derkenesse of the dymmy night :  
And freshe Phebus, with cōfōrte of his light,  
And with the brightnes of his beames shene,  
Had ouergylt the hye hylles grene.  
And floures eke agayn the morow-tyde,  
Vpō their stalkes gā playn<sup>7</sup> theyr leues wide.<sup>8</sup>

Again, among more pictures of the same subject :

Whan Aurora the syluer droppes shene,  
Her teares shad vpon the freshe grene ;  
Complaynyng aye in weping & in sorow,  
Her chyldrens death euey somer morowe :  
That is to saye, when the dewe so soote,  
Enbawmed hath the flouer and eke the roote  
With lusty lycoure in Aprill and in Maye :  
When that the lark, messenger of daye,  
Of custome aye Aurora doth salve,  
With fundrye notys her sorow to transmewi.<sup>9</sup>

The spring is thus described, renewing the buds or blossoms of the groves, and the flowers of the meadows :

And them whom winters blastes have shaken bare  
With sote blōsomes freshly to repare ;  
And the meadows of many a fundry hewe,  
Tapitid ben with diuers floures newe  
Of fundry motlefs,<sup>10</sup> lusty for to fene ;  
And hōlsume balm is shed among the grene.

<sup>1</sup> In the royal MSS. of the British Museum this piece is entitled *La Chevalerie Spirituelle de ce monde*. 17 E. iv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Sallier, *Mem. Litt.* xvii. p. 518.

<sup>3</sup> [Warton and his editors omit to mention that this work by an accomplished lady, a native of Venice, but born of Bolognese parents, was translated about 1530 by R. W., who was probably the Robert Wyer who printed the book. See *Hand. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Christine de Pise*.]

<sup>4</sup> streaks of light. A very common word in Lydgate. Chaucer, *Kn. T.* ver. 397.

"And while the twilight and the rowis red  
Of Phebus light."

<sup>5</sup> salute.

<sup>6</sup> chafe.

<sup>7</sup> open.

<sup>8</sup> B. i. ch. vi. [edit. 1555.]

<sup>9</sup> change. B. iii. c. xxiii.

<sup>10</sup> colours.

Frequently in these florid landscapes we find the same idea differently expressed. Yet this circumstance, while it weakened the description, taught a copiousness of diction and a variety of poetical phraseology. There is great softness and facility in the following delineation of a delicious retreat :

Tyll at the last amonge the bowes glade  
Of aduenture I caught a plefaunt shade ;  
Ful smothe and playn and lusty for to sene,  
And soft as veluet was the yonge grene :  
Where fro my hors I did alight as fast,  
And on a bowe aloft his reyne cast.  
So faynte and mate of werynesse I was,  
That I me layde adowne vpon the gras,  
Upon a bryncke, shortly for to telle,  
Besyde the ryuer of a cristall welle ;  
And the water, as I reherse can,  
Like quicke siluer in his streames ran,<sup>1</sup>  
Of whych the grauell and the bryght stone  
As any golde agayne the sonne shone.<sup>2</sup>

The circumstance of the pebbles and gravel of a transparent stream glittering against the sun, which is uncommon, has much of the brilliancy of the Italian poetry. It recalls to my memory a passage in Theocritus :

Εἶρον αἰσπασαί κραναὶ ὑπο λισσαδί πετρεῖ,  
Τῆσσι πεπλισμένα ἀκράτῃ· αἱ δ' ὑπερθεὶ  
ἀλλαι κρυστάλλῳ ἢ ἀργυρῷ ὀθαλλόντο  
ἐκ βόθου.

They found a perpetual spring, under a high rock,  
Filled with pure water : but underneath  
The pebbles sparkled as with crystal and silver  
From the bottom.<sup>3</sup>

There is much elegance of sentiment and expression in the portrait of Creseide weeping, when she parts with Troilus :

And fro her eyen the teares round drops tryll,  
That all fordedew haue her blacke wede ;  
And eke vntrussed her heyre abroadē gā sprede,  
Lyke golde wyre forrent and all to torne—  
And ouer this her freshe rosen hewe,  
Whylom ymeynt<sup>4</sup> with whyte lylles newe,  
Wyth wofull wepynge pyteously disteyned ;  
And like the herbes in April all bereyned,  
Or floures freshe with the dewes swete,  
Ryght so her chekes moyfte were and wete.<sup>5</sup>

The following verses are worthy of attention in another style of

<sup>1</sup> [Perhaps the poet only means to express quick motion ; but Swinburn tells us that in a room of the Moorish palace at Corduba, where water could not be had, there is a shallow cavity in the floor which was filled with quicksilver to give the appearance of water.—*Ashby*.]

<sup>2</sup> B. ii. cap. xii.

<sup>3</sup> Διοσκ. Idyll. xxii. v. 37.

<sup>4</sup> mingled.

<sup>5</sup> B. iii. c. xxv. So again of Polyxena, B. iv. c. xxx. :

“ And aye she rente with her fingers smale  
Her golden heyre on her blacke wede.”

writing, and have great strength and spirit. A knight brings a steed to Hector in the midst of the battle :

And brought to Hector sothly there he stode  
Amonge grekes all bathed in their bloud :  
The whiche in haste ful knightly he bestrode,  
And the amonge lyke Mars himselfe he rode.<sup>1</sup>

The strokes on the helmets are thus expressed, striking fire amid the plumes :

But strokes felle, that men hardeen rynges,  
On bassenettes the feeldes rounde about,  
So cruelly that the fyre sprange oute  
Amonge the tustes brode, bryght and shene,  
Of foyle of golde, & fethers whyte and grene.<sup>2</sup>

The touches of feudal manners, which our author affords, are innumerable : for the Trojan story, and with no great difficulty, is here entirely accommodated to the ideas of romance. Hardly any adventure of the champions of the Round Table was more chimerical and unmeaning than this of our Grecian chiefs : and the cause of their expedition to Troy was quite in the spirit of chivalry, as it was occasioned by a lady. When Jason arrives at Colchos, he is entertained by King Oetes in a Gothic castle. Amadis or Lancelot was never conducted to his fairy chamber with more ceremony and solemnity. He is led through many a hall and many a tower, by many a stair, to a sumptuous apartment, whose walls, richly painted with the histories of ancient heroes, glittered with gold and azure :

Through many halle, and many riche toure,  
By many tourne, and many dyuers waye,  
By many gree<sup>3</sup> made of marbyll graye.—  
And in his chambre, englofed<sup>4</sup> bright & cleare,  
That shone ful shene with gold & with asure,  
Of many ymage that there was in picture,  
He hath commaunded to his offycers,  
Only in honour of the that were straungers,  
Spyces and wyne.<sup>5</sup>

The siege of Troy, the grand object of the poem, is not conducted according to the classical art of war. All the military machines, invented and used in the Crusades, are assembled to demolish the bulwarks of that city, with the addition of great guns. Among other implements of destruction borrowed from the holy war, the Greek fire (first discovered at Constantinople), with which the Saracens so greatly annoyed the Christian armies, is thrown from the walls of the besieged.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. iii. c. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> B. ii. c. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Greece, degree, step, stair, gradus.

<sup>4</sup> Painted, or rather Englofed. Skelton's [*Garlande*] of *Laurell*, [*Works*, edit. Dyce, i. 381] :

“Where the postis wer embulyoned with saphiris indy blew  
Englofid glittering,” &c.

<sup>5</sup> B. i. c. v. See Colonna, signat. b.

<sup>6</sup> B. ii. c. xviii. In Caxton's *Troy-Book* Hercules is said to make the fire “artificiall” as well as Cacus, &c. ii. 24.

Nor are we only presented in this piece with the habits of feudal life and the practices of chivalry. The poem is enriched with a multitude of oriental fictions and Arabian traditions. Medea gives to Jason, when he is going to combat the brazen bulls, and (to lull the dragon who guarded the golden fleece asleep) a marvellous ring, in which was a gem whose virtue could destroy the efficacy of poison, and render the wearer invisible. It was the same sort of precious stone, adds our author, which Virgil celebrates, and which Venus sent her son Eneas, that he might enter Carthage unseen. Another, of Medea's presents to Jason, to assist him in this perilous achievement, is a silver image or talisman, which defeated all the powers of incantation, and was framed according to principles of astronomy.<sup>1</sup> The hall of King Priam is illuminated at night by a prodigious carbuncle, placed among sapphires, rubies and pearls on the crown of a golden statue of Jupiter, fifteen cubits high.<sup>2</sup> In the court of the palace, was a tree made by magic, whose trunk was twelve cubits high; the branches, which overshadowed distant plains, were alternately of solid gold and silver, blossomed with gems of various hues, which were renewed every day.<sup>3</sup> Most of these extravagances, with a thousand more, are in Guido di Colonna, who lived when this mode of fabling was at its height. But in the fourth book, Dares Phrygius is particularly cited for a description of Priam's palace, which seemed to be founded by fairy or enchantment, and was paved with crystal, built of diamonds, sapphires, and emeralds, and supported by ivory pillars, surmounted with golden images.<sup>4</sup> This is not, however, in Dares. The warriors, who came to the assistance of the Trojans, afford an ample field for invention. One of them belongs to a region of forests, amid the gloom of which wander many monstrous beasts, not real, but appearances or illusive images, formed by the deceptions of necromancy to terrify the traveller.<sup>5</sup> King Epistrophus brings from the land beyond the Amazons a thousand knights, among whom is a terrible archer, half man and half beast, who neighs like a horse, and whose eyes sparkle like a furnace, and strike dead like lightning.<sup>6</sup> This is Shakespeare's "dreadful sagittary."<sup>7</sup> The Trojan horse, in the genuine spirit of Arabian philosophy, is formed of brass;<sup>8</sup> of such immense size, as to contain a thousand soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> B. ii. c. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> B. ii. c. xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cap. xxvi.

<sup>5</sup> B. ii. c. xviii.

<sup>6</sup> So described by Colonna, fig. n 4, *seq.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* And B. iii. c. xxiv. The Sagittary is not in Dictys or Dares. In whom also these warriors are but barely named, and are much fewer in number. See Dar. cap. xviii. p. 161. Dict. lib. ii. cap. xxxv. p. 51. The description of the persons of Helen, and of the Trojan and Grecian heroes [B. ii. c. xv.] is from Dares through Colonna. (Daret. *Hist.* c. xii. p. 156, *seq.*)

<sup>8</sup> In Dictys's "tabulatis extruitur ligneis," lib. v. c. x. p. 113. In Gower he is also a "hors of brasse." *Conf. Amant.* lib. i. fol. xiiii. a, col. 1. From Colonna, signat. t 4. Here also are Shakespeare's fabulous names of the gates of Troy. Signat. d 4, *seq.*

Colonna, I believe, gave the Trojan story its romantic additions. It had long before been falsified by Dictys and Dares; but those writers, misrepresenting or enlarging Homer, only invented plain and credible facts. They were the basis of Colonna, who first filled the faint outlines of their fabulous history with the colourings of Eastern fancy, and adorned their scanty forgeries with the gorgeous trappings of Gothic chivalry. Or, as our author expresses himself in his Prologue, speaking of Colonna's improvements on his originals:

For he enlumineth by crafte and cadence  
This noble storye with many freshe coloure  
Of rhetoric, and many ryche flouer  
Of eloquence, to make it founde the bett.<sup>1</sup>

Clothed with these new inventions, this favourite tale descended to later times. Yet, it appears, not only with these, but with an infinite variety of other embellishments not fabricated by the fertile genius of Colonna, but adopted from French enlargements of Colonna, and incorporated from romances on other subjects, in the French *Histoires of Troy*, written by a French ecclesiastic, Raul le Fevre [in] 1464, and translated by Caxton.<sup>2</sup>

The description of the city of Troy, as newly built by King Priam, is extremely curious; not for the capricious incredibilities and absurd inconsistencies which it exhibits,<sup>3</sup> but because it conveys anecdotes of ancient architecture, and especially of that florid and improved species which began to grow fashionable in Lydgate's age. Although much of this is in Colonna. He avoids to describe it geometrically, having never read Euclid. He says that Priam [sent]

For such as coulde graue, groupe, or carue,  
Or fuche as were able for to serue,  
With lime and stone for to reyse a wall,  
With bataylyng and crestes marciall,  
Or such as had connyng in their head  
Alabaster, other white or read,  
Or marbell grey, for to pullyshe playne,  
To make it smothe of vaynes and of grayne;  
He sente also for euery ymageour  
Both in entayle, and euery portreyour

<sup>1</sup> better.

<sup>2</sup> As for instance, Hercules having killed the eleven giants of Cremona, builds over them a vast tower, on which he placed eleven images of metal, of the size and figure of the giants. B. ii. c. 24. Something like this, I think, is in *Amadis de Gaul*. Robert Braham, in the *Epistle to the Reader*, prefixed to the edition of Lydgate's *Troy Book*, 1555, is of opinion that the fables in the French *Recuyell* ought to be ranked with the "trifeling tales" and "barrayne leurdries" of *Robyn Hode* and *Berrys of Hampton*, and are not to be compared with the "faithful" and "trewe" reports of this history given by Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis.

<sup>3</sup> It is three days' journey in length and breadth. The walls are two hundred cubits high, of marble and alabaster, and machicolated. At every angle was a crown of gold, set with the richest gems. There were great guns in the towers. On each turret were figures of savage and monstrous beasts in brass. The gates were of brass, and each has a portcullis. The houses were all uniform, and of marble, sixty cubits high.

For eche caruer and curious ioyner,  
To make knottes with many a queynt floure  
To sette on crestes within and eke without.—

And yf I should reherſen by and by,  
The corue knottes by craft of masonry;  
The freſhe enbowing<sup>1</sup> with verges right as lynes,  
And the houſyng ful of backewines,  
The ryche coynynge, the luſty tablementes,  
Vinettes<sup>2</sup> ronning in caſementes.

Nor howe they put, in ſtede of mortere,  
In the ioyntoures, coper gylte full clere;  
To make them ioyne by leuell and by lyne,  
Amonge the marbell freſhly for to thynne  
Agaynſt the ſonne, whan his ſhene lyght  
Smote on the golde that was burned bright.

The ſides of every ſtreet were covered with “freſhe alures”<sup>3</sup> of marble, or cloiſters, crowned with rich and lofty pinnacles, and fronted with tabernacular or open work,<sup>4</sup> vaulted like the dormitory of a monaſtery, and called *deambulatories*, for the accommodation of the citizens in all weathers :

And every houſe couered was with lead;  
And many gargoyles, and many hydous head,  
With ſpoutes thorough, &c.<sup>5</sup>—

And again, of Priam's palace :

And the walles, within and eke without,  
Endlonge were with knottes grauen cleane,  
Depeynt with aſure, golde, cinople, & grene.

And all the windowes and eche fenestraill  
Wrought were of beryl<sup>6</sup> & of cleare cryſtall.

With regard to the reality of the laſt circumſtance, we are told that in Studley caſtle in Shropſhire<sup>7</sup> the windows, ſo late as the reign of Elizabeth, were of beryl.

The account of the Trojan theatre muſt not be omitted, as it diſplays the imperfect ideas of the ſtage, at leaſt of dramatic exhibition, which now prevailed; or rather the abſolute inexiſtence of this ſort of ſpectacle. Our author ſuppoſes that comedies and tragedies were firſt repreſented at Troy.<sup>8</sup> He defines a comedy to

<sup>1</sup> arching.

<sup>2</sup> [Sprigs or branches uſed in pictorial or architectural ornamentation.]

<sup>3</sup> [“The *alure* ſeems in its primary ſenſe to have been the paſſage behind the battlements, *allorium*, *ambulacrum*, in French, *allure* or *allée*.”—Way, *Promptor. Parvulorum*.]

<sup>4</sup> Like the latticed ſtone-work, or *cancelli*, of a Gothic ſhrine.

<sup>5</sup> [See a note by Dallaway in Walpole's *Anecd. of Painting*, edit. 1862, i. 124.]

<sup>6</sup> [For a more ſtriking deſcription of Priam's palace ſee *The Geſt Hystoriale of the Deſtruction of Troy*, edit. 1869, pp. 54-6.—Donaldſon.]

<sup>7</sup> [Should we not read Sudeley Caſtle, near Winchcombe, in Glouceſterſhire? See Leland's *Itinerary*, iv. fol. 170, where it is ſaid that “part of the windowes of it were glazed with berall.” This, however, has been doubted by an intelligent friend in his account of Sudeley. See *Monthly Mag.*—Park.]

<sup>8</sup> Harriſon's *Deſcript. Brit.* cap. xii. p. 188. The occupations of the citizens

begin with complaint and to end with "gladnesse:" expressing the actions of those only who live in the lowest condition. But tragedy, he informs us, begins in prosperity, and ends in adversity: showing the wonderful vicissitudes of fortune which have happened in the lives of kings and mighty conquerors. In the theatre of Troy, he adds, was a pulpit, in which stood a poet, who rehearsed the "noble dedes that were hystoryall of kynges, & prynces," and worthy emperors; and, above all, related those fatal and sudden catastrophes, which they sometimes suffered by murder, poison, conspiracy, or other secret and unforeseen machinations:

All this was tolde and red of the poete.  
 And whyle that he in the pulpet stode  
 With deadly face all deuoyde of blode,  
 Synging his diteis with muses all-to-rent;  
 Amyd the theatre, throwded in a tent,  
 There came out men, gafffull of their cheres,  
 Disfigured their faces with viseres,  
 Playing by sygns in the peoples fyght  
 That the poet longe hath on heght:<sup>1</sup>  
 So that there was no maner discordaunce,  
 Atwene his ditees and their countenaunce.  
 For lyke as he alofte dyd expresse  
 Wordes of ioye or of heauynesse,  
 So craftely they<sup>2</sup> coulede them<sup>3</sup> transfigure.<sup>4</sup>

It is added, that these plays, or "rytes of tragedyes old," were acted at Troy, and "in the theatre halowed and yholde," when the months of April and May returned.

In this detail of the dramatic exhibition which prevailed in the ideal theatre of Troy, a poet, placed on the stage in a pulpit, and characteristically habited, is said to have recited a series of tragical adventures; whose pathetic narrative was afterwards expressed by the dumb gesticulations of a set of masqued actors. Some perhaps may be inclined to think, that this imperfect species of theatric representation was the rude drama of Lydgate's age. But surely Lydgate would not have described at all, much less in a long and laboured digression, a public show which from its nature was familiar and

of Troy are mentioned. There were goldsmiths, jewellers, embroiderers, weavers of woollen and linen, of cloth, of gold, damask, sattin, velvet, *sendel*, or a thin silk like cypres, and double *samyte*, or satin. Smiths who forged poll-axes, spears, and *quarrel-heads*, or cross-bow darts shaped square. Armourers, bowyers, fletchers, makers of trappings, banners, standards, penons, "and for the feldie freshe and gaye getours." I do not precisely understand the last word. Perhaps it is a sort of ornamental armour for the legs. [We may refer, by way of comparison, to the list of trades, as they stand in the *Gest Hyrtoriale*. Some interest is attached to this particular; each version gives a different set, and many of them are not in Guido di Colonna at all; indeed the list as given by our author, and the description of the tradesmen, their shops and homes, are exactly those of Edinburgh in the fifteenth century. See the Early English Text Society's edit. part i. pp. 53-4.—*Donaldson*.]

<sup>1</sup> "That which the poet sung, standing in the pulpit."

<sup>2</sup> the actors.

<sup>3</sup> [Mr. Horne Tooke queried whether *them* did not refer to words in the lines preceding.—*Park*. Clearly.]

<sup>4</sup> Lib. ii. cap. x. See also, B. iii. c. xxviii.

notorious. On the contrary, he describes it as a thing obsolete, and existing only in remote times. Had a more perfect and legitimate stage now subsisted, he would not have deviated from his subject, to communicate unnecessary information, and to deliver such minute definitions of tragedy and comedy. On the whole, this formal history of a theatre conveys nothing more than an affected display of learning, and is collected, yet with apparent inaccuracy and confusion of circumstances from what the ancient grammarians have left concerning the origin of the Greek tragedy. [It was doubtless] borrowed by our author from some French paraphrastic version of Colonna's Latin romance.<sup>1</sup>

Among the ancient authors, beside those already mentioned as cited in this poem, are Lollius for the history of Troy, Ovid for the tales of Medea and Jason, and Ulysses and Polyphemus, the Myrmidons and other stories, Statius for Polynices and Eteocles, the venerable Bede, Fulgentius the mythologist, Justinian with whose institutes Colonna as a civilian must have been well acquainted, Pliny, and Jacobus de Vitriaco. The last is produced to prove that Philometer, a famous philosopher, invented the game of chess, to divert a tyrant from his cruel purposes in Chaldea: and that thence it was imported into Greece. But Colonna, or rather Lydgate, is of a different opinion; and contends in opposition to his authority that this game, "so fetyll and so marvaylous," was discovered by "prudent clerkes" during the siege of Troy, and first practised in that city. Jacobus de Vitriaco was a canon regular at Paris, and among other dignities in the church, bishop of Ptolemais in Palestine about the year 1230. This tradition of the invention of chess is mentioned by Vitriaco in his *History*.<sup>2</sup> The anecdote of Philometer is, I think, in Egidius Romanus above mentioned. [The author of the poem called *Chaucer's Dream*] calls Athalus, that is Attalus Philometer, who is often mentioned in Pliny, the inventor of chess.<sup>3</sup>

I must not pass over an instance of Lydgate's gallantry, as it is the gallantry of a monk. Colonna takes all opportunities of satirising the fair sex; and Lydgate with great politeness declares himself absolutely unwilling to translate those passages of this severe moralist, which contain such unjust and illiberal misrepresentations of the female character. Instead of which, to obviate these injurious reflections, our translator enters upon a formal vindication of the ladies; not by a panegyric on their beauty, nor encomiums on those amiable accomplishments, by which they refine our sensibilities, and give elegance to life; but by a display of that religious fortitude with which some women have suffered martyrdom; or of that inflexible chastity, by means of which others have been snatched up alive into heaven,

<sup>1</sup> Colonna calls him, "ille fabularius Sulmonensis,—fabulose commentans," &c. Signat. b, 2.

<sup>2</sup> ["Libri duo, quorum prior orientalis . . . alter occidentalis historię nomine inscribitur," Paris, 1597.]

<sup>3</sup> [Chaucer's Works, edit. 1721, p. 408. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that this view is erroneous.]

in a state of genuine virginity. Among other striking examples which the calendar affords, he mentions the transcendent grace of the eleven thousand virgins who were martyred at Cologne in Germany. In the mean time, female fairs, as I suspect, in the barbarous ages were regarded with a greater degree of respect, on account of those exaggerated ideas of gallantry which chivalry inspired: and it is not improbable that the distinguished honours paid to the Virgin Mary might have partly proceeded from this principle.

Among the anachronistic improprieties which this poem contains, some of which have been pointed out, the most conspicuous is the fiction of Hector's sepulchre, or tomb: which also merits our attention for another reason, as it affords us an opportunity of adding some other notices of the modes of ancient architecture to those already mentioned. The poet (from Colonna) supposes that Hector was buried in the principal church of Troy near the high altar, within a magnificent oratory erected for that purpose, exactly resembling the Gothic shrines of our cathedrals, yet charged with many romantic decorations:

With crafty archys raysyd wonder clene,  
Embowed over all the work to cure,  
So marveyulous was the celature:  
That al the rose, and clofure envyyrowne,  
Was of fyne golde plated up and downe,  
With knottes grave wonder curyous  
Fret ful of stony rich and precious, &c.

The structure is supported by angels of gold. The steps are of crystal. Within is not only an image of Hector in solid gold, but his body embalmed, and exhibited to view with the resemblance of real life, by means of a precious liquor circulating through every part in golden tubes artificially disposed, and operating on the principles of vegetation.<sup>1</sup> This is from the chemistry of the times. Before the body were four inextinguishable lamps in golden sockets. To complete the work, Priam founds a regular chantry of priests, whom he accommodates with mansions near the church, and endows with revenues, to sing in this oratory for the soul of his son Hector.<sup>2</sup>

In the Bodleian library, there is a prodigious folio MS. on vellum,

<sup>1</sup> [I wonder nobody ever thought of proving that the circulation of the blood was known before Harvey, from this passage. However, it seems difficult to conceive how this liquor was seen to circulate through golden tubes let into a mummy. Had he made his *body* of crystal instead of the *steps*, with proper tubular passages, we might fancy the blood circulated, as it is seen to do in a great length of glass tube artificially twisted.—*Ashby*. If Dr. Ashby had lived to our time, he might have witnessed the expression of doubt as to Harvey's origination of the great discovery on grounds independent of the present passage.] *See iam Trojerum*

<sup>2</sup> B. iii. c. xxviii. Joseph of Exeter in his *Mythologia* has borrowed from this tomb of Hector, in his brilliant description of the mausoleum of Teuthras, lib. iv. 451. I have quoted the passage in the [third] *Dissertation*. [For another description of Hector's tomb, and of his embalming, see the *Destruction of Troy*, edit. 1869, pp. 284-5.—*Donaldson*.]

8. 23. *Early Verse-translation of the Trojan History.* 93

a translation of Colonna's *Trojan History* into verse,<sup>1</sup> which [of course will not be] confounded with Lydgate's *Troy-Book* now before us. It is an entirely different work, and is written in the short minstrel-metre. I have given a specimen of the Prologue above. It appears to me to be Lydgate's *Troy-Book* divested of the octave-stanza, and reduced into a measure which might more commodiously be sung to the harp.<sup>2</sup> It is not likely that Lydgate is its author: that he should

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Laud, K. 76, fol. [now Laud, 595. I am told that it is a fine MS. and worth printing.]

<sup>2</sup> It may, however, be thought, that this poem is rather a translation or imitation of some French original, as the writer often refers to *The Romance*. If this be the case, it is not immediately formed from the *Troy-book* of Lydgate, as I have suggested in the text. I believe it to be about Lydgate's age; but there is no other authority for supposing it to be written by Lydgate than that, in the beginning of the Bodleian MS. now before us, a hand-writing, of about the reign of James I. assigns it to that poet [in this prefix: "Dares a Trojan haralte and Dictas a Grecian haralte, wrat this booke in Greeke, and lefte it in Athenes, and theare it was founde by Guido de Columpius, a notary at Rome, and digested into Latyn, and in anno 1414 translated into Engglishe by John Lidgate monke of Bury. Vide fo. 2."—*Park.*] I will give a few lines from the poem itself, which begins with Jafon's expedition to Colchos, the constant prelude to the Trojan story in all the writers of this school:

"In colkos Ile a Cite was,  
That men called thanne reconitas;  
Fair and mekel,<sup>1</sup> large and longe,  
With walles heye and wondir stronge:  
Ful of toures and heye paleis,  
Off riche knyghtes and burgeis:  
A kyng that tyme that hete<sup>2</sup> Cetes  
Gouerned than that lond In pes,<sup>3</sup>  
With his baronage and his meyne,  
Dwelleden thanne in that Cyte:  
For al aboute that riche toun  
Stode wodes and parkis enviroyn,  
That were replenyshed wondirful  
Off herte and hynde, bore and bul,  
And other many sauage bestis,  
Be-twix that wode and that forestis,  
Ther was large contray & playn,  
Faire wodes & fair Champayn,  
Ful of semely-rennyng welles,  
As the romaunce the sothe<sup>4</sup> telles,  
With-oute the cete that ther sprong.  
Ther was of briddes michel sang  
Thorow alle the yer<sup>5</sup> and mykel cry,  
Off alle Ioyes gret melody.  
¶ To that Cite & kyng Cetes  
Ȝode<sup>6</sup> Iafon and hercules,  
And alle the felawes that he hadde  
In clothes of gold, as kynges be cladde," &c.—fol. 8 b.

Afterwards, fol. 9 b. the sorceress Medea, the king's daughter, is thus characterized:

<sup>1</sup> great.  
<sup>2</sup> year.

<sup>3</sup> hight, named.  
<sup>4</sup> came.

<sup>5</sup> peace.

<sup>6</sup> truth.

either thus transform his own composition, or write a new piece on the subject. That it was a poem in some considerable estimation, appears from the size and splendour of the MS.: and this circumstance induces me to believe, that it was at a very early period ascribed to Lydgate. On the other hand, it is extraordinary that the name of the writer of so prolix and laborious a work, respectable

“Sche coude the science of clergy,  
And mochel of Nigramauncy.—  
¶ Sche coude with cowiurifouns,  
With here scleyghte<sup>1</sup> and orefouns,  
The day, that was most fair & lyght,  
Make as derk es any nyght:  
Sche coude also In felcouth wyfe  
Make the wynde bothe blowe & ryse,  
And make him so lowde blowe,  
As it scholde houses ouerthrowe.  
He couthe turne, verement,  
Alle wederes<sup>2</sup> and the firmament,” &c.

The reader, in some of these lines, observes the appeal to *The romance* for authority. This is common throughout the poem, as I have hinted. But at the close, the poet wishes eternal salvation to the soul of the author of the *Romaunce*, fol. 275:

“¶ And thus was Troye dryuen down . . . .  
As In this romaunce men may rede . . . .  
¶ And thus endis this stronge batayle . . . .  
As the romaunce ther-of doth say . . . .  
¶ And he that this romaunce wroght & made  
Lord In heuene thow him glade.”

[I think the word *Romance* does not occur any where else in the MS. except in the first page.]

If this piece is translated from a French romance, it is not from the ancient metrical one of Benoit [de Sainte More,] but perhaps from some later French romance, which copied or translated Colonna's book. This, among other circumstances, we may collect from these lines:

“Dares the heraud of Troye says,  
And Dites that was of the Gregeis, &c.  
And after him cometh *maister Gy*,  
That was of Rome a notary.”

This *maister Gy* or *Guy*, that is Guido di Colonna, he adds, wrote this history:

“In the *manere* I schall telle.”

That is “my author, or romance, follows Colonna.” *Dares the heraud* is Dares Phrygius, and *Dites* Dictys Cretensis.

This poem, in the Bodleian MS. aforesaid, is finished, as I have partly observed, with an invocation to God, to save the author and the readers or hearers, and ends with this line:

“Seythe alle Amen for charite.”

But this rubric immediately follows, at the beginning of a page: “Hic bellum de Troye Ffinit et Greci transierunt versus patriam suam.” Then follow several lined pages of vellum, without writing. I have never seen any other manuscript of this piece.

[See the Alliterative *Troy-Book* from the MS. in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, printed for the Early English Text Society, 1869, and M. Joly's admirable edition of Benoit de Saint More's *Roman de Troie*, Paris, 1870, with an essay on the author's works (already quoted).—F.]

<sup>1</sup> sleight, art.

<sup>2</sup> weathers.

and conspicuous at least on account of its length, should have never transpired. The language accords with Lydgate's age, and is of the reign of Henry VI.: and to the same age I refer the hand-writing, which is executed with remarkable elegance and beauty.<sup>1</sup>

[To the same reign belongs William Lichfield, Parson of All-Hallows, Thames Street, who died in 1447. He is the author of a poem in seventy-two eight-line stanzas, entitled *The Complaint between God and man*. There was an edition of it, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, and it occurs in more than one MS.<sup>2</sup>]

## SECTION XXIV.



WO more poets remain to be mentioned under the reign of Henry VI., if mere translation merit that appellation.

These are Hugh [de] Campeden and Thomas Chestre.

The first was a great traveller, and translated into English verse the French romance of *Sidrac*, [of which there is a copy in MS. Egerton, 751.] This translation, [which is not very uncommon in MS.] was printed with the following title at the expence of Robert Saltwood, a monk of Saint Austin's convent at Canterbury [about 1530]: "The History of Kyng Boccus and Sydracke how he confounded his lerned men and in the syght of them dronke strong venym in the Name of the Trinite and dyd him no hurt. Also his dyuynyte that he lerned of the Boke of Noe. Also his profycye that he had by Revelacyon of the aungell," &c.] There is no sort of elegance in the diction, nor harmony in the versification. It is in the minstrel-metre. [It begins:]<sup>3</sup>

Men may fynde in olde bookes,  
Who soo yat in them lookes,  
That men may mooche here,  
And yerefore yff yat yee wolle lere,

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Heber had a poetical tract, printed by W. de Worde, entitled *The Proverbes of Lydgate*. In the colophon it is termed *The Proverbes of Lydgate upon the fall of prynces*. It begins

"To kyffe the steppes of them that were fortheryng  
Laureate poetes which had soveraynte."

It consists of several detached poems gathered from Lydgate's imitation of Boccaccio. The whole are composed in stanzas which have the peculiarity of closing with a similar line in each piece. The third of these bears relation to a song which is in abeyance between Chaucer and Lydgate.—*Park*. But the piece referred to by Mr. Park is the *Good Counsel of Chaucer*. See Bell's ed. viii. 143.]

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Caius Coll. Camb. E 147, b. This writer, who shone most in prose, is said to have written 3083 English sermons [in a note to a copy of his *Complaint* in a folio MS. of the early part of the fifteenth century in the possession of Mr. Henry Huth.] See T. Gascoigne MS. Dict. art. *Prædicator*; Stow's *Survey of London*, 251, 386; and Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 819.

<sup>3</sup> Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud, G. 57, [which differs literally from the old printed copy.]

I shall teche yoowe a lytill jefte  
 That befell oonys in the este.  
 There was a kynge that Boctus hyght  
 And was a man of mooche myght.  
 His londe lay be grete Inde:  
 Beftorye hight hit as we fynde,  
 After the tyme of Noee even  
 VIIJ<sup>th</sup> hundred yere fourty and seven  
 The kynge Boctus hym be thought  
 That he would have a citee wrought  
 The rede Jewes fro hym spere  
 And for to mayntene his were  
 Ayenst a kyng that was hys foo,  
 And hath moſte of Inde longyng hym too:  
 His name Garaab the kyng.  
 Bocchus tho proved all this thing,  
 And ſmartly a towre begonne he,  
 There he wolde make his citee;  
 And it was right at the incomyng  
 Of Garabys londe the kyng.  
 The mafons with grete laboure  
 Beganne to worke uppon the toure;  
 And all that they wroghten on day  
 On night was hit done away.  
 On morn when Boctus hit herde,  
 Hee was wroth that hit ſo ferde,  
 And dyd hyt all new begynne.  
 At even whan they ſhuld blynne  
 Off worke when they went to reſte  
 In the night was all downe heſte.  
 Well vii monthes this thei wrought,  
 And in the night awaylid yt nought.  
 Bocchus was wroth wonderly  
 And callid his folke that was hym by.  
 Councillith me lordinges, ſeyde hee,  
 Howe I may beſte make this citee.  
 They ſayde: ſir, ſendith a noon  
 Aſtir your philoſophers everychon,  
 And the aſtronomers of your londe;  
 Of hem ſhall yee counſeill fonde—

Afterwards King Tractabare is requested to ſend

The booke of aſtronomye  
 That whilom Noe had in baylye,  
 together with his aſtronomer Sidracke. At the end:

And that Hugh of Campedene  
 That this boke hath thorough ſoght,  
 And untoo Englyſh ryme hit brought.

Sidrack, who is a Chriſtian, at length builds the tower *in Nomine S. Trinitatis*, and he teaches Bocchus, who is an idolater, many articles of true religion.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Cheſtre appears alſo to have been a writer for the minſters. No anecdote of his life is preſerved. He has left a poem entitled *Sir Launfal*, one of Arthur's knights, who is celebrated with

<sup>1</sup> [For copious extracts from the printed edition, ſee Corſer's *Colleſtanea Anglo-poetica*, ii. 289, *et ſeq.*]

other champions in the French lays, [which is a translation from a lay written on the same story by Marie de France. But the translator has introduced occasional additions and variations]. It is opened with a feast celebrated at Whitsuntide by King Arthur at Kardoyl, a French corruption from Carliol, by which is meant Cairleon in Wales, sometimes in romances confounded with Cardiff: <sup>1</sup>

Jci commence le Lay de Launval.  
 Laventure de un Lay,  
 Cum ele avint vus cunteray,  
 Fait fu dun gentil vassal,  
 En Bretaine lapelent Launval :  
 A Kardoyl suiornont li reys  
 Arthur, li prouz, e li curteys,  
 Pur les Escot, e pur les Pis,  
 Ki destrucient les pays ;  
 En la terre de Logres <sup>2</sup> le trououent,  
 Mult souent le damagouent :  
 A la Pentecuste en eise,  
 I aveit li reys sojournè,  
 A les i dona riches duns,  
 E al cuntes, <sup>3</sup> e al baruns,  
 A ceus de la Table Runde, &c.

That is, Here begins the Lay of Launval.—[I will relate to you] the Adventure of a certain Lay, made of a gentle vassal, whom in Bretaine they called Launval. The brave and courteous King Arthur sojourned at Kardoyl, for making war against the Scots and Picts, who destroyed the country. He found them in the land of Logres, where they committed frequent outrages. The king was there at the feast of Pentecost, where he gave rich gifts to the counts and barons, and the knights of the round table, &c. <sup>4</sup>

[The English] begins thus :

#### LAUNVAL MILES.

Be douȝty Artours dawes  
 That held Engeland yn good lawes,  
 There felle a wondyre cas,  
 Of a ley <sup>5</sup> that was y-sette,  
 That hyȝt Launval and hatte ȝette.  
 Now herkeneth how hyt was.  
 Douȝty Artoure som while  
 Sojournede yn Kardevyle, <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *Geoffr. Monm.* ix. 12.]

<sup>2</sup> Logres, or Loegria, from Locrine, was the middle part of Britain.

<sup>3</sup> counts. So in *Robert of Gloucester*, we have *Contais* for countess. On which word his editor Hearne observes, that King James I. used to call a countess a cuntys. He quotes one of James's letters, "Come and bring the three Cuntys [for countesses] with you." *Gloss.* p. 635.

<sup>4</sup> The writing of this MS. of *Launval* seems about 1300. The composition is undoubtedly much earlier. There is another (MSS. Harl. 978, § 112). This I have cited in the First Dissertation. From the English *Launfall*, I have given extracts in the Dissertation on the *Gesta Romanorum*, *supr.* pp. 261, 267, of vol. i. See also vol. iv. p. 108.]

<sup>5</sup> [lay.]

<sup>6</sup> [Mr. Halliwell says: "The old romance of Merlin calls it, 'la ville de Cardeuil en Galles [Wales],'" and the editor believes that Carlion-on-Uisk (the *Iſca*

Wyth joye and greet solas,  
 And knyȝtes that were profitable,  
 With Artour of the rounde table,  
 Never noon better ther was.  
 Sere Perfevalle, and syr Gawayn,  
 Syr Gyheryes, and syr Agrafrayn,  
 And Launcelet du Lake,  
 Syr Kay, and syr Ewayn,  
 That welle couthe fyȝte yn plain,  
 Bateles for to take.  
 Kyng Ban Booyt, and kyng Bos,  
 Of ham ther was a greet los,  
 Men sawe tho nowhere<sup>1</sup> her make,<sup>2</sup>  
 Syr Galafré, and syr Launfale,  
 Wherof a noble tale  
 Among us schalle a wake.

With Artoure ther was a bachelere  
 And hadde y-be welle many a ȝere,  
 Launfal for soth he hyȝt,  
 He gaf gyftys largelyche  
 Gold and sylver, and clodes ryche,  
 To squyer and to knyȝt.  
 For hys largesse and hys bountè  
 The kynges stward made was he  
 Ten yer, y you plyȝt,  
 Of alle the knyȝtes of the table rounde  
 So large ther nas noon y-founde,  
 Be dayes ne be nyȝt.

So hyt by-fylle yn the tenthe ȝere  
 Marlyn was Artours counsalere,  
 He radde hym fore to wende  
 To kyng Ryon of Irlond ryȝt,  
 And sette hym ther a lady bryȝt  
 Gwennere hys douȝtyr hende, &c.

In the conclusion occurs :

Thomas Chestre made thys tale  
 Of the noble knyȝt syr Launfale,  
 Good of chyvalrye :  
 Jhesus that ys hevene kyng  
 Yeve us alle hys bleffynȝ  
 And hys modyr Marye. *Amen.*

EXPLICIT LAUNFALE.<sup>3</sup>

[There does not seem to be any real] evidence to prove, that Chestre was the [translator] of the metrical romance called the *Earle of Tholoufe*.<sup>4</sup> This is [also] one of the romances called *Lais*, as appears from these lines :

*Silurum* of the Romans) is the place intended. Carlisle, which Ritson conjectured, is surely very improbable.]

<sup>1</sup> ther.

<sup>2</sup> match.

<sup>3</sup> [Printed twice: by Ritson in his *Romances*, 1802, and again by Halliwell. A later version, where the hero is called *Sir Lambwell*, is in the lately edited Percy MSS.; and, of course, the story is among the *Fabliaux*.]

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Ashmol. Oxon. 45 [6926]. And MSS. More, Camb. 27. Princip.:

"Jesu Crist in trinite,  
 Only god in perſons thre, &c.

In romance this geft  
A Ley<sup>1</sup> of Britayn callyd I wys, &c.

That it is a translation, appears from the reference to an original, "The Romans telleth so." I will, however, give the outlines of the story, which is not uninteresting, nor inartificially constructed.

Dioclesian, a powerful emperor in Germany, has a rupture with Barnard, earl of Toulouse, concerning boundaries of territory. Contrary to the repeated persuasions of the empress, who is extremely beautiful, and famous for her conjugal fidelity, he meets the earl with a numerous army in a pitched battle, to decide the quarrel. The earl is victorious, and carries home a great multitude of prisoners, the most respectable of which is Sir Tralabas of Turkey, whom he treats as his companion. In the midst of their festivities they talk of the beauties of the empress; the earl's curiosity is inflamed to see so matchless a lady, and he promises liberty to Sir Tralabas, if he can be conducted unknown to the emperor's court, and obtain a sight of her without discovery. They both set forward, the earl disguised like a hermit. When they arrive at the emperor's court, Sir Tralabas proves false: treacherously imparts the secret to the empress that he has brought with him the Earl of Toulouse in disguise, who is enamoured of her celebrated beauty, and proposes to take advantage of so fair an opportunity of killing the emperor's great and avowed enemy. She rejects the proposal with indignation, enjoins the knight not to communicate the secret any farther, and desires to see the earl next day in the chapel at mass. The next day the earl in his hermit's weeds is conveniently placed at mass. At leaving the chapel, he asks an alms of the empress; and she gives him forty florins and a ring. He receives the present of the ring with the highest satisfaction, and although obliged to return home, in point of prudence and to avoid detection, comforts himself with this reflection:

Well is me, I have thy grace,  
Of the to have thys thyng!  
If ever I have grace of the,  
That any love betweene us be,  
This may be a Tokenyng.

He then returns home. The emperor is called into some distant country, and leaves his consort in the custody of two knights who, attempting to gain her love without success, contrive a stratagem to defame her chastity. She is thrown into prison, and the emperor

---

Lefe frendys I shall you telle  
Of a tale that sometyme befell  
Far in unkouth the lande,  
Howe a lady had grete myschefe, &c."

[A copy from the latter has been published by Mr. Ritson. In orthography it varies considerably from the Ashmole MS., and is evidently of an earlier date.—*Price.*]

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *ley* in the fourth line of *Sir Launfal* may mean lay in this sense. See note at the beginning of the First Dissertation.

returns unexpectedly,<sup>1</sup> in consequence of a vision. The tale of the two treacherous knights is believed, and she is sentenced to the flames; yet under the restriction, that if a champion can be found who shall foil the two knights in battle, her honour shall be cleared, and her life saved. A challenge is published in all parts of the world; and the Earl of Toulouse, notwithstanding the animosities which still subsist between him and the emperor, privately undertakes her quarrel. He appears at the emperor's court in the habit of a monk, and obtains permission to act as confessor to the empress in her present critical situation. In the course of the confession she protests that she was always true to the emperor, yet owns that once she gave a ring to the Earl of Toulouse. The supposed confessor pronounces her innocent of the charge brought against her; on which one of the traitorous knights affirms that the monk was suborned to publish this confession, and that he deserved to be consumed in the same fire which was prepared for the lady. The monk pretending that the honour of his religion and character was affected by this insinuation, challenges both the knights to combat: they are conquered; and the empress, after this trial, is declared innocent. He then openly discovers himself to be the Earl of Toulouse, the emperor's ancient enemy. A solemn reconciliation ensues. The earl is appointed seneschal of the emperor's domain. The emperor lives only three years, and the earl is married to the empress.

In the execution of this performance our author was obliged to be concise, as the poem was intended to be sung to the harp. Yet, when he breaks through this restraint, instead of dwelling on some of the beautiful situations which the story affords, he is diffuse in displaying trivial and unimportant circumstances. These popular poets are never so happy as when they are describing a battle or a feast.

It will not perhaps be deemed impertinent to observe that about this period the minstrels were often more amply paid than the clergy. In this age, as in more enlightened times, the people loved better to be pleased than instructed. During many of the years of the reign of Henry VI., particularly in the year 1430, at the annual feast of the fraternity of the Holy Cross at Abingdon, in Berkshire, twelve priests each received four pence for singing a dirge; and the same

<sup>1</sup> The emperor's disappointment is thus described:

"Anon to the chamber went he,  
He longyd fore his wyf to se,  
That was so swete a wyght:  
He callyd theym that shulde her kepe,  
Where is my wif: is she on slepe?  
How farys that byrd so bryght?  
The traytors answeryd anon,  
And ye wist how she had done, &c.  
The yonge knyght sir Artour,  
That was her hervour, &c.  
For hale his armys abrode he sprede,  
And fell in swoone on his bed."

number of minstrels were rewarded each with two shillings and four pence, beside diet and horse-meat. Some of these minstrels came only from Maydenhithe, or Maidenhead, a town at no great distance in the same county.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1441 eight priests were hired from Coventry to assist in celebrating a yearly obit in the church of the neighbouring priory of Maxtoke; as were six minstrels, called *mimi*, belonging to the family of Lord Clinton, who lived in the adjoining castle of Maxtoke, to sing, harp, and play, in the hall of the monastery, during the extraordinary refecton allowed to the monks on that anniversary. Two shillings were given to the priests, and four to the minstrels;<sup>2</sup> and the latter are said to have supped in *camera picta*, or the painted chamber of the convent, with the sub-prior,<sup>3</sup> on which occasion the chamberlain furnished eight massy tapers of wax.<sup>4</sup> That the gratuities allowed to priests, even if learned, for their labours, in the same age of devotion, were extremely slender, may be collected from other expenses of this priory.<sup>5</sup> In the same year the prior gives sixpence for a sermon to a *doctor predicans*, or an itinerant doctor in theology of one of the mendicant orders, who went about preaching to the religious houses.

[We have mentioned Dan Robert Saltwood, monk of St. Austin's, at Canterbury, in the reigns of Henry VII. and his successor, as the person who undertook the expense of translating and publishing *The History of King Boccus and Sydracke*. This Robert Saltwood, however, besides being an encourager of letters, was a better poet than either Caumpeden or Chestre. He produced, about 1540 or 1550, a poem in seven-line stanzas, of which only one copy is supposed to remain, entitled "A comparyson bytwene. iiii. byrdes the Larke/ the Nyghtingale/ the Thrushe/ and the Cucko/ for theyr Syngynge who should be chauntoure of the quere." This title occurs over a woodcut of a branch with four birds perched upon it. On the eighteenth leaf is the colophon: "This endythth (*sic*) the comparyson of the byrdes compyled by dan Robert Saltwood monke," &c.]

We have now arrived at the reign of Edward IV., who acceded to the throne in the year 1461. But before I proceed in my series, I will employ the remainder of this section in fixing the reader's attention on an important circumstance (now operating in its full extent, and therefore purposely reserved for this period) which greatly contributed to the improvement of our literature, and consequently of our poetry: I mean the many translations of Latin books, especially classics, which the French had been making for about the two last centuries, and were still continuing to make, into their own language. In order to do this more effectually, I will collect into one view the most distinguished of these versions: not

<sup>1</sup> Hearne's *Lib. Nig. Scacc. Append.* p. 598.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex Computis Prioris Priorat. de Maxtoke, penes me.* "Dat. sex Mimis domini Clynton cantantibus, citharisantibus, et ludentibus, in aula in dicta Pietantia, iiii. s."

<sup>3</sup> "Mimis cenantibus in camera picta cum suppriori eodem tempore," [the sum obliterated.]

<sup>4</sup> Ex comp. Camerarii, *ut sup.*

<sup>5</sup> Ex comp. prædict.

solicitous about those notices on this subject which have before occurred incidentally; nor scrupulous about the charge of anticipation which, to prepare the reader, I shall perhaps incur by lengthening this inquiry, for the sake of comprehension, beyond the limits of the period just assigned. In the meantime it may be pertinent to premise that, from the close communication which formerly subsisted between England and France, manuscript copies of many of these translations, elegantly written and often embellished with the most splendid illuminations and curious miniatures, were presented by the translators or their patrons to the kings of England; and that they accordingly appear at present among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum. Some of these, however, were transcribed, if not translated, by command of our kings; and others brought into England, and placed in the royal library by John, duke of Bedford, regent of France.

It is not consistent with my design to enumerate the Latin legends, rituals, monastic rules, chronicles, and historical parts of the Bible, such as the Books of Kings and of the Maccabees, which were looked upon as stories of chivalry,<sup>1</sup> translated by the French before the year 1200. These soon became obsolete, and are besides too deeply tinged with the deplorable superstition and barbarity of their age to bear a recital.<sup>2</sup> I will therefore begin with the thirteenth century. In the year 1210 Peter Comestor's<sup>3</sup> *Historia Scholastica*, a sort of breviary of the Old and New Testament, accompanied with elaborate expositions from Josephus and many pagan writers, a work compiled at Paris about the year 1175, and so popular as not only to be taught in schools, but even to be publicly read in the churches with its glosses, was translated into French by Guyart des Moulins, a canon of Aire.<sup>4</sup> About the same time some of the old translations into French made in the eleventh century by Thibault de Vernon, canon of Rouen, were retouched; and the Latin legends of many lives of saints, particularly of St. George, of Thomas a Becket, and the martyrdom of St. Hugh, a child murdered in 12[55] by [certain Jews] at Lincoln,<sup>5</sup> were reduced

<sup>1</sup> As *Plusieurs Batailles des Roys d'Israel en contre les Philistiens et Assyriens*, &c. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 D. 1, 7.

<sup>2</sup> I must however except their *Lapidaire*, a poem on precious stones from the Latin of Marbodeus, [as to which, see Brunet, last edit. iii. 1391,] and the *Bestiaire d'Amour*, by Richard de Fournival, written in the middle of the thirteenth century, of which there was an imitation and moralization in verse. The latter and the *Lapidaire*, however, ought to be looked upon as efforts of their early poetry, rather than translations.

<sup>3</sup> Or *Le Mangeur*, because he devoured the Scriptures.

<sup>4</sup> The French was first published [by Antoine Verard (1499), 2 vols. folio,] with woodcuts. Vossius says that the original was abridged by Gualter Hunt, an English Carmelite, about the year 1460. *Hist. Lat.* lib. iii. c. 9, p. 197, edit. 1689. It was translated into German rhymes about 1271. Sander. *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 285. There are numerous and very sumptuous MSS. of this work in the British Museum. One of them, with exquisite paintings, was written by order of Edward IV. at Bruges, 1470. MSS. Reg. 15 D. i. Another is written in 1382. *Ibid.* 19 B. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> See Chaucer, *Prioires T.* ver. 3193. [Everything known relative to St. Hugh

into French verse. These pieces, to which I must add a metrical version of the Bible from Genesis to Hezekiah, by being written in rhyme and easy to be sung, soon became popular, and produced the desired impression on the minds of the people.<sup>1</sup> They were soon followed by the version of [Ægidius di Colonna] *de Regimine Principum*,<sup>2</sup> by Henri de Gauchi. Dares Phrygius, *The Seven Sages of Rome* by Herbert, Eutropius,<sup>3</sup> and Aristotle's *Secretum Secretorum*,<sup>4</sup> appeared about the same time in French. To say nothing of voluminous versions of Pandeets and feudal customs,<sup>5</sup> Michel de Harnes translated Turpin's *Charlemagne* in the year 1207.<sup>6</sup> It was into prose, in opposition to the practice which had long prevailed of turning Latin prose into French rhymes. This piece, in compliance with an age addicted to romantic fiction, our translator undoubtedly preferred to the more rational and sober Latin historians of Charlemagne and of France, such as Gregory of Tours, Fredegaire, and Eginart. In the year 1245 the *Speculum Mundi*, a system of theology, the seven sciences, geography, and natural philosophy,<sup>7</sup> was translated at the instance of the Duke of Berry and Auvergne.<sup>8</sup> Among the royal MSS. is a sort of [devotional manual,] compiled in Latin by [Brother Laurence, (Frère Lorens or *Laurentius Gallus*),] the confessor of Philip III. in 1279, and translated into French;<sup>9</sup> which translation [usually known under the title of *Le Somme de Vices et de Vertus*,] Queen Isabel ordered to be placed in the church of the Innocents at Paris for the use of the people.

---

has been collected together with great industry by M. Francisque Michel, and published under the following title: "Hugues de Lincoln; Recueil de Ballades Anglo-Normandes et Ecoisloises relatives au meurtre de cet enfant," &c. 8vo. Par Silvestre, 1834.—M.]

<sup>1</sup> It is rather beside my purpose to speak particularly of some of the divine offices now made French, and of the church-hymns.

<sup>2</sup> See MSS. Reg. 15 E. vi. 11; *ibid.* 19 B. i.; and *ibid.* 19 A. xx. "Stephanus Fortis clericus scripsit. an. 1395."

<sup>3</sup> He was early translated into Greek at Constantinople.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 B. iv. 3.

<sup>5</sup> See a French Justinian, &c. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 D. ix. 2, 3. A MS. before 1300.

<sup>6</sup> Caxton printed a life of *Charles the Great*, 1485. [It is a translation from the French, but the author of the original work is not known. The Early English Text Society promises us a series of the Charlemagne romances. Mr. Shelly of Plymouth has meanwhile communicated to the present work his interesting monograph on the subject. See *infra*, sect. v.]

<sup>7</sup> One of the most eminent astronomers in this work is the poet Virgil.

I know not when *Le Livre Royall* [a version of the treatise well known in English under the title of *The Remorse of Conscience*, of which Wynkyn de Worde printed a popular metrical epitome], was made French. The Latin original was compiled at the command of Philip le Bel, king of France, in 1279. [Epilogue] to *Caxton's Engl. Translat.* 1484. [A Kentish version, called the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, has been edited twice; for the Roxburghe Club by Mr. Stevenson, in 1855, and for the Early English Text Society by Dr. Morris, in 1866. Several MSS. of the English work exist, but only one of this dialectic version.]

<sup>8</sup> See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 A. ix. [This agrees closely with Caxton's *Mirror of the World*, abisque nota (but 1481), Blades (ii. 82-3) notices several MSS. in verse or prose, differing in certain particulars.]

<sup>9</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 C. ii. [and Cotton MS., Cleop. A, v.]

The fourteenth century was much more fertile in French translation. The spirit of devotion and indeed of this species of curiosity, raised by St. Louis, after a short intermission rekindled under John II. and Charles V. I pass over the prose and metrical translations of the Latin Bible in the years 1343 and 1380 by Macé and Raoul de Presles. Under those reigns, St. Austin, Cassianus, and Gregory the Great<sup>1</sup> were translated into French; and they are the first of the fathers that appeared in a modern tongue. St. Gregory's *Homilies* are by an anonymous translator.<sup>2</sup> His *Dialogues* were probably translated by an English ecclesiastic.<sup>3</sup> St. Austin's *De Civitate Dei* was translated by Raoul de Presles, who acted professedly both as confessor and translator to Charles V.<sup>4</sup> about the year 1374. During the work he received a yearly pension of six hundred livres from that liberal monarch, who was the first founder of a royal library in France, and at whose command it was undertaken. It is accompanied with a prolix commentary, valuable only at present as preserving anecdotes of the opinions, manners and literature of the writer's age; from which I am tempted to give the following specimen, as it strongly illustrates the ancient state of the French stage, and demonstrably proves that comedy and tragedy were now known only by name in France. He observes that comedies are so denominated from a room of entertainment, or from those places, in which banquets were accustomed to be clo'd with singing, called in Greek *comas*: that they were like those *jeux* or plays, which the minstrel (le chanteur) exhibits in halls or other public places, at a feast: and that they were properly styled *Interludi*, as being presented between the two courses. Tragedies, he adds, were spectacles, resembling those personages which at this day we see acting in the life and passion of a martyr.<sup>5</sup> This shows that only the religious drama now subsisted in France. But to proceed: the *Collationes Patrum* or *Conferences* of Cassianus, was translated by John Goulain, a Carmelite monk, about 1363. Two translations of that theological romance by Boethius, the *Consolation of Philosophy*, one by the celebrated Jean de Meun, author of the *Roman de la Rose*, existed before the year 1340. Others of the early Latin Christian writers were ordered to be turned into French by Jeanne of Navarre, about 1332. But finding that the Archbishop of Rouen, who was commissioned to execute this arduous task, did not understand Latin, she employed a Mendicant friar. About the same period, and under the same patronage, the *Legenda Aurea*, written by Jacobus de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa about the year 1260, an inexhaustible repository

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. v. 1. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 15 D. v. 1, 20 D. v.

<sup>3</sup> It is supposed that they were rendered by an Englishman, or one living in England, as the translator's name is marked by an A. And as there is a prayer in the manuscript to St. Frideswide, an Oxford saint. *Mem. Litt.* xvii. p. 735, 4to.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. iii. With pictures. And 14 D. i.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. viii. liv. ii.

of religious fable,<sup>1</sup> was translated by Jehan de Vignay, a monk hospitaller.<sup>2</sup> The same translator gave also a version of a famous ritual entitled *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, or the *Mirror of the Church*, of *Chefs moralised*, written by Jacobus de Caffolis,<sup>3</sup> and of the *Voyage into the East*,<sup>4</sup> by Odoricus. Thomas Benoit, a Prior of Sainte-Genevieve, gratified the religious with a translation into a more intelligible language of some Latin liturgic pieces about the year 1330. But his chief performance was a translation into French verse of the *Rule of St. Austin*. This he undertook merely on a principle of affection and charity, for the edification of his pious brethren who did not understand Latin :

Pour l'amour de vous, très chers freres,  
En François ai traduit ce Latin.

And in the preface he says, " Or sçai-je que plusieurs de vous n'entendent pas bien Latin auquel il fut chose necessaire de la rieuë [regle] entendre." Benoit's successor in the priorate of Sainte-Genevieve was not equally attentive to the discipline and piety of his monks. Instead of translating monkish Latin, and enforcing the salutary regulations of St. Austin, he wrote a system of rules for ballad-writing (*L'Art de dictier Ballades et Rondels*), the first Art of Poetry that ever appeared in France.

Among the moral books now translated, I must not omit the *Spirituelle Amitie* of John of Meun, from the Latin of Aldred [Ailred, or Ethelred, a Cistercian monk of Rievaulx, an abbey in the North Riding of York. He was born in 1109, died in 1166, and was canonized in 1191. He produced a large variety of works, besides the present.]<sup>5</sup> In the same style of mystic piety was the treatise of Consolation, written in Latin by Vincent de Beauvais, and translated in the year 1374. In the year 1340, Henri de Suson, a German dominican and a mystic doctor, wrote a most comprehensive treatise called *Horologium Sapientiæ*. This was translated into French by a monk of Saint François.<sup>6</sup> Even the officers of the court of Charles V. were seized with the ardour of translating religious pieces, no less than the ecclesiastics. The most elegant tract of moral Latinity translated into French was the celebrated book of our countryman, John of Salisbury, *De Nugis Curialium*. This version was made by Denis Soulechart, a learned

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1555, the learned Claude Espence was obliged to make a public recantation for calling it *Legenda Ferrea*. Thuan. *sub ann.* Laun. *Hist. Gymnas. Navarr.* pp. 704, 297.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 B. xvii. The copy was written 1382. This version [is] the same which Caxton translated and printed [three times.] While it was printing, William Lord Arundel, [at whose command Caxton undertook it,] gave Caxton annually a buck in summer and a doe in winter.

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 C. xi. i. This version was translated into English, and printed by Caxton.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 19 D. i. 4. 5.

<sup>5</sup> [Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon period, p. 187, *et seqq.*]

<sup>6</sup> [This is a different work from the *Doctrinal of Sapience*, printed by Caxton in 1489.]

Cordelier, about the year 1360. Notwithstanding the Epistles of Abelard and Eloïsa, not only from the celebrity of Abelard as a Parisian theologist, but on account of the interesting history of that unfortunate pair, must have been as commonly known, and as likely to be read in the original, as any Latin book in France, they were translated into French in this century by John of Meun, who prostituted his abilities, when he relinquished his own noble inventions, to interpret the pedantries of monks, schoolmen, and proscribed classics. I think he also translated Vegetius, who will occur again.<sup>1</sup> In the library of Sainte-Genevieve, there is, in a sort of system of religion, a piece called *Jerarchie*, translated from Latin into French at the command of our Queen Eleanor, in the year 1297, by a French friar.<sup>2</sup> I must not however forget, that amidst this profusion of treatises of religion and instruction, civil history found a place. That immense chaos of events real and fictitious, the *Historical Mirror* of Vincent de Beauvais, was translated by Jehan de Vignay above mentioned.<sup>3</sup> One is not surprised that the translator of the *Golden Legend* should make no better choice.

The desolation produced in France<sup>4</sup> by the victorious armies of the English was instantly succeeded by a flourishing state of letters. King John, having indulged his devotion and satisfied his conscience by procuring numerous versions of books written on sacred subjects, at length turned his attention to the classics. His ignorance of Latin was a fortunate circumstance, as it produced a curiosity to know the treasures of Latin literature. He employed Pierre Bercheur, Prior of Saint Eloi at Paris, an eminent theologist, to translate Livy into French;<sup>5</sup> notwithstanding that author had been anathematized by Pope Gregory. But so judicious a choice [may have been] dictated by Petrarch, who regarded Livy with a degree of enthusiasm, who was now resident at the court of France, and who perhaps condescended to direct and superintend the translation. The translator, in his Latin work called *Repertorium* (a sort of general dictionary, in which all things are proved to be allegorical, and reduced to a moral meaning), under the word Roma records this great attempt in the following manner: "Titum Livium, ad requi-

<sup>1</sup> There is a copy written in [1384,] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 B. xv. Often, *ibid.* John of Meun is also said to have translated *Mirabilia Hibernie*.

<sup>2</sup> "Cette *Jerarchie* translata frere Jehan de Pentham de Latin en François, à la requeste la reine d'Engleterre Alienore femme le roy Edward." There is also this note in the manuscript. "Cest livre resigna frere Jordan de Kyngestone à la commune des freres Menurs de Southampton, par la volente du graunt frere Willame Notington [f. Northington in Hampshire,] ministre d'Engleterre. . . l'an. de grace m.ccc.xvii."

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 14 E. i.

<sup>4</sup> A curious picture of the distracted state of France is recorded by Petrarch. The king, with the Dauphin, returning from his captivity in England, in passing through Picardy, was obliged to make a pecuniary bargain with the numerous robbers that infested that country, to travel unmolested. *Vie de Petr.* iii. 543.

<sup>5</sup> See Henault. *Nouvel. Abreg.* Fr. p. 229, edit. 1752. And *Vie de Petrarque*, iii. 547.

sitionem domini Johannis inclyti Francorum regis, non sine labore et sudoribus in linguam Gallicam transfuli.”<sup>1</sup> To this translation we must join those of Sallust, Lucan and Cæsar: all which seem to have been finished before the year 1365. This revival of a taste for Roman history [which, after all, can hardly have been very powerfully] propagated by Petrarch during his short stay in the French court, immediately produced a Latin historical compilation called *Romuleon* by an anonymous gentleman of France, who soon found it necessary to translate his work into the vernacular language. Valerius Maximus could not remain long untranslated. A version of that favourite author, begun by Simon de Heldin, a monk, in 1364, was finished by Nicolas de Gonesse, a master in theology, 1401.<sup>2</sup> Under the last-mentioned reign, Ovid’s *Metamorphoses moralised*<sup>3</sup> were translated by Guillaume de Nangis: and the same poem was translated into French verse, at the request of Jeanne de Bourbon, afterwards consort of Charles V. by Philip de Vitri, bishop of Meaux, Petrarch’s friend who was living in 1361.<sup>4</sup> A bishop would not have undertaken this work, had he not perceived much moral doctrine couched under the pagan stories. Jean le Fevre, by command of Charles V. translated the poem *De Vetula*, falsely ascribed to Ovid.<sup>5</sup> Cicero’s *Rhetorica* appeared in French, translated by Jean de Antioche, at the request of one Friar William, in the year 1383. About the same time, some of Aristotle’s pieces were translated from Latin; his *Problems* by Evrard de Conti, physician to Charles V.; and his *Ethics* and *Politics* by Nicole d’Oresme, while canon of Rouen. This was the most learned man in France, and tutor to

<sup>1</sup> This was the translation of Livy which, with other books, the Duke of Bedford, regent of France, about 1425 sent into England to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. The copy had been a present to the King of France. *Mem. Litt.* ii. 747, 4to. See the third *Dissertation*. In the Sorbonne library at Paris, there is a most valuable MS. of this version in two folio volumes. In the front of each book are various miniatures and pictures, most beautifully finished. Dan. Maichel, *de Bibliothec. Paris.* p. 79. There is a copy, transcribed about the time the translation was finished (Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. vi.): *Des Fais de Romains*. With pictures.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 18 E. iii. iv. With elegant delineations, and often in the same library.

<sup>3</sup> [See *supra*, vol. i. p. 216.]

<sup>4</sup> There was a French Ovid in Duke Humphrey’s library at Oxford. See *supra*. And Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. iv. 1. [Warton supposed that this might be the version of which Caxton executed an English prose translation, at present known only in an imperfect MS. in the Pepysian. The latter, such as it is, has been printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1819. It is to be observed that, in some old lists of Caxton’s publications, this book is entered as printed in 1479; but no copy has ever come to light.]

<sup>5</sup> Leyserus supposes this piece to be the forgery of one Leo Protonotarius, an officer in the court at Constantinople, who writes the preface. *Hist. Poes. Med. Æv.* p. 2089. He proves the work supposititious, from its several Arabicisms and scriptural expressions, &c. Bradwardine cites many lines from it, *Advers. Pelag.* p. 33. As does Bacon, in his astrological tracts. It is condemned by Bede as heretical (in Boeth. de Trinit.) Selden intended a *Dissertation* on this forgery, *De Synedr.* iii. 16. It is in hexameters, in three books.

Charles V. who, in consequence of his instructions, obtained a competent skill in Latin and the rules of grammar.<sup>1</sup> Other Greek classics, which had become known by being translated into Latin, were still more familiarised, especially to general readers, by being turned into French. Thus the recent Latin version of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, by Poggius, was translated into French by Vaque de Lucerie, 1370.<sup>2</sup> The *Tactics* of Vegetius, an author who frequently confounds the military practices of his own age with those of antiquity, appeared under the title of [*L'Art de Cheualerie selon Vegece*, &c.] by Christin[e de Pise].<sup>3</sup> Petrarch's work *De Remediis utriusque Fortunæ*, a set of Latin dialogues, was translated, not only by Nicole d'Oresme, but by two of the officers of the royal household,<sup>4</sup> in compliment to Petrarch at his leaving France.<sup>5</sup> Many philosophical pieces, particularly in astrology of which Charles V. was remarkably fond, were translated before the end of the fourteenth century. Among these, I must not pass over the *Quadrupartitum* of Ptolemy by d'Oresme; the *Agricultura*,<sup>6</sup> or *Libri ruralium Commodorum* of Peter de Crescentiis, a physician of Bologna, about the year 1285, by a nameless friar-preacher;<sup>7</sup> and the book *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomeus Glanvill, the Pliny of the monks, by John Corbichon, an Augustine monk.<sup>8</sup> I have seen a French MS. of Guido di Colonna's Trojan romance, the handwriting of which belongs to this century.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Christin. *Vie Charles V.*

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. v. 1; and 16 G. ix. with pictures.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Reg. 19 B. xviii. &c. [And compare Brunet, v. 1111.] Vegetius was early translated into all the modern languages. There is an English one, probably by John Trevisa, as it is addressed to his patron Lord Berkeley, A.D. 1408. MSS. Digb. 233, *Princ.* "In olde tyme it was the manere." There is a translation of Vegetius, written at Rhodes, "die 25 Octobris, 1459, per Johannem Newton." ad calc. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. K. 53. Christine's version was translated and printed by Caxton, 1489.

<sup>4</sup> See Nicéron, tom. 28, p. 384.

<sup>5</sup> Lebeuf says Seneca instead of Petrarch. *Mem. Litt.* xvii. p. 752. I must not forget to observe, that several whole books in Brunetto's *Tesoro* consist of translations from Aristotle, Tully, and Pliny, into French. Brunetto [Latini] was a Florentine, and the master of Dante. He died in 1295. The *Tesoro* was a sort of Encyclopedia, exhibiting a course of practical and theoretic philosophy, of divinity, cosmography, geography, history, sacred and profane, physics, ethics, rhetoric, and politics. It was written in French by Brunetto during his residence in France: but [it was afterwards translated into Latin by Bonu Giamboni, which version was published at Treviso in 1474;] and it has been translated by others into Latin. It was the model and foundation of [Glanvill's *Proprietates Rerum*,] of Bercheur's *Repertorium*, and of many other works of the same species, which soon followed. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. i. [The original French still remains unprinted.]

<sup>6</sup> Des Prouffitzz champêtres et ruraux. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 14 E.

<sup>7</sup> In twelve books. See Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 666.

<sup>8</sup> Leland says, that this translation is elegant; and that he saw it in Duke Humfrey's library at Oxford. *Script. Brit.* cap. ccclxviii. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. iii. With pictures. *Ibid.* 15 E. ii. Where the translation is assigned to the year 1362, and the writing of the MS. to 1482. With pictures.

<sup>9</sup> Brit Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 F. ix. Caxton's *Codefroy of Bologne*, translated from the French, and printed 1481, had a Latin original. The French, a fine copy, is in Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. v. &c.

In the fifteenth century it became fashionable among the French to polish and reform their old rude translations made two hundred years before; and to reduce many of their metrical versions into prose. At the same time, the rage of translating ecclesiastical tracts began to decrease. The latter circumstance was partly owing to the introduction of better books, and partly to the invention of printing. Instead of procuring laborious and expensive translations of the ancient fathers, the printers, who multiplied greatly towards the close of this century, found their advantage in publishing new translations of more agreeable books, or in giving ancient versions in a modern dress.<sup>1</sup> Yet in this century some of the more recent doctors of the church were translated. Not to mention the Epistles of St. Jerom, which Antoine Dufour, a Dominican friar, presented in French to Anne de Bretagne, consort to King Charles VIII., we find St. Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*,<sup>2</sup> the *Lamentations of St. Bernard*, the *Sum of Theology* of Albertus Magnus, the *Prick of Divine Love* of St. Bonaventure, a seraphic doctor,<sup>3</sup> with other pieces of the kind, exhibited in the French language before the year 1480, at the petition and under the patronage of many devout duchesses. Yet in the meantime, the lives of saints and sacred history gave way to a species of narrative more entertaining and not less fabulous. Little more than Josephus, and a few *Martyrdoms*, were now translated from the Latin into French.

The truth is, the French translators of this century were chiefly employed on profane authors. At its commencement, a French

<sup>1</sup> I take this opportunity of observing, that one of these was the romance of *Sir Lancelot du Lac*, translated from the Latin by Robert de Borron, at the command of our Henry II. See *supra*, sect. 3. This new Lancelot is [substantially] the same which was printed at Paris by Antony Verard, 1494, in three vast folio volumes. Another is the romance of *Gyron le Courtois*, translated also from Latin, at the command of the same monarch, by Lucas or Luce, *chevalier du Chateau du Gast*, or *Gat*, or *Gal*, and printed by Verard as above. See Lenglet, *Bibl. Rom.* ii. p. 117. See *supra*, sect. 3.

[See on this subject the excellent work of M. Paris, *Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 8vo. Par. Techener, 1836-48, i. pp. 167-177, 209-211.—M.]

[Mr. W., says Ritson, should have proved that the romance of *Lancelot* had existed in Latin, before he mentioned it as a translation from that tongue. MS. note and Obs.—Park.]

<sup>2</sup> Written in 1098.

<sup>3</sup> He flourished in Italy, about the year 1270. The enormous magnificence of his funeral deserves notice more than any anecdote of his life; as it paints the high devotion of the times, and the attention formerly paid to theological literature. There were present Pope Gregory X., the Emperor of Greece by several Greek noblemen his proxies, Baldwin II. the Latin emperor, James, king of Arragon, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, all the cardinals, five hundred bishops and archbishops, sixty abbots, more than a thousand prelates and priests of lower rank, the ambassadors of many kings and potentates, the deputies of the Tartars and other nations, and an innumerable concourse of people of all orders and degrees. The sepulchral ceremonies were celebrated with the most consummate pomp, and the funeral oration was pronounced by a future pope. *Miræi Auctar. Script. Eccles.* p. 72, edit. Fabric. [See *supra*]

abridgment of the three first decads of Livy was produced by Henri Romain, a canon of Tournay. In the year 1416, Jean de Courci, a knight of Normandy, gave a translation of some Latin chronicle, a history of the Greeks and Romans, entitled, *Bouquassiere*. In 1403, Jean de Courteauiffé, a doctor in theology at Paris, translated Seneca on the *Four Cardinal Virtues*.<sup>1</sup> Under the reign of King Charles VII. Jean Coffa translated the *Chronology* of Mattheus Palmerius, a learned Florentine, and a writer of Italian poetry in imitation of Dante. In the dedication to Jeanne III., queen of Jerusalem, and among other titles Countess of Provence, the translator apologises for supposing her highness to be ignorant of Latin; when at the same time he is fully convinced, that a lady endowed with so much natural grace must be perfectly acquainted with that language. "Mais pour ce que le vulgar François est plus commun, j'ai pris peine y translater ladite oeuvre." Two other translations were offered to Charles VII. in the year 1445. One, of the *First Punic War* of Leonard of Arezzo, an anonymous writer, who does not choose to publish his name *à cause de sa petitesse*; and the *Stratagems* of Frontinus, often cited by John of Salisbury, and mentioned in the Epistles of Peter of Blois,<sup>2</sup> by Jean de Rouroy, a Parisian theologist. Under Louis XI., Sebastian Mamerot of Soissons, in the year 1466, attempted a new translation of the *Romuleon*; and he professes, that he undertook it solely with a view of improving or decorating the French language.<sup>3</sup>

Many French versions of classics appeared in this century. A translation of Quintus Curtius is dedicated to Charles, duke of Burgundy, in 1468.<sup>4</sup> Six years afterwards, the same liberal patron commanded Cæsar's *Commentaries* to be translated by Jean du Chesne.<sup>5</sup> Terence was made French by Guillaume Rippe, the king's secretary, in the year 1466. The following year a new translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was executed by an ecclesiastic of Normandy. But Laurent Premierfait, mentioned above, translated (from the Latin), the *Oeconomics* of Aristotle, and Cicero *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*, before the year 1420.<sup>6</sup> He is said also to have trans-

<sup>1</sup> It is supposititious. It was forged, about the year 560, by Martianus an archbishop of Portugal, whom Gregory of Tours calls the most eminent writer of his time. *Hist. Franc.* v. 38. It was a great favourite of the theological ages.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.* 94.

<sup>3</sup> I am not sure whether this is not much the same as *Le Grande Histoire Cesar*, &c. Taken from Lucan, Suetonius, Orosius, &c. Written at Bruges at the command of our Edward IV. in 1479. That is, ordered to be written by him. A manuscript with pictures. MSS. Reg. 17, F. ii. 1. Brit. Mus. But see *ibid.* *Romuleon, ou des Faits des Romains*, in ten books. With pictures. MSS. Reg. 19, E. v. See also 20 C i. [Bruges seems to have been a shop for this kind of work long after printing had been discovered.—*Ashby*.]

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. i. With beautiful pictures.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Reg. 16, G. viii. With pictures. Another appeared by Robert Gaguin in 1485.

<sup>6</sup> The two latter versions were translated into English by William Botoner and John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and printed by Caxton, 1481. Botoner presented

lated some pieces, perhaps the *Epistles*, of Seneca. Encouraged by this example, Jean de Luxembourg, Laurence's contemporary, translated Tully's Oration against Verres. I must not forget that Hippocrates and Galen were translated from Latin into French in the year 1429. The translator was Jean Tourtier, surgeon to the Duke of Bedford, then Regent of France; and he humbly supplicates Rauoul Palvin, confessor and physician to the dukes, and John Major, first physician to the duke, and graduate *en l'estuao d'Auxonford*,<sup>1</sup> and Master Roullan, physician and astronomer of the university of Paris, amicably to amend the faults of this translation, which is intended to place the science and practice of medicine on a new foundation. I presume it was from a Latin version that the *Iliad*, about this period, was translated into French metre.

Among other pieces that might be enumerated in this century, in the year 1412, Guillaume de Tignonville, provost of Paris, translated the *Dicta Philosophorum*.<sup>2</sup> This version was translated into English by Lord Rivers, and printed by Caxton, 1477. [The same noble author executed an English translation of a small piece by Christine de Pise, entitled *Les Proverbes Moraux*, of which there is a copy, with other productions from her pen, in Harl. MS. 4431. The version by Lord Rivers is called *The morale proverbes of Cristyne*, and was printed by Caxton in February, "the cold season," 1477-8.<sup>3</sup> This is one of the stanzas :

There is noo thinge so riche I you enfeur  
As the service of gode oure createur  
Little vailleth goode exemple to see  
For him that wole not the contraire flee  
Though that the deeth to vs be lamentable,  
Hit to remembre is thinge moost conuenable.

These lines may not appear very remarkable in quality or interest, yet the original writer was unquestionably a woman of great attainments, and was regarded by the succeeding literary generation in France at least with respect. Clement Marot says of her :—

his manuscript copy to William of Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, in 1473. Caxton's English *Cato*, printed 1483, was from the French [of Premierfait. His version of *Æsop* came from the same source; it was printed in 1483.] Crucimanius mentions [the] version of Seneca by Premierfait, as printed at Paris in 1500. *Bibl. Gall.* p. 287. A translation of Seneca *De quatuor Virtutibus Cardinalibus*, but supposititious, is given to Premierfait, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 A. xii. Sanders recites the *Epistles* of Seneca, translated into French by some anonymous writer, at the command of Messire Barthelemi Siginulfe, a nobleman of Naples. *Bibl. Cathedr. Tornacens.* p. 209. Pieces of Seneca have been frequently translated into French, and very early. [See Brunet, art. *Seneca*.]

<sup>1</sup> Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 A. viii. Sæpius *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> [Blades, ii. 47-8. The volume occupies only four leaves folio. The only original production of Lord Rivers seems to be a ballad of four stanzas, preserved by Rous (*Hist.* edit. Hearne, p. 213. See Leland, *Itin.* ed. 1745.)

"d'avoir le prix en science et en doctrine  
 Bien merita de Pisan la Christine  
 Durant ses jours."<sup>1</sup>

About the same time, but before 1427, Jean de Guerre translated a Latin compilation of all that was marvellous in Pliny, Solinus, and the *Otia Imperialia*, a book abounding in wonders, of our countryman Gervase of Tilbury.<sup>2</sup> The French romance, entitled *L'Affaillant*, was now translated from the Latin chronicles of the kings of Cologne: and the Latin tract *De Bonis Moribus* of Jacobus Magnus, confessor to Charles VII., about the year 1422, was made French. Rather earlier, [Lawrence] de Premierfait, translated *Boccaccio de Casibus Virorum Illustrium*.<sup>3</sup> Nor shall I be thought to deviate too far from my detail, which is confined to Latin originals, when I mention here a book, the translation of which into French conducted in an eminent degree to circulate materials for poetry: this is Boccaccio's *Decameron*, which Premierfait also translated at the command of Jeanne of Navarre (who seems to have made no kind of conditions about suppressing the licentious stories), in the year 1414.<sup>4</sup>

I am not exactly informed when the *Eneid* of Virgil was translated into a sort of [prose] romance or history of *Eneas*, under the title of [*Le livre des Eneides*]. But that translation was printed at Lyons in 1483, and appears to have been finished not many years before. Among the translator's historical additions, are the description of the first foundation of Troy by Priam, and the succession of Ascanius and his descendants after the death of Turnus. He introduces a digression upon Boccaccio, for giving in his *Fall of Princes* an account of the death of Dido, different from that in the fourth book of the *Eneid*. Among his omissions, he passes over Eneas's descent into hell, as a tale manifestly forged, and not to be believed by any rational reader; as if many other parts of the translator's story were not equally fictitious and incredible.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [*History of the Venetian Republic*, 1860, iv. 198, 368-9.]

<sup>2</sup> He flourished about the year [1183].

<sup>3</sup> This version was [translated by Lydgate, and printed in 1494, &c., as already mentioned.]

<sup>4</sup> See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 E. 1. It was printed at Paris [in 1485, &c. See Brunet, i. 1004-6. Another translation by Antoine de Maçon appeared in 1545, and others later.]

In [the second edition issued by Verard, but not in that by the same printer in 1485] of Premierfait's translation of the *Decameron*, it is said to be translated from Latin into French. But *Latin* here means *Italian*. Hence a mistake arose, that Boccaccio wrote his *Decameron* in Latin. The Italian, as I have before observed, was anciently called *Il volgare Latino*. Thus the French romance of *Meliadus de Leonnois* is said to be *translaté du Latin*, by Rusticien de Pise: edit. 1532. Thus also *Gyron le Courtois* is called a version from the Latin. M. de la Monnoye observes, "Que quand on trouve que certains vieux Romans ont été traduits de Latin en François, par Lucus de Saleberies, Robert de Borron, Rusticien de Pise, ou autres, cela signifie que ç'a été d'Italien en François." *Rem. au Bibl. Fr. du La Croix du Maine*, &c. tom. ii. p. 33, edit. 1772. Premierfait's French *Decameron* is a most wretched caricature of the original.

<sup>5</sup> ["C'est probablement d'après cette paraphrase anonyme que Caxton a donné



The conclusion intended to be drawn from this long digression is obvious. By means of these French translations, our countrymen, who understood French much better than Latin, became acquainted with many useful books which they would not otherwise have known. With such assistances, a commodious access to the classics was opened, and the knowledge of ancient literature facilitated and familiarised in England, at a much earlier period than is imagined; and at a time, when little more than the productions of speculative monks and irrefragable doctors could be obtained or were studied. Very few Englishmen, I will venture to pronounce, had read Livy, before the translation of Bercheur was imported by the regent Duke of Bedford. It is certain that many of the Roman poets and historians were now read in England in the original. But the Latin language was for the most part confined to a few ecclesiastics. When these authors, therefore, appeared in a language almost as intelligible as the English, they fell into the hands of illiterate and common readers, and contributed to sow the seeds of a national erudition, and to form a popular taste. Even the French versions of the religious, philosophical, historical, and allegorical compositions of those more enlightened Latin writers who flourished in the middle ages, had their use, till better books came into vogue: pregnant as they were with absurdities, they communicated instruction on various and new subjects, enlarged the field of information, and promoted the love of reading, by gratifying that growing literary curiosity which now began to want materials for the exercise of its operations. How greatly our poets in general availed themselves of these treasures, we may collect from this circumstance only: even such writers as Chaucer and Lydgate, men of education and learning, when they translate a Latin author, appear to execute their work through the medium of a French version. It is needless to pursue this history of French translation any farther. I have given my reason for introducing it at all. In the next age, a great and universal revolution in literature ensued; and the English themselves began to turn their thoughts to translation.

These French versions enabled Caxton, our first printer, to enrich the state of letters in this country with many [*comparatively*] valuable publications. He found it no difficult task, either by himself or by the help of his friends, to turn a considerable number of these pieces into English, which he printed. Ancient learning had as yet made too little progress among us to encourage this enterprising and industrious artist to publish the Roman authors in their original language: and had not the French furnished him with these materials, it is not likely that Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and many other good writers would by the means of his press have been circulated in the English tongue, so early as the close of the fifteenth century.

It is, however, remarkable that from the year 1472, about which

*l'Eneide en anglois, imprimée en 1490.* — Brunet, *Manuel*, last edit. v. 1304. Compare *Blades*, ii. 222.]

time] Caxton began to print, down to the year 1540, during which period the English press flourished greatly under the conduct of many industrious, ingenious, and even learned artists, only the very few following classics, some of which hardly deserve that name, were printed in England. These were [Cicero *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, printed by Caxton in 1481; Boethius *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, printed by Caxton before 1479; the prose *Æsop*, also printed by Caxton; the prose *Eneid*, from the same press, in 1490; and Cicero *De Officiis*, translated by Robert Whittinton, and printed in 1534. The metrical *Æsop* from Wynkyn de Worde's press, Terence with the Gloss of Alscensius, 1503 and 1504, the *Bucolics* of Virgil, 1512, 1529, and 1533, and the *Seneca* of 1529 were the original Latin.] The University of Oxford, during this period, produced only the first book of Tully's *Epistles*, at the charge of Cardinal Wolsey, [if at least an edition published about 1520 be really from an Oxford press, as has been supposed]. Cambridge did not yield a single classic.

No Greek book, of any kind, had yet appeared from an English press. I believe the first Greek characters used in any work printed in England are in Linacer's translation of Galen *De Temperamentis*, printed at Cambridge in 1521. A few Greek words and abbreviations are here and there introduced. The printer was John Siberch, a German and friend of Erasmus; he styles himself "primus utriusque linguæ in Anglia impressor." There are Greek characters in some of his other books of this date. But he printed no entire Greek book. In Linacer's treatise *De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*, printed by Pinson in 1524, many Greek characters are intermixed. In the sixth book are seven Greek lines together. But the printer apologises for his imperfections and unskilfulness in the Greek types which, he says, were but recently cast, and not in a sufficient quantity for such a work. The passage is curious.<sup>1</sup> About the same period of the English press, the same embarrassments appear to have happened with regard to Hebrew types, which yet were more likely, as that language was so much less known. In the year 1524 Dr. Robert Wakefield, chaplain to Henry VIII., published his *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum: Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, et Hebraicæ, &c.* The printer was Wynkyn de Worde; and the author complains that he was obliged to omit his whole third part, because the printer had no Hebrew types. Some few Hebrew and Arabic characters, however, are introduced, but extremely rude, and evidently cut in wood. They are the first of the sort used in England. This learned orientalist was instrumental in preserving, at the dissolution of monasteries, the Hebrew MSS. of Ramsey Abbey, collected by Holbech, one of the monks, together with Holbech's *Hebrew Dictionary*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Æquo animo feras siquæ literæ, in exemplis Hellenismi, vel tonis vel spiritibus careant. His enim non satis instructus erat typographus, videlicet recens ab eo fuis characteribus Græcis, nec parata ei copia qua ad hoc agendum opus est."

<sup>2</sup> Wood, *Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 251. Leland, *Scriptor.* v. Holbeccus.

It was a circumstance favourable at least to English literature, owing indeed to the general illiteracy of the times, that our first printers were so little employed on books written in the learned languages. Almost all Caxton's books are English. The multiplication of English copies multiplied English readers, and these again produced new vernacular writers. The existence of a press induced many persons to turn authors, who were only qualified to write in their native tongue.

To some part of the reign of Henry [VI. belongs] the *Tournament of Tottenham, or the wooing, winning, and wedding of Tibbe the Reeve's Daughter there*.<sup>1</sup> It was published from an ancient MS. in 1631, and reduced to a more modern style, by William Bedwell, rector of Tottenham, and one of the translators of the Bible. He says it was written by Gilbert Pilkington, supposed to have been rector of the same parish, and author of an unknown tract, called *Passio Domini Jesu*. But Bedwell, without the least comprehension of the scope and spirit of the piece, imagines it to be a serious narrative of a real event, and (with as little sagacity) believes it to have been written before the year 1330. Allowing that it might originate from a real event, and that there might be some private and local abuse at the bottom, it is impossible that the poet could be serious. Undoubtedly the chief merit of this poem, although not destitute of humour, consists in the design rather than the execution. As Chaucer, in the *Rime of Sir Thopas*, travestied the romances of chivalry, the *Tournament of Tottenham* is a burlesque on the parade and fopperies of chivalry itself. In this light, it may be considered as a curiosity, and does honour to the good sense and discernment of the writer who, seeing through the folly of these fashionable exercises, was sensible at the same time that they were too popular to be attacked by the more solid weapons of reason and argument. Even on a supposition that here is an allusion to real facts and characters, and that it was intended to expose some popular story of the amours of the daughter of the Reve of Tottenham, we must acknowledge that the satire is conveyed in an ingenious mode. He has introduced a parcel of clowns and rustics, the inhabitants of Tottenham, Ilington, Highgate, and Hackney (places then not quite so polished as at present),<sup>2</sup> who imitate all the solemnities of the bar-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Harl. 5396. [One of the entries in this MS. is dated the 34th year of Henry VI. or 1456. There can be no doubt that the poem is of equal antiquity. —Price. The Rev. Wilhelm Bedwell, who published the *Tournament of Tottenham* from an ancient MS. in 1631, 4to. says in his epistle to the reader, "It is now seven or eight years since I came to the sight of the copy, and that by the means of the worthy and my much honoured good friend, M. George Withers: of whom also, now at length, I have obtained the use of the same. And because the verse was then by him (a man of so exquisite judgement in this kind of learning) much commended, as also for the thing it selfe, I thought it worth while to transcribe it and to make it public," &c. —Park. The MS. in question is now in the Public Library at Cambridge.]

<sup>2</sup> [Here Dr. Ashby remarks that Tottenham, &c. were always as near the capital, and consequently as much so then as now, comparatively. But what is more to the point, and as true as strange, the lower classes are little better than those of the same rank at a greater distance. —Park.]

riers. The whole is a mock parody on the challenge, the various events of the encounter, the exhibition of the prize, the devices and escutcheons, the display of arms, the triumphant procession of the conqueror, the oath before the combat, and the splendid feast which followed, with every other ceremony and circumstance which constituted the regular tournament. The reader will form an idea of the work from a short extract.<sup>1</sup>

[He that berys hym best in the turnament,  
He shal be graunted the gre by the comyn assent,  
For to wyinne my doxter with duxtyneffe of dent,  
And coppull my brode hen that was broȝt out of Kent,  
And my donned cow :  
For no spence wille I spare,  
For no catell wille I care,  
He shalle haue my gray mare,  
And my spottyȝ ſowe.

Ther was mony a bolde lad theire bodys to bede,  
Than thei toke theire leue, and hamwarde thei ȝede :  
And alle the weke afterward thei graythed her wede,  
Tille hit come to the day that thei shulde do thaire dede.

Thei armyd theym in mattes :  
Thei sett on theire nollis  
Gode blake bollys,  
For to kepe theire pollis,  
From batterynȝ of battes.

Thei sewed hem in schepe skynnes, for thei shuld not brest :  
And euer ilkon of hem toke a blac hatte infidde of a crest :  
A baskett or a panyer be fore on thaire brest,  
And a flayle in theire honde : for to fȝyt prest.

Forth con thei fare :  
Ther was kid micull fors,  
Who shulde best fend his cors :  
He that hade no gode hors,  
Borrowyd hym a mare.]

[In the Cambridge MS. however, of the *Tournament*, there is a sequel entitled *The Peest*. It is in the same vein of burlesque as the remainder of the poem :

Then come in the frutur,  
With a nobul faouure,  
With feterloks fried :  
And alle the cart wheles of Kent,  
With stonys of the payment,  
Full wel were thei tried.

Such humour is, it must be owned, somewhat dreary, and if the antiquity of the production is no longer a point of doubt, at least its merit must always remain so.]

To this period belong two persons who had the same name in common, and who have been consequently confounded<sup>2</sup> — two

<sup>1</sup> [The whole of the poem is republished in *Rem. of E. P. P. of Engl.* iii.]

<sup>2</sup> The *Myrrour of Life*, ascribed to Hampole, and the poem quoted above in the text, are one and the same. The true author is ascertained by the following lines at the end, taken from MS. Reg. 17, c. viii. :

writers known as William of Nassington. One wrote a treatise *De Trinitate et Unitate*; the other, who was a proctor in the ecclesiastical court at York, translated into English John de Waldenby's *Myrrour of Life*, of which there is a MS. dated 1418, in MS. Reg. 17 C. viii., the author was] an Augustine friar of Yorkshire, a student in the Augustine convent at Oxford, the provincial of his order in England, and a strenuous champion against the doctrines of Wickliffe.<sup>1</sup> [I am] tempted to transcribe the few following lines from Nassington's prologue [to his *Mirror of Life*]<sup>2</sup> as they convey an idea of our poet's character, record the titles of some old popular romances, and discover ancient modes of public amusement :

I warne you firste at the begynnyng,  
That I will make no wayne carpyng,  
Of dedes of armes, ne of amours,  
As does mynstrellis and gestours,  
That maketh carpyng in many a place  
Of Octoviane and Ikenbrace,  
And of many other Gestes,  
And namely when they come to festes;  
Ne of the lyf of Bevy's of Hamptoune,  
That was a knyght of grete renoune:  
Ne of fyr Gye of Warwyke, &c.

Our translator in these verses formally declares his intention of giving his reader no entertainment, and disavows all concern with secular vanities, especially those unedifying tales of love and arms, which were the customary themes of other poets, and the delight of an idle age.<sup>3</sup> I will transcribe a few more dull lines :

*Latyn* als, I trowe, canne nane  
Bot thafe that it of scole hane tane,  
Some canne *frankes* and *latyn*  
That hanes vsed covrte and dwelled theryn,  
And som canne o *latyn* a party  
That canne *frankes* bot febely,

"Now wille I na mare say;  
þe that have herde, I you pray  
That þe wald pray specialy  
For Freere Johan faule of Waldby,  
That fast studyd day and nyght,  
And made this tale in Latyne right, &c.  
Prayes also w<sup>t</sup> deucion  
For William faule of Nassyngtone,  
That gaf hym als fulle besyly  
Night and day to grete study  
And made this tale in Inglys tonge,  
Prayes for hyme old and yonge."

The poem in the Lincoln MS., A. i. 17, is quite a different work, and only consists of about 440 short lines. It commences :

"O! Lord God of myghtes moſte,  
Fadere and Sone and Holy Goffe."—M.]

<sup>1</sup> Wood, *Ant. Univ. Oxon.* i. 117.

<sup>2</sup> See also MSS. Reg. 17 C. viii. p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> [See MSS. Bodl. 48, p. 47, 2. And *ibid.* MSS. Langb. 5, p. 64.]

And som vnderstandes in *ingly*:  
 That canne nother *latyn* ne *frankys*,  
 But lered and lewed alde and younge  
 All vnderstandes *inglysche* tounge:  
 Thare fore I halde it maste syker thon  
 To schewe that langage that ilk a man konne,  
 And for all lewed men namely  
 Thet can no maner of clergy,  
 To kenne thanne what ware maste nede,  
 For clerkes canne bathe se and rede, &c.

This poem, consisting of many thousand verses, begins with the spiritual advantages of the Lord's Prayer, of its seven petitions, their effects, &c., and ends with the seven Beatitudes and their rewards. These are the two concluding lines:

To whylk blyffe he vs bryng  
 That on the crosse for vs all wolde hyng.<sup>1</sup>

The romances of Octavian, Sir Bevis, and Sir Guy have already been discussed at large. That of Sir Isembras was familiar in the time of Chaucer, and occurs in the *Rime of Sir Thopas*.<sup>2</sup> In [the] Garrick [collection,] there is an edition by Copland, extremely different from the manuscript copies preserved at Cambridge<sup>3</sup> and in the Cotton collection.<sup>4</sup> I believe it to be originally a French romance, yet not of very high antiquity. It is written in the stanza of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*. The incidents are for the most part those trite expedients, which almost constantly form the plan of these metrical narratives.

I take this opportunity of remarking, that the minstrels, who in this prologue of Naffington are named separately from the *gestours* or tale-tellers, were sometimes distinguished from the harpers. In the year 1374, six minstrels, accompanied by four harpers, on the anniversary of Bishop Alwyne performed their minstrelfies at dinner, in the hall of the convent of Saint Swithin at Winchester; and during supper sang the same gest or tale in the great arched chamber of the prior; on which solemn occasion the said chamber was hung with the arras or tapestry of the Three Kings of Cologne.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Lord Ashburnham has, it is said, the best MS. Other copies are in MS. Vernon (about 1400); MS. Simeon (same date); and MS. Hatton 19 (in the Bodleian).]

<sup>2</sup> Of this tale there are six or seven MSS. known. That in the library of Lincoln Cathedral has been included by Mr. Halliwell, in *Thornton Romances*, 1844. There is also an old printed edition, with a fragment of a second, showing that it passed the press at least twice. Percy remarks (*Rel. ed.* 1812, i. 326) that Drayton, in his *Dowdabel*, "has professedly imitated the style and metre of some of the old metrical Romances, particularly that of *Sir Isembras*."]

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Caius Coll. Claß. A. 9. (2).

<sup>4</sup> Calig. A. 12, f. 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Regist. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton.* "In festo Alwyni episcopi . . . . Et durante pietancia in aulâ conventus, sex ministralli, cum quatuor citharistatoribus, faciebant ministralcias suas. Et post cenam, in magnâ camerâ arcuatâ dom. Prioris, cantabant idem gestum, in quâ camerâ suspendebatur, ut moris est, magnum dorsale Prioris, habens picturas trium regum Colein. Veniebant autem dicti joculatores a castello domini regis, et ex familiâ episcopi. . . ." The rest is much obliterated,

These minstrels and harpers belonged, partly to the royal household in Winchester castle, and partly to the Bishop of Winchester. There was an annual mas at the shrine or tomb of Bishop Alwyne in the church, which was regularly followed by a feast in the convent. It is probable, that the gest here specified was some poetical legend of the prelate, to whose memory this yearly festival was instituted, and who was a Saxon bishop of Winchester [from 1032 to 1047.]<sup>1</sup> Although songs of chivalry were equally common, and I believe more welcome to the monks, at these solemnities. In an accompt-roll of the priory of Bicester, in Oxfordshire,<sup>2</sup> I find a parallel instance under the year 1432. It is in this entry. "*Dat. sex Ministrallis de Bokyngham cantantibus in refectorio Martirium septem dormientium in Festo epiphanie, iv s.*" That is, the treasurer of the monastery gave four shillings to six minstrels from Buckingham, for singing in the refectory a legend called the Martyrdom of the Seven Sleepers,<sup>3</sup> on the feast of the Epiphany. In the Cotton library, there is a Norman poem on this subject,<sup>4</sup> which was probably translated afterwards into English rhyme. The original is a Greek

and the date is hardly discernible. Among the Harleian manuscripts, there is an ancient song of the three kings of Cologne, in which the old story of that favourite romance is resolved into alchemy. MSS. 2407. 13. fol. Wynkyn de Worde printed this romance [at least four times between 1500 and 1533.] It is in MSS. Harl. 1704. 11. fol. 49, b. (imperf.); Coll. Trin. Dublin. V. 651. 14. [C. 16.]; MSS. More 37; and frequently in other places. Barclay, in his *Egloges* [which, however, are merely translations,] mentions this subject, a part of the nativity, painted on the walls of a church cathedral. Egl. v. signat. D. iv. ad calc. *Ship of Fools*, edit. 1570:

"And the *thre kinges*, with all their company,  
Their crownes glistering bright and oriently,  
With their presentes and giftes mysticall,  
All this behelde I in picture on the wall."

[Some additional information on this subject may be found in Halliwell's *Inventories of Ancient Tapestry, Plate, &c.* 1854.]

In an inventory of ornaments belonging to the church of Holbech, in Lincolnshire, and sold in the year 1548, we find this article. "*Item*, for the coats of the iii. kynges of Coloyne, v. s. iiiii d." I suppose these coats were for dressing persons who represented the three kings in some procession on the Nativity. Or perhaps for a Mystery on the subject, played by the parish. But in the same inventory we have, *Item*, for the apofylls [the apofles] coats, and for Harods [Herod's] coate, &c. Stukeley's *Itin. Curios.* p. 19.

<sup>1</sup> He is buried in the north wall of the presbytery, with an inscription.

<sup>2</sup> In *Theaurario* Coll. Trin. Oxon. [See *supr.*]

<sup>3</sup> In the fourth century, being inclosed in a cave at Ephesus by the Emperor Decius, 372 years, they were afterwards found sleeping, and alive.

<sup>4</sup> [The poem is written in the common French hand of the thirteenth century; and the English poem mentioned in the note below is written in the reign of Henry VII. Very little dependence can be placed on Warton's knowledge of the age of MSS.—M.] MSS. Cott. *Calig.* A. ix. iii. fol. 213, b. [See *supr.*] "*Jci commence la vie de Set dormanz.*"

"La uertu deu ke tut sur bure  
E tve iurz epe cereme e pure."

[This poem was written in the thirteenth century by an Anglo-Norman named Chardry. See De la Rue's *Essais sur les Trouvères*, &c., tom. iii. p. 130.—M.]

legend<sup>1</sup> which, in the dark ages, went about in a barbarous Latin translation by one Syrus;<sup>2</sup> or in a narrative framed from it by Gregory of Tours.<sup>3</sup>

The same era (of Henry VI.) claims the honour of a well-known poem by James I. king of Scotland, who was atrociously murdered at Perth in the year 1436. It is allegorical, and in the seven-lined stanza. [The title is: *The Quair, maid be king James of Scotland the First, callit the king's Quair*, where the king's Quair means the king's book (Quire).] The subject was suggested to the poet by his own misfortunes, and the mode of composition by reading Boethius.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Lambec. viii. p. 375. Photius, without naming the author, gives the substance of this Greek legend, Bibl. Cod. ccliii. p. 1399, edit. 1591. This story was common among the Arabians. The Mussulmans borrowed many wonderful narratives from the Christians, which they embellished with new fictions. They pretend that a dog, which was accidentally shut up in the cavern with the seven sleepers, became rational. See Herbelot, *Diâ. Orient.* p. 139, a. v. *Ashab.* p. 17. In the British Museum there is a poem, partly in Saxon characters, *De pueritia domini nostri Jhesu Cristi*; or, *the childhood of Crishti*. MSS. Harl. 2399. 10, fol. 47. It begins thus:

"Alle myxthty god yn Trynyte,  
That bowth [bought] man on rode dere;  
He gefe ows wafte to the  
A lytyl wyle that ye wyll me hyre."

Who would suspect that this absurd legend had also a Greek original? It was taken, I do not suppose immediately, from an apocryphal narrative ascribed to St. Thomas the apostle, but really compiled by Thomas Israelites, and entitled, *Λόγος εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, Liber de pueritia et miraculis domini*, &c. It is printed in part by Cotelierius, *Not. ad Patr. Apostol.* p. 274. Who there mentions a book of Saint Matthew the Evangelist, *De Infantia Salvatoris*, in which our Lord is introduced learning to read, &c. See Iren. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 104. Among other figments of this kind, in the Pseudo-Gelasian Decree are recited, The history and nativity of our Saviour, and of Mary and the midwife; and, The history of the infancy of our Saviour. *Jur. Can. Distinct.* can. 3. The latter piece is mentioned by Anastasius, where he censures as supposititious, the puerile miracles of Christ. *Ὀδῶν.* c. xiii. p. 26.

On the same subject there is an Arabic book, probably compiled soon after the rise of Mahometanism, translated into Latin by Sikius, called *Evangelium infantie*, Arab. et Latin, 1697. In this piece, Christ is examined by the Jewish doctors, in astronomy, medicine, physics, and metaphysics. Sikius says, that the puerile miracles of Christ were common among the Persians. *Ibid.* in Not. p. 55. Fabricius cites a German poem, more than four hundred years old, founded on these legends. *Cod. Apocryph. Nov. Test.* tom. i. p. 212. Hamburg. 1703.

At the end of the English poem on this subject above cited, is the following rubric. "Qöd dnus Johannes Arcitenens canonicus Bodminie et natus in illa." Whether this Canon of Bodmin, in Cornwall, whose name was perhaps Archer or Bowyer, is the poet, or only the transcriber, I cannot say. See fol. 48. In the same manuscript volume, [8.] there is an old English poem to our Saviour, with this note. "Explicit *Contemplationem bonam*. Quöd dnus Johannes Arcuarius canonicus Bodminie." See what is said below of the *Pseudo-Evangelium* attributed to Nichodemus.

<sup>2</sup> *Apud* Surium, ad 27 Jul.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia septem Dormientium*. Paris, 1511, *ibid.* 1640. And *apud* Ruinart, p. 1270. See *Pref. Ruinart.* § 79. And Gregory himself, *De gloria martyrum*, cap. 95, p. 826. This piece is noticed and much commended by the old chronicler Albericus, *ad ann.* 319.

At the close he mentions Gower and Chaucer as seated on the "steppys of rhetoryke."<sup>1</sup> This unfortunate monarch was educated while a prisoner in England, at the command of our Henry IV.; and the poem was written during his captivity there. The Scottish historians represent him as a prodigy of erudition. He civilized the Scottish nation. Among other accomplishments, he was an admirable musician, and particularly skilled in playing on the harp.<sup>2</sup> Among other pieces, which I have never seen, Bale mentions his *Cantilene Scotica* and *Rhythmi Latini*.<sup>3</sup> It is not the plan of this work to comprehend and examine in form pieces of Scottish poetry, except such only as are of singular merit. Otherwise, our royal bard would have been considered at large, and at his proper period. I will, however, add here two stanzas of the poem contained in the Selden manuscript, which seems to be the most distinguished of his compositions:<sup>4</sup>

In ver that full of vertue is and gude,  
When nature first begynneth her empyre,  
That quillham was by cruell frost and fude,  
And thowres scharp, opprest in many wyse;  
And Cynthius gynneth to aryse  
Heigh in the eft a morow soft and swete  
Upwards his course to drive in Ariete:  
Passit bot mydday foure grees evyn  
Off lenth and brede, his angel wings bright  
He spred uppon the ground down fro the hevyn:  
That for gladness and confort of the sight,  
And with the tikling of his hete and light  
The tender floures opinyt thanne and sprad  
And in thar nature thankit him for glad.<sup>5</sup>

Both these poems seem to be written on his wife Joan, daughter of the Dukes of Clarence, with whom he fell in love while a prisoner in England. Major mentions besides a *libellus artificiosus*, whether verse or prose I know not, which he wrote on this lady in

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Selden. Archiv. B. 24, chart, fol. [With many pieces of Chaucer.]

<sup>2</sup> See Lesley, *De Reb. Gest. Scot.* lib. vii. pp. 257, 266, 267, edit. 1675. The same historian says, "ita orator erat, ut ejus dictione nihil fuerit artificiosus: ita poeta, ut carmina non tam arte strinxisset, quam natura sponte fudisset videretur. Cui rei fidem faciunt carmina diversis generis, quæ in rhythnum Scotice illigavit, eo artificio," &c. *Ibid.* 267. See also Buchanan, *Rev. Scot.* lib. x. pp. 186-196. Opp. tom. i. Edinb. 1715.

<sup>3</sup> Bale, *Paral. post Cent.* xiv. 56, pag. 217.

<sup>4</sup> [*Poetic Remains of some of the Scottish Kings*, edit. Chalmers, 1824, p. 31, where, however, the spelling is modernized.]

<sup>5</sup> This piece is not specified by Bale, Dempster, or Mackenzie. See Bale, *ubi supr.* Dempster, *Scot. Scriptor.* ix. 714, pag. 380, edit. 1622. Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 318, Edinb. 1708, fol. John Major mentions the beginning of some of his other poems, viz. "Yas fen," &c. And "At Beltayn," &c. [Both these poems are supposed to be still existing. They will be found in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. i. pp. 55-129. There does not, however, appear to be any good authority for attributing the latter, usually called *Pebblis to the Play*, to James I. The internal evidence speaks decidedly for a later æra than the reign of this distinguished monarch.—Price]

England before his marriage; and which Bale entitles *Super Uxore futura*. This historian, who flourished about the year 1520, adds that our monarch's *Cantilenæ* were commonly sung by the Scot[s] as their most favourite compositions: and that he played better on the harp than the most skilful Irish or highland harper. Major does not enumerate the poem I have here cited.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Percy had one of James's *Cantilenæ*, in which there is much merit.

For the use of those who collect specimens of alliteration, I will add an instance in the reign of Edward III. from the *Bannokburn* of Minot, all whose pieces, in some degree, are tinged with it:

Skottes out of Berwik and of Abirdene,  
At the Bannokburn war ȝe to kene;  
Thare slogh ȝe many sakles, als it was sene.  
And now has king Edward wroken it I wene;  
It es wroken I wene, wele wurth the while,  
War ȝit with the Skottes, for thai er ful of gile.  
Whare er ȝe, Skottes of saint Johnes toune?  
The bofte of ȝowre baner es betin all doune;  
When ȝe boſting will bede, fir Edward es boune,  
For to kindel ȝow care and crak ȝowre crowne:  
He has crakked ȝowre croune, wele worth the while,  
Schame bityde the Skottes, for thai er full of gile.  
Skottes of Striflin war ſteren and ſtout,  
Of God ne of gude men had thai no dout;  
Now have thai the pelers priked about,  
Bot at the laſt fir Edward riſild thaire rout;  
He has riſild thaire rout, wele wurth the while,  
Bot euer er thai under bot gaudes and gile.  
Rughfute riueling, now kindels thi care,  
Bere-bag with thi bofte, thi biging es bare;  
Fals wretche and forſworn, whider wilton fare?  
Buſk the unto Brig and abide thare.  
Thare wretche ſaltou won, and wery the while,  
Thi dwelling in Donde es done for thi gile.  
The Skottes gaſe in burghes and betes the ſtretes,  
All thiſe Inglis men harmes he hetes;  
Faſt makes he his mone to men that he metes,  
Bot ſone frendes he finds that his bale betes;  
Sune betes his bale, wele wurth the while,  
He uſes all threting with gaudes and gile.  
Bot many man thretes and ſpekis full ill,  
That ſumtyme war better to be ſtane ſtill;  
The Skot in his wordes has wind for to ſpill,  
For at the laſt Edward ſall haue al his will:  
He had his will at Berwick, wele wurth the while,  
Skottes broght him the kayes, bot get for thaire gile.

A *Viſion* on vellum, perhaps of the ſame age, is alliterative.<sup>2</sup> Theſe are ſpecimens:

Ryȝt as the maynful mone con rys,  
Er thenne the day glem dryve al down,  
So ſodanly, on a wonder wyſe,  
I watȝ war of a profeſſioun.

<sup>1</sup> *Gest. Scot.* lib. vi. cap. xiv. fol. 135, edit. 1521.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Cott. Nero, A. x. [Morris's *Early Allitt. Poems*, pp. 1, 33-4, 56.]

This noble cite of ryche enipresse  
 Watȝ sodanly full with-outen somoun,  
 Of such vergynes in the same gyse  
 That watȝ my blisful an under croun,  
 And coronde wern alle of the same fafoun,  
 Depaynt in perleȝ and wedeȝ qwhyte.

Again,

On golden gateȝ that glent as glasse.

Again,

But mylde as maydenȝ seme at mas.

The poem begins,

Perle plefaunte to princes paye,  
 To clany clos in golde so clere.

In the same manuscript is an alliterative poem without rhyme, exactly in the versification of [Langland's *Vision*], of equal or higher antiquity, [entitled *Cleanness*. The following is a specimen] :

Olde Abraham in erde oneȝ he sytteȝ,  
 Even byfore his hous dore under an oke grene,  
 Bryȝt blykked the bem of the brod heven  
 In the hyȝe hete therof Abraham bideȝ.

The handwriting of these two last-mentioned pieces cannot be later than Edward III.

## SECTION XXV.



HE first poet that occurs in the reign of Edward IV. is John Harding. He was of northern extraction and educated in the family of Lord Henry Percy,<sup>1</sup> and at twenty-five years of age hazarded his fortunes as a volunteer at the decisive battle of Shrewsbury, fought against Percy and the Scots under Lord Douglas in the year 1403. He appears to have been indefatigable in examining original records, chiefly with a design of ascertaining the fealty due from the Scottish kings to the crown of England; and he carried from Scotland for the elucidation of this important inquiry at the hazard of his life many instruments which he delivered at different times to the Fifth and Sixth Henry, and to Edward IV.<sup>2</sup> These investigations seem to

<sup>1</sup> One William Peiris, a priest, and secretary to the fifth Earl of Northumberland, wrote in verse, *William Peiris's discourse of the Lord Percis*. Pr. Prol. "Cronykills and annuel books of kyngs." Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 18. D. 9. Then immediately follows (10) in the same manuscript, perhaps written by the same author, a collection of metrical proverbs painted in several chambers of Lekingfield and Wrefille, ancient seats of the Percy family.

<sup>2</sup> Henry VI. granted immunities to Harding in several patents for procuring the Scottish evidences. The earliest is dated an. reg. xviii. [1440]. There is a memorandum in the exchequer, that in 1458, John Harding of Kyme delivered to John Talbot, treasurer of England and chancellor of the exchequer, five Scottish letters patent, acknowledging various homages of the kings and nobility of Scotland.

have fixed his mind on the study of our national antiquities and history. At length he clothed his researches in rhyme, which he dedicated under that form to Edward IV. and with the title of *The Chronicle of England unto the reigne of king Edward the Fourth*.<sup>1</sup> The copy probably presented to the king, although it exhibits at the end the arms of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, most elegantly transcribed on vellum, and adorned with superb illuminations, is preserved among Selden's MSS. in the Bodleian library.<sup>2</sup> Our author is concise and compendious in his narrative of events from Brutus to the reign of Henry IV. : he is much more minute and diffuse in relating those affairs of which, for more than the space of sixty years, he was a living witness, and which occurred from that period to the reign of Edward IV. The poem seems to have been completed about the year 1470. In his final chapter he exhorts the king to recall his rival Henry VI. and to restore the partisans of that unhappy prince.

This work is almost beneath criticism, and fit only for the attention of an antiquary. Harding may be pronounced to be the most impotent of our metrical historians, especially when we recollect the great improvements which English poetry had now received. I will not even except Robert of Gloucester, who lived in the infancy of taste and versification. The chronicle of this authentic and laborious annalist has hardly those more modest graces, which could properly recommend and adorn a detail of the British story in prose. He has left some pieces in prose : and Winstanley says, "as his prose was very usefull, so was his poetry as much delightfull." I am of opinion, that both his prose and poetry are equally useful and delightful. What can be more frigid and unanimated than these lines ?

---

They are inclosed in a wooden box in the exchequer, kept in a large chest, under the mark, Scotia. Harding. So says Ashmole [MSS. Ashmol. 860, p. 186] from a register in the exchequer called the Yellow-book.

<sup>1</sup> Printed at London, 1543, 4to. by Grafton who has prefixed a dedication of three leaves in verse to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. A continuation in prose from Edward IV. to Henry VIII. is added, probably by [Sir Thomas More. See Ellis's Preface to edit. 1812.]

[Harding "was a most dexterous and notable forger, and obtained great rewards from Henry VI. and Edward IV. for a number of supposititious charters of fealty and homage from the Scottish monarchs to the kings of England, which he pretended to have obtained in Scotland at the hazard of his life, and which are still carefully preserved in the exchequer."—*Risdon*.]

[A new edition has since been published by Sir H. Ellis, who has collated both the Selden and Ashmole MSS., together with a very valuable one now in the British Museum, and formerly belonging to Lord Lansdowne. The text of Sir H. Ellis has been followed upon the present occasion. It may be right to add, that this gentleman has suggested a possibility, that Harding was himself imposed upon in the affair of the charters; that he was the dupe, and not the perpetrator, of the fraud.—*Price*.]

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Archiv. Seld. B. 26. It is richly bound and studded. At the end is a curious map of Scotland; together with many prose pieces by Harding of the historical kind. The Ashmolean manuscript is entitled, *The Chronicle of John Harding in metre from the beginning of England unto the Reign of Edward the Fourth*. MSS. Ashmol. Oxon. 34.

Kyng Arthure then in Aualon so died,  
 Wher he was buried in a chapell fayre,  
 Whiche nowe is made and fully edified,  
 The mynster church this daye of great repayre,  
 Of Glaftenbury where nowe he hath his leyre ;  
 But then it was called the blacke chapell  
 Of our Lady, as chronicles can tell.

Wher Geryn, erle of Chartres, then abode,  
 Befyde his tounge for whole devocion,  
 Whether Launcelot de Lake came, as he rode  
 Upon the chace with trompette and clarion,  
 And Geryn tolde hym ther all up and downe,  
 Howe Arthure was there layde in sepulture,  
 For whiche with hym to byde he hight full sure.<sup>1</sup>

Fuller affirms our author to have "drunk as deep a draught of Helicon as any of his age." An assertion partly true: it is certain, however, that the diction and imagery of our poetic composition would have remained in just the same state, had Harding never written.

In this reign the first mention of the king's poet, under the appellation of *Laureate*, occurs. John Kay was appointed poet laureate to Edward IV. It is extraordinary that he should have left no pieces of poetry to prove his pretensions in some degree to this office, with which he is said to have been invested by the king at his return from Italy. The only composition he has transmitted to posterity is a prose English translation of a Latin history [by Gulielmus Caorsinus]<sup>2</sup> of the Siege of Rhodes: in the dedication addressed to King Edward, or rather in the title, he styles himself "hys humble poete laureate." Although this our laureate furnishes us with no materials as a poet, yet his office, which here occurs for the first time under this denomination, must not pass unnoticed in the annals of English poetry, and will produce a short digression.

Great confusion has entered into this subject, on account of the degrees in grammar, which included rhetoric and versification,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. lxxxiv. edit. [Ellis, p. 147.]

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Cotton. Vitell. D. xii. 10. [Printed by W. Caxton (*circa* 1490), folio. Warton speaks of an edit. of 1506. The original Latin, as stated by him, is entitled, *Obsidio Rhodiæ Urbis* (1480). See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Caorsinus*. The works of this Gulielmus, which are numerous, were printed together, at Ulm, 1496, fol. with rude wooden prints. See an exact account of this writer, *Diar. Eruditor. Ital.* tom. xxi. p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> In the ancient statutes of the university of Oxford, every Regent Master in Grammar is prohibited from reading in his faculty, unless he first pass an examination "de modo versificandi et dictandi," &c. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. fol. membran. Arch. A. 91. [nunc. 2874.] f. 55, b. This scholastic cultivation of the art of Prosody gave rise to many Latin systems of Metre about this period. Among others, Thomas Langley, a monk of Hulm in Norfolk, in the year 1430 wrote in two books *De Varietate Carminum*. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 100. One John Seguard, a Latin poet and rhetorician of Norwich [after 1413.] wrote a piece of this kind called *Metristenchiridion*, addressed to Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, treating of the nature of metre in general, and especially of the common metres of the Hymns of Boecius and Oracius [Horace]. Oxon. MSS. Coll. Merton. Q. iii. 1.

anciently taken in our universities, particularly at Oxford : on which occasion a wreath of laurel was presented to the new graduate, who was afterwards usually styled "poeta laureatus."<sup>1</sup> These scholastic laureations, however, seem to have given rise to the appellation in question. I will give some instances at Oxford, which at the same time will explain the nature of the studies for which our academical philologists received their rewards. [On the 11th March, 1511-12,] one [Edward] Watfon, a student in grammar, obtained a concession to be graduated and laureated in that science ; on condition that he composed one hundred Latin verses in praise of the university, or a Latin comedy.<sup>2</sup> Another grammarian, [Richard Smyth,] was distinguished with the same badge, after having stipulated that, at the next public Act, he would affix the same number of hexameters on the great gates of Saint Mary's Church, that they might be seen by the whole university. This was at that period the most convenient mode of publication.<sup>3</sup> [In December, 1511,] one Maurice Byrchinshaw, a scholar in rhetoric, supplicated to be admitted to read lectures, that is, to take a degree in that faculty ; and his petition was granted with a provision, that he should write one hundred verses on the glory of the university, and not suffer Ovid's *Art of Love* and the *Elegies* of Pamphilus<sup>4</sup> to be studied in his auditory.<sup>5</sup> [On the 3rd June, 1511,] one John Bulman, another rhetorician, having complied with the terms imposed, of explaining the first book of Tully's *Offices* and likewise the first of his *Epistles*, without any pecuniary emolument, was graduated in rhetoric ; and a crown of laurel was publicly placed on his head by the hands of the chancellor of the university.<sup>6</sup> [Before] the year 14[90,]<sup>7</sup> Skelton was laureated

<sup>1</sup> When any of these graduated grammarians were licensed to teach boys, they were publicly presented in the Convocation-house with a rod and ferula. Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 72, a.

<sup>2</sup> Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 143. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the learned Mr. Swinton, keeper of the Archives at Oxford, for giving me frequent and free access to the Registers of that university.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 162. [Smyth petitioned for leave to teach, May 12, 1512 ; and he was ordered, in January following, to proceed to his degree before Easter. Churton (*Life of Bishop Smyth*, p. 153). — *Park.*]

<sup>4</sup> [Byrchinshaw was admitted to his degree, Feb. 5, 1511-12, Churton, *ut supra*. — *Park.*] Ovid's supposititious pieces, and other verses of the lower age, were [re]printed together by Goldastus, 1610. Among these is, "Pamphili Mauriliani Pamphilus, sive de Arte Amandi Elegiz lxiii." This is from the same school with Ovid *De Vetula*, and by some thought to be forged by the same author.

<sup>5</sup> Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 134, a.

<sup>6</sup> Registr. *ut supra*. G. fol. 124, b.

<sup>7</sup> Caxton, in the preface to the English *Eneydos*, mentions "Mayster John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the universite of Oxenford," &c. This work was printed in 1490. Churchyard mentions Skelton's academical laureation in his poem prefixed to Skelton's Works, 1568 :

"Nay Skelton wore the lawrel wreath,  
And past in scholes ye knoe."

And again,

"That ware the garland gay  
Of lawrel leaves but laet."

at Oxford, and in the year 1493 was permitted to wear his laurel at Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> Robert Whittinton affords [another] instance of a rhetorical degree at Oxford. He was a secular priest, and eminent for his various treatises in grammar and for his facility in Latin poetry: having exercised his art many years, and submitting to the customary demand of an hundred verses, he was honoured with the laurel in the year 1512.<sup>2</sup> This title is prefixed to one of his grammatical systems: *Roberti Whittintoni, Lichfeldiensis, Grammatices Magistri, Protovatis Angliæ, in florentissima Oxoniensi Academia Laureati, de Octo Partibus Orationis.*<sup>3</sup> In his *Panegyric* to Cardinal Wolsey, he mentions his laurel,

Suscipe lauricomi munuscula parva Roberti.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the Poet laureate of the kings of England, an officer of the court remaining under that title to this day, he is undoubtedly the same that is styled the King's Versifier [in the Treasurer's Accounts for 1249 and 1251, as has been already mentioned.] But when or how that title commenced, and whether this officer was ever solemnly crowned with laurel at his first investiture, I will not pretend to determine, after the searches of the learned Selden on this question have proved unsuccessful. It seems most probable, that the barbarous and inglorious name of versifier gradually gave way to an appellation of more elegance and dignity: or rather, that at length those only were in general invited to this appointment, who had received academical sanction, and had merited a crown of laurel in the universities for their abilities in Latin composition, particularly Latin versification. Thus the king's Laureate was nothing more than "a graduated rhetorician employed in the service of the

<sup>1</sup> Registr. Univ. Cantabrig. *sub ann.* "Conceditur Johi Skelton Poetæ in partibus transmarinis atque Oxon. Laurea ornato, ut apud nos eadem decoraretur." And afterwards, *an.* 1504-5. "Conceditur Johi Skelton Poete Laureat. quod possit stare eodem gradu hic quo stetit Oxoniis, et quod possit uti habitu sibi concessio a Principe." The latter clause, I believe, relates to some distinction of habit, perhaps of fur or velvet, granted him by the king. Skelton is said to have been poet laureate to Henry VIII. He also styles himself "Orator regius," pp. [xiii. xx. &c.], *Works*, [1843].

<sup>2</sup> Registr. Univ. Oxon. *ut supra.* G. 173, b. 187, h. [Robert Whittington had been a scholar of rhetoric fourteen years. He was admitted to the degree of Bachelor April 15, 1513, allowed to wear a silk hood, July 3, and crowned with laurel at the age next day. Churton, *ut supra.*—*Park.*]

<sup>3</sup> Lond. 1513.

<sup>4</sup> In [the] "*Opusculum Roberti Whittintoni in florentissima Oxoniensi academia laureati*," signat. A. iii. The *Panegyrics* are on Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey. The *Epigrams*, which are long copies of verse, are addressed to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, Sir Thomas More, and to Skelton, under the title *Ad lepidissimum poetam Scheltonem carmen*, &c. Some of the lines are in a very classical style, and much in the manner of the earlier Latin Italian poets. At the end of these Latin poems is a defence of the author, called *Antilycon*, &c. These pieces are in MS Oxon. MSS. Bodl. D. 3, 22. [ . . . I do not trace any insertion under the title *Antilycon*. The splendid eulogium "in clarissimi Scheltonis Lovanienfis poetæ Epigramma" is followed by a Latin distich, and by twelve lines "In Zoilum," which close the collection.—*Park.*]

king." That he originally wrote in Latin, appears from the ancient title *Verficator*, and may be moreover collected from the two Latin poems, which [Robert] Baſton and Gulielmus [Peregrinus,] who appear to have reſpectively acted in the capacity of royal poets to Richard I. and Edward II. officially compoſed on Richard's cruſade and Edward's ſiege of Stirling caſtle.<sup>1</sup>

Andrew Bernard, ſucceſſively poet laureate of Henry VII. and VIII. affords a ſtill ſtronger proof that this officer was a Latin ſcholar. He was a native of Toulouſe, and an Auguſtine monk. He was not only the king's poet laureate,<sup>2</sup> as it is ſuppoſed, but his hiſtoriographer,<sup>3</sup> and preceptor in grammar to prince Arthur. He obtained many eccleſiaſtical preferments in England.<sup>4</sup> All the pieces now to be found, which he wrote in the character of poet laureate, are in Latin.<sup>5</sup> Theſe are *An Addreſs to Henry the Eighth for the moſt auſpicious beginning of the tenth year of his reign*, with an *Epithalamium on the marriage of Francis the Dauphin of France with the king's daughter*,<sup>6</sup> a *New Year's Gift* for the year 1515,<sup>7</sup> and verſes wiſhing proſperity to his majeſty's thirteenth year.<sup>8</sup> He has left ſome

<sup>1</sup> By the way, Baſton is called by Bale "*laureatus apud Oxonienſes*." Cent. iv. cap. 92.

<sup>2</sup> See an inſtrument *pro Poeta laureato*, dat. 1486. Rymer's *Foed.* tom. xii. p. 317. But, by the way, in this inſtrument there is no ſpecification of any thing to be done officially by Bernard. The king only grants to Andrew Bernard, *Poeta laureato*, which we may conſtrue either "*The laureated poet*," or "*A poet laureate* [but doubtleſs more properly the former,] a ſalary of ten marks, till he can obtain ſome equivalent appointment. This, however, is only a precept to the treaſurer and chamberlains to diſburſe the ſalary, and refers to letters patent, not printed by Rymer. It is certain that Gower and Chaucer were never appointed to this office. Skelton in his [*Garland*] of *Laurell*, ſees Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate approach: he deſcribes their whole apparel as glittering with the richeſt precious ſtones, and then immediately adds,

"They wanted nothing but the laurell."

Afterwards, however, there is the rubric "*Maſter Chaucer laureate poete to Skelton*." *Works*, edit. [1843].

<sup>3</sup> Apoſtolo Zeno was both poet and hiſtoriographer to his imperial majeſty. So was Dryden to James II. It is obſervable that Petrarck was laureated as poet and hiſtorian.

<sup>4</sup> One of theſe, the maſterſhip of Saint Leonard's hoſpital at Bedford, was given him by Biſhop Smith, one of the founders of Braſenose college, Oxford, in the year 1498. *Regiſtr. Smith, epiſc. Lincoln. ſub ann.*

<sup>5</sup> Some of Skelton's Latin poems ſeem to be written in the character of the Royal laureate, particularly [two ſubſcribed reſpectively] *Hæc Laureatus Skeltonus, orator regine, ſuper triumphali*, [and] *Per Skeltonida Laureatum, oratorem regium*. *Works* [by Dyce, i. 190-1]. Hardly any of his Engliſh pieces, which are numerous, appear to belong to that character. With regard to the *Orator Regius*, I find one John Mallard in that office to Henry VIII. and his epiſtolary ſecretary. He has left a *Latin elegiac paraphraſe on the Lord's Prayer* (MSS. Bibl. Reg. 7 D. xiii.) dedicated to that king. *Le premier livre de la cosmographie*, in verſe, *ibid.* 20 B. xii. And a *Pſalter*, beautifully written by himſelf for the uſe of the king. In the margin, are ſhort notes in the handwriting, and two exquisite miniatures, of Henry VIII. *Ibid.* 2 A. xvi.

<sup>6</sup> MS. olim penes Thom. Martin de Palgrave.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 287.

<sup>8</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12 A. x. The copy preſented. On paper. There is a wretched falſe quantity in the firſt line,

"Indue, honor, cultus, et adole munera flammis."

Latin hymns :<sup>1</sup> and many of his Latin prose pieces, which he wrote in the quality of historiographer to both monarchs, are remaining.<sup>2</sup>

I am of opinion that it was not customary for the royal laureate to write in English, till the reformation of religion had begun to diminish the veneration for the Latin language : or rather, till the love of novelty and a better sense of things had banished the narrow pedantries of monastic erudition, and taught us to cultivate our native tongue. In the meantime it is to be wished that another change might at least be suffered to take place in the execution of this institution, which is confessedly Gothic, and unaccommodated to modern manners. I mean, that the more than annual return of a composition on a trite argument would be no longer required. I am conscious I say this at a time when the best of kings affords the most just and copious theme for panegyric ; but I speak it at a time when the department is honourably filled by a poet of taste and genius, which are idly wasted on the most splendid subjects, when imposed by constraint, and perpetually repeated.<sup>3</sup>

To what is here incidentally collected on an article more curious than important, I add an observation, which shews that the practice of other nations in this respect altogether corresponded with that of our own. When we read of the laureated poets of Italy and Germany, we are to remember, that they most commonly received this honour from the state or some university ; seldom, at least not immediately, from the prince : and if we find any of these professedly employed in the department of a court-poet, that they were not, in consequence of that peculiar situation, styled poets laureate. The distinction, at least in general, was previously conferred.<sup>4</sup> The Ser-

<sup>1</sup> And a Latin life of Saint Andrew. MSS. Cotton. Domitian. A. xviii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> A chronicle of the life and achievements of Henry VII. to the taking of Perkin Warbek, MSS. Cotton. Domitian. A. xviii. 15. Other historical commentaries on the reign of that king. Ibid. *Jul. A.* 4. *Jul. A.* 3. [Published in *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain*, 1858.—*Rye*. See *Archæologia*, xlvii. pp. 154, 198.—*Madden*.]

<sup>3</sup> [The birth-day of William III. in 1694 appears to have been officially celebrated by Tate, whom Rowe succeeded in the laureateship ; and from the year 1718 a regular series may almost be traced of birth-day and new-year odes. Warton gave an historical dignity and a splendour of poetical diction to those he composed, which would hardly leave a reader to conceive that the subjects were “ imposed by constraint.” His predecessor Whitehead must strongly have felt the irksome force of this constraint, when he lamented, in his pathetic apology for all laureates, that—

“ His muse, obliged by sack and pension,  
Without a subject, or invention,  
Must certain words in order set  
As innocent as a gazette ;  
Must some half-meaning half disguise,  
And utter neither truth nor lies.”

*Park.*]

<sup>4</sup> The reader who requires a full and particular information concerning the first origin of the laureation of poets, and the solemnities with which this ceremony was performed in Italy and Germany, is referred to Selden's *Tit. Hon.* Op. tom. p. 457, *Jeq. Vie de Petrarque*, tom. iii. *Notes, &c.* p. 1. *Not. quat.* And to a memoir

jeant of the King's Minstrels occurs under this reign, and in a manner which shews the confidential character of this officer, and his facility of access to the king at all hours and on all occasions. "And as he [k. Edward IV.] was in the north contray in the moneth of Septembre, as he laye in his bedde, one namid Alexander Carlisle, that was *sariaunt of the mynstrallis*, cam to him in grete hafte, and bade him aryse, for he hadde enemys cummyng," &c.<sup>1</sup>

John Scogan is commonly supposed to have been a cotemporary of Chaucer, but this mistake [has arisen from confounding him with Henry Scogan, who appears to have been actually coeval with the author of the *Canterbury Tales*, and who has left one or two pieces, including *A Moral Balade*, inserted in the old editions of Chaucer. John Scogan<sup>2</sup> was educated [it is said, though on very slender authority,] at Oriel college in Oxford: and being an excellent mimic, and of great pleasantry in conversation, became the favourite buffoon of the court of Edward IV., in which he passed the greatest part of his life. Bale inaccurately calls Scogan the Jocolator of Edward IV.: by which word he seems simply to understand the king's Joker, for he certainly could not mean that Scogan was his majesty's minstrel.<sup>3</sup> [Under the name of] Andrew Borde, a physician and author in the reign of Henry VIII., was published [a silly book called] *Scogin's Jests*,<sup>4</sup> which are without humour and invention, and give us no very favourable idea of the delicacy of the king and courtiers, who could be exhilarated by the merriments of such a writer. [In the unique quarto volume at Cambridge with some minor pieces by Chaucer and Lydgate, all from Caxton's press, occurs: "Here after foloweth a tretyse whiche John Skogan sente vnto the lordes and gentilmen of the kinges hows exhortyng them to lose no tyme in theyr yougthe, but to vse vertues;" but this was, in all probability, by Henry, not John, Scogan or Skogan.]<sup>5</sup> Bale men-

of M. l'Abbè du Refnel, *Mem. Lit.* x. 507, 4to. I will only add the form of the creation of three poets laureate by the chancellor of the university of Straßburg, in the year 1621. "I create you, being placed in a chair of state, crowned with laurel and ivy, and wearing a ring of gold, and the same do pronounce and constitute, Poets Laureate, in the name of the holy Trinity, the father, son, and holy Ghost. Amen."

<sup>1</sup> *A Remarkable Fragment*, &c. [an. ix. Edward IV.] ad calc. Sportti *Chron.* edit. Hearne. Compare Percy's *Ess. Minstr.* p. 56. Anstis, *Ord. Gart.* ii. 303.

<sup>2</sup> See Holinsh. *Chron.* iii. f. 710, and MSS. Fairfax. xvi. [See also Ritson's *Bibl. Poet.* art. *Scogan*.]

<sup>3</sup> *Script.* xi. 70.

<sup>4</sup> It is from these pieces we learn that he was of Oriel college: for he speaks of retiring, with that society, to the hospital of Saint Bartholomew, while the plague was at Oxford. These *Jests* are [78 in number in the edit. of 1626.] *Pr. Pref.* [edit. 1626:] "There is nothing besides." *Pr.* "On a time in Lent." [The earliest impression now known is that of 1613, 8vo.] They were reprinted [with omissions] about the restoration, [but one of the genuine editions (1626) is republished in *Old English Jest-Books*, ii. That of 1613 (in the Bodleian) varies from the later one—a fact of which I was not aware when I edited the series just named.]

<sup>5</sup> The little piece, [correctly] printed as Chaucer's [Urr. ed. p. 548], called *Flee*

tions his *Comedies*,<sup>1</sup> which certainly mean nothing dramatic, and are perhaps only his *Jefts* above mentioned. He seems to have flourished about the year 1480.

Two didactic poets on chemistry appeared in this reign, [Thomas] Norton and George Ripley. Norton was a native of Bristol,<sup>2</sup> and the most skilful alchemist of his age.<sup>3</sup> His poem is called the *Ordinal*, or a manual of the chemical art.<sup>4</sup> It was presented to Nevil archbishop of York, a great patron of the hermetic philosophers;<sup>5</sup> who had lately grown so numerous in England, as to occasion an act of parliament against the transmutation of metals. Norton's reason for treating his subject in English rhyme, was to circulate the principles of a science of the most consummate utility among the unlearned.<sup>6</sup> This poem is totally void of every poetical elegance. The only wonder which it relates, belonging to an art so fertile in striking inventions, and contributing to enrich the store-house of Arabian romance with so many magnificent imageries, is that of an alchemist, who projected a bridge of gold over the River Thames near London, crowned with pinnacles of gold, which being studded with carbuncles, diffused a blaze of light in the dark.<sup>7</sup> I will add a few lines only, as a specimen of his verification:

Wherefore he would set up in hys  
That bridge, for a wonderfull syt,  
With pinnacles guilt, shyninge as goulde,  
A glorious thing for men to behoulde.  
Then he remembered of the newe,  
Howe greater fame shulde him purswe,  
If he mought make that bridge so brighte,  
That it mought shine alsoe by night:  
And so continewe and not breake,  
Then all the londe of him would speake, &c.<sup>8</sup>

Norton's heroes in the occult sciences are Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Raymond Lully, to whose specious promises of supplying the coinage of England with inexhaustible mines of philosophical gold Edward III. became an illustrious dupe.<sup>9</sup>

George Ripley, Norton's cotemporary, was accomplished in many parts of erudition, and still maintains his reputation as a learned

from the *Presse*, is [wrongly] given to Scogan, and called *Proverbium Joannis Skogan*, MSS. C.C.C. Oxon. 203. [See *supr.* ii. 384.]

<sup>1</sup> xi. 70.

<sup>2</sup> He speaks of the wife of William Canning, five times mayor of Bristol, and the founder of Saint Mary of Radcliffe church there. *Ordinal*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Ashmole, in his *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1652, p. 6. It was finished A.D. 1477. *Ordin.* p. 106. It was translated into Latin by Michael Maier, M.D. 1618. Norton wrote other chemical pieces.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ordin.* pp. 9, 10. Norton declares, that he learned his art in forty days, at twenty-eight years of age. *Ibid.* pp. 33, 88.

<sup>5</sup> Ashmole, *ubi supr.* p. 455, *Notes*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Pag. 106.

<sup>9</sup> Ashmol. *ubi supr.* pp. 443, 467, and Camden's *Rem.* p. 242, edit. 1674. By the way, Raymond Lully is said to have died at eighty years of age, in the year 1315. Whart. *App. Cave*, cap. p. 6.

chemist of the lower ages. He was a canon regular of the monastery of Bridlington in Yorkshire, and a great traveller,<sup>1</sup> and studied both in France and Italy. At his return from abroad, Innocent VIII. absolved him from the observance of the rules of his order, that he might prosecute his studies with more convenience and freedom. But, his convent not concurring with this very liberal indulgence, he turned Carmelite at Saint Botolph's in Lincolnshire, and died an anchorite in that fraternity in the year 1490.<sup>2</sup> His chemical poems are nothing more than the doctrines of alchemy clothed in plain language, and a very rugged versification. The capital performance is *The Compound of Alchemy*, written in the year 1471.<sup>3</sup> It is in the octave metre, and dedicated to Edward IV.<sup>4</sup> Ripley has left a few other compositions on his favourite science, printed by Ashmole, who was an enthusiast in this abused species of philosophy.<sup>5</sup> One of them, the *Medulla*, written in 1476, is dedicated to Archbishop Nevil.<sup>6</sup> These pieces have no other merit than that of serving to develop the history of chemistry in England. They certainly contributed nothing to the state of our poetry.

It will be sufficient to throw three of the obscurer rhymers of this period together. Osbern Bokenham wrote or translated metrical lives of the saints, about 1445, [printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1835.] Gilbert Banester wrote in English verse the *Miracle of saint Thomas*, in the year 1467.<sup>7</sup> Of the same date [(if not earlier),

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole says that Ripley, during his long stay at Rhodes, gave the knights of Malta 100,000*l.* annually towards maintaining the war against the Turks. *Ubi supr.* p. 458. Ashmole could not have made this incredible assertion, without supposing a circumstance equally incredible, that Ripley was in actual possession of the philosopher's stone.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmol. p. 455, *seq.* Bale, viii. 49. Pitts, p. 677.

<sup>3</sup> Ashmol. *Theatr. Chem.* p. 193. It was first printed in 1591, 4to. Reprinted by Ashmole, *Theatr. Chem.* ut *supr.* p. 107. It has been thrice translated into Latin, Ashm. ut *supr.* p. 465. See *ibid.* pp. 108, 110, 122. Most of Ripley's Latin works were printed [at Frankfort in 1614.]

<sup>4</sup> He mentions the abbey church at Westminster as unfinished. Pag. 154, ft. 27, P. 156, and ft. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Ashmole conjectures that an English chemical piece in the octave stanza, which he has printed, called *Hermes's Bird*, no unpoetical fiction, was translated from Raymond Lully by Cremer, abbot of Westminster, a great chemist; and adds that Cremer brought Lully into England, and introduced him to the notice of Edward III. about the year 1334. Ashmol. *ubi supra*, pp. 213, 467. [It was translated by Lydgate from a French Fabliau. See Way's Fabliaux, vol. i. It had been previously printed by Caxton, *De Worde, &c.*, under the title of the *Chorle and the Byrde*.—*Price*.] Ashmole mentions a curious picture of the grand Mysteries of the Philosopher's Stone, which Abbot Cremer ordered to be painted in Westminster Abbey, upon an arch where the waxen kings and queens are placed; but that it was obliterated with a plasterer's brush by the Puritans in Oliver's time. He also mentions a large and beautiful window, behind the pulpit in the neighbouring church of Saint Margaret, painted with the same subject, and destroyed by the same ignorant zealots, who mistook these innocent hieroglyphics for some story in a popish legend. Ashmol. *ibid.* 211, 466, 467. Compare Widmore's *Hist. Westminster-Abbey*, p. 174, *seq.* edit. 1751.

<sup>6</sup> Ashmol. p. 389. See also p. 374, *seq.*

<sup>7</sup> CCCC. MSS. Q. viii. *Lel. Collectan.* tom. i. (p. ii.) pag. 510, edit. 1770.

in its pristine shape, is perhaps the *King and the Tanner of Tamworth*,<sup>1</sup> which is called in the original draft the *King and the Barker* (or Tanner).] Hearne affirms that in this piece there are some "romantic assertions; otherwise 'tis a book of value, and more authority is to be given to it than is given to poetical books of late years."<sup>2</sup>

## SECTION XXVI.

**T**HE subsequent reigns of Richard III., Edward V., and Henry VII., abounded in obscure versifiers.

[Two mutilated poems occur] among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, [one of which] contains a satire on the nuns who, not less from the nature of their establishment than from the usual degeneracy which attends all institutions, had at length lost their original purity, seems to belong to this period.<sup>3</sup> It is without wit, and almost without numbers. [The other] was written, [or rather, perhaps, transcribed,] by one Bertram [Watson],<sup>4</sup> whose name now first appears in the catalogue of English poets, and whose life I calmly resign to the researches of some more laborious and patient antiquary.

About the year [1470] Benedict Burgh, a Master of Arts of Oxford, among other promotions in the church, archdeacon of Colchester, prebendary of Saint Paul's, canon of Saint Stephen's Chapel at Westminster,<sup>5</sup> [and vicar of Malden in Essex,] translated [Dionysius] Cato's *Disticha Moralia* into the royal stanza for the use of his pupil Viscount Bouchier, son of the Earl of Essex.<sup>6</sup> Encouraged

<sup>1</sup> [*Remains of the Early Pop. Poetr. of Engl.* i.]

<sup>2</sup> Edit. 1770 of Leland's *Collect.* ii. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Disadvantageous suspicions against the chastity of the female religious were pretended in earlier times. About the year 1250 [Robert Grosseteste,] bishop of Lincoln, visited the nunneries of his diocese; on which occasion, says the continuator of Matthew Paris, "ad domos religiosarum veniens, fecit exprimi mamillas earundem, ut sic physice, si esset inter eas corruptela, experiretur." Matt. Paris. *Hist.* p. 789:—*Henricus* iii. edit. Tig. 1589, fol. An anecdote, which the historian relates with indignation; not on account of the nuns, but of the bishop.

<sup>4</sup> [Sir F. Madden first pointed out that Watson had confounded the fragments of two poems together. The first, he says, contains the invective against nunneries; the other, Watson's copy of the indulgences granted to the monasteries at Rome. Of the latter, of which Watson is probably no more than the copyist, there is another text in Lambeth MS. 306, printed in Mr. Furnivall's *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, 1866, p. 113, *et seq.*; and a third, earlier and better, in Vernon MS., printed by the same gentleman in 1867.]

<sup>5</sup> See Newcourt, *Repertor.* i. 90, ii. 517. The university sealed his letters testimonial, Jul. 3, 1433. Registr. Univ. Oxon. T. f. 27, b. He died 1483.

<sup>6</sup> Gascoigne says that "Rythme royall is a verse of tenne fillables, and seven such verses make a stasse," &c. *Instructions for verse*, &c., [1575. Works, by Hazlitt, i. 506.] Burgh's stanza is here called "balade royall;" by which, I believe, is commonly signified the octave stanza. All those pieces in Chaucer, called "Cer-

by the example and authority of so venerable an ecclesiastic, Caxton [not only issued three editions of Burgh's English version, but in 1483 translated and published the large French gloss, a folio volume of nearly 200 pages, accompanied by woodcuts.] He calls, in his preface, the measure used by Burgh the Balad Royal. Caxton's translation, which superseded Burgh's work, and with which it [should not be] confounded, is divided into four books, which comprehend seventy-two heads.

In the British Museum there is a poem entitled *A Christemasse Game made by maister Benet howe, God Almyghty seyde to his apostelys and echeon of them were baptiste and none knew of othir*. The piece consists of twelve stanzas, an apostle being assigned to each stanza. Probably "maister Benet" is Benedict Burgh. This is St. Paul's stanza :

Doctour of gentiles, a perfite Paule,  
By grace convertid from thy grete erreure,  
And cruelte, changed to Paule from Saule,  
Of fayth and trouth most perfyte prechoure,  
Slayne at Rome undir thilke emperoure  
Curfyd Nero. Paule, syt down in thy place  
To the ordayned by purveaunce of grace.<sup>1</sup>

I do not mean to affront my readers when I inform them without any apology that the Latin original of this piece was not written by Cato the censor, nor by Cato of Utica,<sup>2</sup> although it is perfectly in the character of the former, and Aulus Gellius has quoted Cato's poem *de Moribus*.<sup>3</sup> Nor have I the gravity of the learned Box-

taine Ballads," are in this measure. In Chaucer's *Legend of good Women*, written in long verse, a song of three octave stanzas is introduced; beginning, "Hide Abfolon thy gilte tressis clere," ver. 249. Afterwards Cupid says, ver. 537:

" — A ful grete negligence  
Was yf to the, that ilke tyme thou made,  
Hyd Abfolon thy tressis in balade."

In the British Museum there is "a Kalandre in Englyshe, made in Balade by Dann John Lydgate monke of Bury;" that is, in this stanza. MSS. Harl. 1706, 2, fol. 10, b. The reader will observe that, whether there are eight or seven lines, I have called it the octave stanza. Lydgate has, most commonly, only seven lines, as in his poem on Guy, earl of Warwick, MSS. Laud. D. 31, fol. 64, "Here ginneth the lyff of Guy of Warwyk." [Pr. From Cristes birth compleat nine 100 yere.] He is speaking of Guy's combat with the Danish giant Colbrand, at Winchester:

"Without the gate remembered as I rede,  
The place callyd of antiquyte  
In Inglysh tonge named hyde mede,  
Or ellis denmarch nat far from the cyte:  
Meeting to gedre, there men myght see  
Terryble strokys, lyk the dent of thonder;  
Sparklys owt of thar barnyis," &c.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 7333. [The Harl. MS. 1706 contains "Aristotle's A, B, C," made by this mayster Benet.—*Risdon*. Burgh's *Cato* is very common in MSS. There are at least seven copies of it in the British Museum: Arundel MS. 168, and Harleian MSS. 116, 172, 271, 2251, 4733, 7336.—*Brock*.]

<sup>2</sup> See [B. d'Argonne, *Melanges*,] tom. i. p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Noël. Att.* xi. 2.

hornius, who in a prolix and elaborate dissertation has endeavoured to demonstrate that these distichs are undoubtedly supposititious, and that they could not possibly be written by the very venerable Roman, whose name they bear. [In the early editions the title is simply] *Disticha de Moribus*, which [distichs] are distributed into four books.

[A needless distinction has been made sometimes between *Parvus* and *Magnus Cato*, names used in the later manuscripts to distinguish between a set of short precepts in prose and the distichs which follow them. The former appear in the best editions under the title of *Breves Sententiæ*, and are found in the oldest known MS. of Cato, written about A. D. 900, preserved at Zurich, and printed in Dr. Zarncke's work, *Der deutsche Cato*. It is, moreover, a mistake to confound *Parvus Cato* with a distinct poem entitled *Facetus*, the author of which (sometimes, but perhaps incorrectly, said to be Johannes de Garlandia) tells us in his opening lines :

Cum nihil vtilius humanæ credo salutis  
Quam rerum novisse modos & moribus vti ;  
Quod minus exequitur morosi dogma Catonis  
Supplebo pro posse meo monitu rationis.

As to the writer of *Facetus*, a commentary on the work in Arundel MS. 243 informs us that he was "vnus religiosus nomine Iohannes qui, videns homines a via morum et virtutum declinare et vicijs inherere, composuit hunc librum de moribus et virtutibus, volens eos in via morum et virtutum conseruare."

This work has been absurdly attributed by some critics to Seneca, and by others to Ausonius.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, more ancient than the time of the Emperor Valentinian III. who died in 455.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it was written after the appearance of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, as the author, at the beginning of the second book, commends Virgil, Macer,<sup>3</sup> Ovid, and Lucan. The name of Cato probably became prefixed to these distichs, in a lower age, by the officious ignorance of transcribers, and from the acquiescence of readers equally ignorant, as Marcus Cato had written a set of moral distichs. Whoever was the author, this metrical system of ethics had attained the highest degree of estimation in the barbarous ages. [There is a paraphrase in Anglo-Saxon prose of many of Cato's distichs in the Cotton MS. Julius A II. and a later (or semi-Saxon) copy of the same in Cotton MS. Vespasian, D. XIV. In the Vernon MS. in

<sup>1</sup> It was printed under the name of Ausonius, Rostoch. 1572. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex Epistol.* Vindiciani Medici, ad Valent. They are mentioned by Notkerus, who flourished in the tenth century, among the *Metrorum, Hymnorum, Epigrammatumque conditores*. Cap. vi. *De Illustrib. Vir. &c.*, printed by Fabric. *M. Lat.* v. p. 904.

<sup>3</sup> The poem *De Virtutibus Herbarum*, under the name of Macer, now extant, was written by Odo or Odobonus, a physician of the dark ages. It was translated into English by John Lelarmoner, or Lelamar, master of Hereford school, about the year 1373. MSS. Sloane. 29. *Princ.* "Apium, Ache is hote and drie." There is *Macer's Herbal*, *ibid.* 43. [Of this there were at least two printed editions. In one of them it is called *Macers Herball Praefysyd by Doctör Lynacro*. Both were from the press of R. Wyer.]

the Bodleian library there is a triglot Cato in Latin, French, and English. The French text is a somewhat corrupt copy of Everard's translation, the English an imitation of Everard. This version seems never to have been completed, as blanks are left in the MS. where several of the stanzas should stand; similar blanks occur at the same spots in another copy (Additional MS. 22,283). There is a fragment of another early English translation in Fairfax MS. 14.<sup>1</sup> Among Langbaine's MS. bequeathed to the University of Oxford by Antony Wood, it is accompanied by a Saxon paraphrase.<sup>2</sup> John of Salisbury, in his *Polycraticon*, mentions it as the favourite and established manual in the education of boys.<sup>3</sup> To enumerate no others,

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Brock's addition. See Blades's *Life and Typography of William Caxton*, i. 52, *et seq.* and 278.]

<sup>2</sup> Cod. [2. old number 8615.]

<sup>3</sup> *Polycrat.* vii. 9, p. 373, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595. It is cited, *ibid.* pp. 116, 321, 512. In the *Art of Versification*, a Latin poem, written by Everhardus Bethuniensis, about the year 1212, there is a curious passage, in which all the classics of that age are recited; or the best authors then in vogue, and whom he recommends to be taught to youth. [Leyser. *Poet. Med. Æv.* p. 825.] They are, Cato the moralist. Theodolus, the author of a leonine eclogue, a dialogue between Truth and Falsehood, written in the 10th century, printed among the *Osio Morales*, and by Goldastus, *Man. Bibl.* 1620. MSS. Harl. 3093. 4. [This piece, sometimes inaccurately ascribed to the press of] Wynkyn de Worde, was printed under the title of *Theodoli liber, cum commento*, 1515. It was from one of these *Eclogues*, beginning *Æthiopum terras*, that Field, master of Fotheringay College about the year 1480, set the verses of the book called *Æthiopum terras* in the glass window with figures very neatly. Leland. *Itin.* i. fol. 5. [p. 7, edit. 1745.] This seems to have been in a window of the new and beautiful cloister, built about that time. Flavius Avianus, a writer of Latin fables, or apologues. *Æsop*, or the Latin fabulist, printed among the *Osio Morales*, Lugd. Bat. 1505. Maximianus, whose six elegies, written about the seventh century, pass under the name of Gallus. Chaucer cites this writer, and in a manner which shows his elegies had not then acquired the name of Gallus. *Court of L.* v. 798: "Maximian truly thus doeth he write." Pamphilus Maurilianus, author of the hexametrical poem *De Vetula*, and the elegies *De Arte amandi*, entitled *Pamphilus*, published by Goldastus, *Cataleß. Ovid.* 1610. Dares Phrygius, on the destruction of Troy. Macer. Marbodeus [or Marbodus Gallus, author of *Hymns, Epistles*, and a treatise *De Gemmis*, printed together in 1524. See Brunet, iii. 1391.] Petrus de Riga, canon of Rheims, whose *Aurora*, or the *History of the Bible allegorised*, in Latin verses, some of which are in rhyme, was never printed entire. He has left also *Speculum Ecclesie*, with other pieces, in Latin poetry. He flourished about the year 1130. Sedulius. Prosper. Arator. Prudentius. Boethius. Alanus, author of the *Anticlaudian*, a poem in nine books, occasioned by the scepticism of Claudian. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, and Persius. John [de] Hauteville, an Englishman, who wrote the *Architrenius* in the twelfth century, a Latin hexameter poem in nine books. Philip Gualtier, of Chatillon, who wrote, about the same period, the *Alexandreis*, an heroic poem on Alexander the Great. Solymarius or Gunther, a German Latin poet, author of the *Solymarius* or *Crusade*. Galfridus, our countryman, whose *Nova Poetria* was in higher celebrity than Horace's *Art of Poetry*. Matthæus of Vendome who, in the year 1170, paraphrased the *Book of Tobit* into Latin elegiacs from the Latin bible of Saint Jerom, under the title of the *Tobiad*, sometimes called the *Thebaid*, and first printed among the *Osio Morales*. Alexander [Gallus or] de Villa Dei, whose *Doctrinale* or Grammar in Leonine verse superseded Priscian about the year 1200. It was first printed [with the types of Johan de Spira about 1470, and] by Wynkyn de Worde, 1503. He was a French friar-minor, and also wrote the *Arguments of the chapters of all the books of either Testament*, in 212 hexameters. With some other forgotten pieces.

it is much applauded by Ifidore the old etymologist,<sup>1</sup> Alcuin,<sup>2</sup> and Abelard :<sup>3</sup> and we must acknowledge that the writer, exclusively of the utility of his precepts, possesses the merit of a nervous and elegant brevity. It is [again and again] quoted by Chaucer. In the *Merchant's Tale*, having quoted Seneca to prove that no blessing is equal to an humble wife, he adds Cato's precept of prudently bearing a scolding wife with patience<sup>4</sup> [and in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* Pertelot appeals to Cato to disprove the significance of dreams]. Chaucer constantly [but mistakenly refers to Facetus under the name of] Catoun, which [however] shows that he was more familiar in French than in Latin. It was translated into Greek at Constantinople by Maximus Planudes, who has the merit of having familiarized to his countrymen many Latin classics of the lower empire by metaphrastic versions :<sup>5</sup> and at the restoration of learning in Europe, illustrated by Erasmus with a commentary which is much extolled by Luther.<sup>6</sup> There are [several] French translations.<sup>7</sup> That of Mathurine Corderoy is dedicated to Robert Stevens. In the British Museum there is a French translation by Helis de Guineestre or Winchester, made perhaps at the time when our countrymen affected to write more in French than in English.<sup>8</sup> Caxton in

Marcianus Capella, whose poem on the *Marriage of Mercury with Philology* rivalled Boethius. [See *supra*.] Joannes de Garlandia, an Englishman, a poet and grammarian, who studied at Paris about the year 1200. The most eminent of his numerous Latin poems, which crowd our libraries, seem to be his *Epithalamium on the Virgin Mary* in ten books of elegiacs (MSS. Cotton. Claud. A. x.) and *De Triumphis Ecclesie*, in eight books, which contains much English history. (MS. *ibid.*) Some of his pieces, both in prose and verse, have been printed. [But see Brunet, in v. *Garlandia*.] Bernardus Carnotensis or Sylvester, much applauded by John of Salisbury, who styles him the most perfect Platonic of that age. *Metallog.* iv. c. 35. His *Megacosm* and *Microcosm*, a work consisting both of verse and prose, is frequently cited by the barbarous writers. He is imitated by Chaucer, *Man of L. Tale*, v. 4617. "In sterres many a winter," &c. Physiologus or Theobaldus Episcopus, who wrote in Latin verse *De Naturis xii. animalium*, MSS. Harl. 3093. 5. He is there called Italicus. There is also a Magister Florinus, styled also *Physiologus*, on the same subject. Chaucer quotes Physiologus. "For Physiologus lays likerly." *Nonnes Pr. Tale*, v. 15,277. Sidonius, who wrote a metrical dialogue between a Jew and a Christian on both the Testaments, and a Sidonius, perhaps the same, *regis qui fugit prælia*. To these our author adds his own *Grecismus*, or a poem in hexameters on rhetoric and grammar which, as Du Cange [*Præf. Lat. Gloss. fæst. xlv.*] observes, was anciently a common manual in the seminaries of France, and, I suppose, of England.

<sup>1</sup> *Etymol.* v. *Officienda*.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Elipand.* lib. ii. p. 949.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. i. *Theol. Christ.* p. 1183.

<sup>4</sup> v. 9251.

<sup>5</sup> It occurs often among the Barocian MSS. (Bibl. Bodl. viz. 64, 71. bis. 95, 111, 194). The first edition of Cato, soon followed by many others [is without a date, but circa 1467. See Brunet, i. 1666. It was printed (at Straßburg) in 1475.] The most complete edition is that of Christ. Daumius. Cygn. 1672, 8vo. : containing the Greek metaphrases of Maximus Planudes, Joseph Scaliger, Matthew Zuber and John Mylius; a German version by Martinus Apicius, with annotations and other accessions. It was before translated into German rhymes by Abraham Morterius, of Weissenburgh. Francof. 1590. 8vo.

<sup>6</sup> *Colloq. Mensal.* c. 37.

<sup>7</sup> One [attributed to] Pierre Grosnet, *Les mots d'ores de Cathon*. Paris, [1530.]

<sup>8</sup> MSS. Harl. 4388. This MS. is older than 1400. [Brunet (last edit. i. 1669) cites several French editions of the French Gloss on Cato; but in 1548 appeared a

the preface to his aforesaid translation, affirms that Poggius Florentinus [or Poggio Bracciolini,] whose library was furnished with the most valuable authors, esteemed *Caton glosed*, that is, Cato with notes, to be the best book in his collection.<sup>1</sup> The glossarist I take to be Philip de Pergamo, a prior at Padua, who wrote a most elaborate *Moralisation on Cato*, under the title of *Speculum Regiminis*, so early as the year 1380.<sup>2</sup> In the same preface, Caxton observes that it is "the beste book for to be taught to yonge children in scole." But he supposes the author to be Marcus Cato, whom he duly celebrates with the two Scipios and other "noble Romaynes."<sup>3</sup> Burgh's performance is too jejune for transcription; and (I suspect) would not have afforded a single splendid extract, had even the Latin possessed any sparks of poetry. It is indeed true, that the only critical excellence of the original, which consists of a terse con-

translation of the Latin work into French verse with certain additions.] See MSS. Ashmol. 789. 2, [and consult Brunet *ut supr.*]

In Bennet College library there is a copy of the French *Cato* by Helis of Winchester, MSS. ccccv. 24, fol. 317. It is entitled and begins thus — *Les Distiches Morales de Caton mises en vers par Helis de Guyncestre.*

"Ki vout sàver la faitement  
Ki Catun a sun fi; a prent,  
Si en Latin nel set entendre,  
Jci le pot en romain; \* aprendre,  
Cum Helis de Guyncestre  
Ki deu met a se destre  
La translate li fatemente."

The transcript is of the 14th century. Compare Verdier, *Bibl. Franc.* tom. iii. p. 288, edit. 1772. In the [*Paralipomena*] of Anonymus Salernitanus, written about the year 900, the writer mentions a description in Latin verse of the palace of the city of Salerno, but laments that it was rendered illegible through length of time: "Nam si unam paginam fuissetus nacti, comparare illos [versus] profecto potuissetus Maroni in voluminibus, Catonique, sive profecto aliis Sophistis." cap. xxviii. Muratori, *Scriptor. Rer. Ital.* vol. ii.

<sup>1</sup> Many of the glossed manuscripts, so common in the libraries, were the copies with which pupils in the University attended their readers or lecturers, from whose mouths paraphrastic notes were interlined or written in the margin, by the more diligent hearers. In a Latin translation of some of Aristotle's philosophical works, once belonging to Rochester priory, and transcribed about the year 1350, one Henry de Rewham is said to be the writer, and to have glossed the book, during the time he heard it explained by a public reader in the schools of Oxford. "Et audivit in scholis Oxonie, et emendavit et glosavit audiendo." MSS. Reg. 12, G. ii. In the meantime, I am of opinion that the word *reader* originally took its rise from a paucity of books: when there was only one book to be had, which a professor or lecturer recited to a large audience.

<sup>2</sup> Printed August, 1475. In Exeter College library there is *Cato Moralifatus*, MSS. 37. [837.] And again at All Souls, MSS. 9. [1410.] Compare MSS. More, 35. [9221.] And Bibl. Coll. Trin. Dublin. 651. 14. And MSS. Harl. 6294.

<sup>3</sup> [A sufficiently copious account of all the early English printed works on this subject will be found in the *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* under Cato; but the reader may also consult Herbert's *Ames* and Blades's monograph on Caxton.] The *Proverbia Catonis* are a different work from [this], written in hexameters, by Marbodeus, Opp. Hildebert. p. 1634. Paris 1708. fol.

\* in romance, i.e. in French.

cifeness of sentences, although not always expressed in the purest latinity, will not easily bear to be transfused.<sup>1</sup>

About the year 1481, Juliana Barnes, more properly Berners, sister of Richard, lord Berners, and Priores of the Nunnery of Sopewell, wrote three English tracts on *Hawking*, *Hunting*, and *Armory* or *Heraldry*, which were soon afterwards printed in the neighbouring monastery<sup>2</sup> of Saint Alban's.<sup>3</sup> From an abbess disposed to turn author, we might more reasonably have expected a manual of meditations for the closet, or select rules for making salves or distilling strong waters. But the diversions of the field were not thought inconsistent with the character of a religious lady of this

<sup>1</sup> There is a translation of the *Wyc Cato* and *Æsop's Fables* into English dogrell, [and on the phonetic principle] by William Bulloker, 1585. [See *inf.* sect. 55.]

<sup>2</sup> There was a strong connection between the two monasteries. In that of Saint Alban's a monk was annually appointed, with the title of Custos monialium de Sopewelle. Registr. Abbat. Wallingford, [*sub ann.* 1480] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Tanner.

<sup>3</sup> 1486. fol. Again, by W. de Worde, 1496 [folio, and n. d.] 4to. The barbarism of the times strongly appears in the indelicate expressions which she often uses; and which are equally incompatible with her sex and profession. [The entire work was reprinted from the edit. of 1496 by Haslewood, 1810, and Dallaway, in his *Heraldry*, 1793, gave the section on *Blazon* from the edition of 1486. The division relating to *Angling* was also reprinted separately in 1827.] The poem begins thus. I transcribe from a good MS. (MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl.):

"Mi dere sones, where ye fare, by frith or by fell,\*  
Take good hede in his tyme how Tristrem † wol tell;  
How many maner bestes of venery there were,  
Lifenes now to our Dame, and ye shullen here.  
Fowre maner bestes of venery there are,  
The first of hem is a hart, the second is an hare;  
The boor is one of tho,  
The wolff, and no mo.  
And wherso ye comen in play † or in place,  
Now shal I tel you which ben bestes of chace:  
One of the a buck, another a doo,  
The Fox and the marteryn, and the wilde roo:  
And ye shall, my dere sones, other bestes all,  
Where so ye hem finde, rascall hem call,  
In frith or in fell,  
Or in Forrest, y yow tell.  
And to speke of the hert, if ye wil hit lere,  
Ye shall call him a calfe at the first yere;  
The second yere a broket, so shall he be,  
The third yere a spayard, lerneth this at me;  
The .iiii. yere calles hem a stagge, be any way  
The first yere a grete stagge, my dame bade you say."

[A full account of the various editions of this interesting and valuable publication is given in the *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, and need scarcely be reproduced here. The edition of 1586, mentioned by Dibdin, whom it incautiously followed, is a different work. The latest issue of the *Book of St. Albans* was in 1614, when Gervase Markham's alteration of the original text was printed with further changes, and adaptations to the more modern practice, under the title of *A Jewell for Gentrie*.]

\* See Gascoigne, ii. 345.]

† See Haslewood's edit. *Introd.* and Gascoigne's *Works*, ii. 306.]

‡ plain.

eminent rank, who resembled an abbot in respect of exercising an extensive manorial jurisdiction; and who hawked and hunted in common with other ladies of distinction.<sup>1</sup> This work, however, is here mentioned, because the second of these treatises is written in rhyme.<sup>2</sup> It is spoken in her own person; in which, being otherwise a woman of authority, she assumes the title of dame. I suspect the whole to be a translation from the French and Latin.<sup>3</sup>

Henry Bradshaw has rather larger pretensions to poetical fame, although scarcely deserving the name of an original writer in any respect. He was a native of Chester, educated at Gloucester College in Oxford, and at length a Benedictine monk of Saint Werburgh's Abbey in his native place.<sup>4</sup> Before the year 1500, he wrote the *Life of Saint Werburgh*, a daughter of a king of the Mercians, in English verse.<sup>5</sup> This poem, beside the devout deeds and passion of the poet's patroness-saint, comprehends a variety of other subjects;

<sup>1</sup> At the magnificent marriage of the princess Margaret with James IV. king of Scotland, in 1503, his majesty sends the new queen, "a grett tame hart, for to have a corse." Leland. *Coll. Append.* iii. 280, edit. 1770.

<sup>2</sup> This part is translated or abstracted from Upton's book *De re militari, et factis illustribus*, written about 1441. See the fourth book *De insignibus Anglorum nobilium*. Edit. Biss. 1654. It begins with the following curious piece of sacred heraldry. "Of the offspring of the gentilman Jafeth, come Habraham, Moyse, Aron and the profettys, and also the kyng of the right lyne of Mary, of whom that gentilman Jhesus was borne, very god and man: after his manhode kyng of the land of Jude and of Jues, gentilman by is moder Mary, prynce of Cote armure," &c. Nicholas Upton, above mentioned, was a fellow of New College Oxford about 1430. He had many dignities in the church. He was patronised by Humphrey duke of Gloucester, to whom he dedicates his book. This I ought to have remarked before. [See *supr.* sect. xx.]

<sup>3</sup> [I can, however, hardly understand how she could get the technical English terms, as I can hardly believe one in her situation followed the chase, and conversed with huntmen enough for the purpose. I think that these Religious translated the French or Latin books on hunting, war, &c., to please their friends, who were professed statesmen and warriors, and that they furnished the terms of art.—*Ashby.*]

<sup>4</sup> *Athen. Oxon.* i. p. 9. Pitts, 690.

<sup>5</sup> He declares, that he does not mean to rival Chaucer, Lydgate, sententious, pregnant Barklay, and inventive Skelton. The two last were his cotemporaries. L. ii. c. 24. [Bradshaw seems rather to say, that as his book was compiled for unlearned readers, it ought to submit itself with deference to the judgment of learned poets. But as the passage is interesting, I will present it, with the context. It occurs in a brief conclusion to the work by the translator:

"Go forth, litell boke, Jesu be thy spede,  
And saue the alway from mysreportyng,  
Whiche art compiled for no clerke in dede,  
But for marchaunt men hauyng litell lernyng,  
And that rude people therby may haue knowyng,  
Of this holy virgin and redolent rose,  
Which hath ben kept full longe tyme in clofe.  
To all auncient poetes, litell boke, submytte the,  
Whilom flouryng in eloquence facundious,  
And to all other whiche present now be,  
Fyrst to maister Chaucer and Ludgate sentencious,  
Also to preignaunt Barkley now beying religious,  
To inuentiue Skelton and poet laureate,  
Praye them all of pardon both erly and late."—*Park.*]

as a description of the kingdom of the Mercians,<sup>1</sup> the lives of Saint Etheldred and Saint Sexburgh,<sup>2</sup> the foundation of the city of Chester,<sup>3</sup> and a chronicle of our kings.<sup>4</sup> It is collected from Bede, Alfred

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. c. ii.<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. cap. xviii. xix.<sup>3</sup> Lib. i. cap. iii.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. ii. cap. xv. The practice of writing metrical *Chronicles of the kings of England* grew very fashionable in this century. See *supr.* Many of these are evidently composed for the harp: but they are mostly mere genealogical deductions. Hearne has printed from the Heralds office a *Petegree* of our kings from William the conqueror to Henry VI., written in 1448. [*Appendix* to Rob. Gloucester, vol. ii. p. 585, see p. 588.] This is a specimen:

“Then regnyd Harry nought full wyfe,  
The sone of Mold [Maud] the emperese.  
In his tyme then Seynt Thomas  
At Caunterbury martyrde was.  
He held Rosomund the then,  
Gret sorwe hit was for the quen:  
At Wodefoke for hure he made a toure,  
That is called Rosemoundes boure.—  
And sithen regnyd his sone Richard,  
A man that was neuer a ferd:  
He werred ofte tyme and wyfe  
Worthily vpon godis enemyse.  
And sithen he was shoten, alas!  
Atte castelle Gailard there he was.  
Att Foonte Euerard he lithe there:  
He regnyd almost .x. yere.—  
In Johne is tyme, as y vnderfond,  
Was enterdyted alle Engeland:  
He was fulle wrothe and grym,  
For preftus wold nought synge before hym,” &c.

Lydgate has left the best chronicle of the kind, and most approaching to poetry. *The regnyng of kyngeys after the conquest by the monk of Bury.* MSS. Fairf. Bibl. Bodl. 16; [MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii. MSS. Harl. 2251. 3; and a beautiful copy, with pictures of the kings, MSS. Cotton. *Julius.* E. 5. Printed by W. de Worde in 1530.] This is one of the stanzas. [MSS. Bodl. B. 3. 1999. 6.]

## RICARDUS PRIMUS.

“Rychard the next by succeffyon,  
First of that name, strong, hardy, and notable,  
Was crowned kynge, called Cur de lyon,  
With Saryzonys hedys served atte table:  
Sleyn at Galard by death full lamentable:  
The space regned fully ix. yere;  
His hert buried in Roon atte highe autere.”

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 5. There was partly a political view in these deductions: to ascertain the right of our kings to the crowns of France, Castile, Leon, and the duchy of Normandy. See MSS. Harl. 326. 2.—116. 11. fol. 142. I know not whether it be worth observing, that about this time a practice prevailed of constructing long parchment-rolls in Latin, of the pedigree of our kings. Of this kind is the *Pedigree of British kings from Adam to Henry the Sixth*, written about the year 1450, by Roger Alban, a Carmelite friar of London. It begins, “*Considerans chronicorum prolixitatem.*” The original copy, presented to Henry VI., by the compiler, is now in Queen’s College library at Oxford, MSS. [22.] B. 5. 3. There are two copies in Winchester College library, and another in the Bodleian. Among Bishop More’s MSS. there is a parchment-roll of the pedigree of our kings from Ethelred to Henry IV. in French, with pictures of the several monarchs, MSS. 495; and in the same collection, a pedigree from Harold to Henry IV. with elegant illuminations, MSS. 479. In the same rage of

of Beverley, Malmesbury, Girardus Cambrensis, Higden's *Polychronicon*, and the passionaries of the female saints, Werburgh, Etheldred and Sexburgh, which were kept for public edification in the choir of the church of our poet's monastery :

For as declareth the true Passionary,  
A boke where her holie lyfe wrytten is,  
Which boke remayneth in Chester monastery.<sup>1</sup>

And again,

I folow the legend and true hystory  
After an humble stile, and from it lytell vary.

And in the prologue,<sup>2</sup>

Untoo this rude worke myne auftors thefe,  
Fyrft the true Legends, and the venerable Bede,  
• Mayfter Alfrydus, and Wyllyam Malmesbury,  
Gyrard, Polychronicon, and other mo indeed.

Bradshaw is not so fond of relating visions and miracles as his argument seems to promise. Although concerned with three saints, he deals more in plain facts than in the fictions of religious romance; and on the whole his performance is rather historical than legendary. This is remarkable in an age when it was the fashion to turn history into legend. Even scripture-history was turned into romance. The story of Esther and Ahasuerus, or of Amon or Hamon, and Mardocheus or Mordecai, was formed into a fabulous poem :<sup>3</sup>

OF AMON AND MORDOCHEUS.

Mony wynter witerly  
Or Crist weore boren of vre ladi,  
A rich kyng, hys Ahaswere,  
That stuf was on stede and stere;  
Mighti kyng he was, i wis,  
He livede muchel in weolye ant blis,  
His blisse may i nat telle þou,  
How lange hit weore to schewe hit nou;  
But thing that tovceth to vre matere  
I wol þou telle, if þe wol here.  
The kyng lovede a knight so welc,  
That he commaunded men shoul knele  
Bifore him, in vche a streete,  
Over all ther men myte him meete;  
Amon was the knyghtes nome,  
On him fell muchel worldus schome,  
For in this ilke kynges lande  
Was moche folke of Jewes wonande,  
Of heore kynd the kyng hym tok  
A qwene to wyve, as telleth the bok, &c.

---

genealogising, Alban above mentioned framed the Descent of Jesus Christ, from Adam through the Levitical and regal tribes, the Jewish patriarchs, judges, kings, prophets and priests. The original roll, as it seems, on vellum, beautifully illuminated, is in MSS. More, *ut sup.* 495. But this was partly copied from Peter of Poictou, a disciple of Lombard about 1170 who, for the benefit of the poorer clergy, was the first that found out the method of forming, and reducing into parchment-rolls, *Historical Trees* of the Old Testament. Alberic. in *Chron.* p. 441. See MSS. Denb. 1627. 1. Rot.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. c. vii. signat. C. ii.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Vernon, *ut sup.* fol. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. i. signat. A. iiii.

In the British Museum, there is a long commentitious narrative of the *Creation of Adam and Eve, their Sufferings and Repentance, Death and Burial*.<sup>1</sup> This is from a Latin piece on the same subject.<sup>2</sup> In the English, Peter Comestor, the "maister" of stories, author of the *Historia Scholastica*, who flourished about the year 1170, is quoted.<sup>3</sup> But he is not mentioned in the Latin at fol. 49. [In the library of Winchester Cathedral, is a MS. about 1320, containing *Expulsio Ade [Adam] de Paradisis, et quo modo crevit crux Christi, et quomodo miracula facta sunt per lignum*. It is a 4to book of several hundred pages. It contains a notice of all the popes and emperors, &c.]

In Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, v. 3538, we have this passage:

Haft thou not herd, quod Nicholas also,  
The sorwe of Noe with his felawship,  
Or that he might get his wif to ship?

I know not whether this anecdote about Noah is in any similar supposititious book of Genesis. It occurs, however, in the *Chester Whitfun Plays*, where the authors, according to the established indulgence allowed to dramatic poets, perhaps thought themselves at liberty to enlarge on the sacred story.<sup>4</sup> This altercation between Noah and his wife takes up almost the whole third pageant of these interludes. Noah, having reproached his wife for her usual frowardness of temper, at last conjures her to come on board the ark, for fear of drowning. His wife insists on his sailing without her, and swears by Christ and St. John, that she will not embark till some of her old female companions are ready to go with her. She adds, that if he is in such a hurry, he may sail alone, and fetch himself a new wife. At length Shem, with the help of his brothers, forces her into the vessel; and while Noah very cordially welcomes her on board, she gives him a box on the ear.<sup>5</sup>

Bradshaw's fabulous origin of Chester is not so much to be imputed to his own want of veracity, as to the authority of his voucher Ranulph Higden, a celebrated chronicler, his countryman, and a monk of his own abbey.

As to Bradshaw's history of the foundation of Chester, it may be classed with [the anonymous poem of four leaves only printed by R. Pynson about 1500, entitled *The Foundation of the Chapel of Walsingham* (conjecturally, as in the only known copy the first leaf is missing, and this is the subject). The narrative commences thus:

Of this chapell se here the fundacyon,  
Bylded the yere of crystes incarnacyon,  
A thousande complete sixty and one,  
The tyme of sent edward kyng of this region.

Of the same class is the *Foundation of the Abbey of Gloucester* in twenty-two stanzas, printed by Hearne, and written in 1534 by the

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Harl. 1704. 5. fol. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 495. 12. fol. 43. imperf.

<sup>3</sup> fol. 26.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Harl. 2013.

<sup>5</sup> [In *Notes and Queries* for April 9, 1870, occurs a short paper on the Anglo-Norman Morality of Adam.]

last abbot, William Malverne. Bradshaw's piece is mentioned by Harpsfield.<sup>1</sup>

He [Bradshaw] supposes that Chester, called by the ancient Britons Cair-Lleon, or the city of Legions, was founded by Leon Gaur, a giant, corrupted from *Leon Vaur*, or the great legion :

The founder of this citie, as sayth Polychronicon,  
Was Leon Gaur, a myghte stronge gyaunt,  
Which buildid caves and dongeons manie a one,  
No goodlie buildyng, ne proper, ne pleasant.

He adds with an equal attention to etymology :

But kinge Leir a Britan fine and valiaunt,  
Was founder of Chester by pleasaunt buildyng,  
And was named Guar Leir by the kyng.<sup>2</sup>

But a greater degree of credulity would perhaps have afforded him a better claim to the character of a poet : and, at least, we should have conceived a more advantageous opinion of his imagination, had he been less frugal of those traditionary fables, in which ignorance and superstition had clothed every part of his argument. This piece was first printed in 1521.<sup>3</sup>

[The following is one of the introductory chapters, and is headed : *A descrypcyon of the Geanealogy of saynt Werburge, and how she descended of foure kynges of this lande & of the royall blode of Fraunce.* The genealogy is traced with much historical accuracy, and this portion of the performance may perhaps be partly original :]

This noble prynces, the doughter of Syon,  
The floure of vertu, and vyrgyn gloryous,  
Blessed Saynt Werburge, full of deuocyon,  
Descended by auncetry, and tytles famous,  
Of foure myghty kynges, noble and vyctoryous,  
Reynnyng in his lande, by true succesfion,  
As her lyfe historyall, maketh declaracyon.

The yere of our lorde, frome the natyuyte  
Fyue hundreth. xiiii. and also iiii. score,  
Whan Austyn was sende from saynt Gregorie,  
To conuert this regyon unto our sauoure  
The noble kyng Cryda than reigned with honour  
Vpon the mercyens, whiche kyng was father  
Vnto kyng Wybba and Quadriburge his syfter.

This Wybba gate Penda, kyng of mercyens,  
Whiche Penda subdued fyue kynges of this regyon  
Reygnynge thyrty yere, in worthyp and reuerens  
Was grauntfather to Werburge, by lynyall succesfion  
By his quene Kyneswith, had a noble generacyon  
Fyue valeant prynces, Penda and kyng Wulfer,  
Kyng Ethelred, saint Marceyl, saynt Marwalde, I fere.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Harl. 539. 14, fol. 111. *Hist. Eccles. Angl.* p. 264. Princip. "In fundrie fayer volumes of antiquitie."

<sup>2</sup> Lib. ii. c. iii.

<sup>3</sup> In [4to.] With a wooden cut of the Saint. Princip. "Whā Phebus had roue his cours I Sagittari." At the beginning is [*The prologue of J. T., &c.*, including an acrostic on the translator Bradshaw's name, and at the end are three Ballads.]

<sup>4</sup> [*The Holy Lyfe and History of Saynt Werburge, &c.* Edited by Edward Hawkins, Elq. Chetham Society, 1848].

The most splendid passage of this poem is the following description of the feast made by King Wulfer in the hall of the abbey of Ely, when his daughter Werburgh was admitted to the veil in that monastery. Among other curious anecdotes of ancient manners, the subjects of the tapestry, with which the hall was hung, and of the songs sung by the minstrels, on this solemn occasion, are given at large. The heading of the chapter is: "Of the great solempnyte kynge Wulfer made at the ghostly maryage of saynt Werburge his daughter, to al his louers, colvns, and frendes."<sup>1</sup>

Kynge Wulfer her father/ at this ghostly spoufage  
Prepared great tryumphes/ and solempntnye  
Made a royall feest/ as custome is of maryage  
Sende for his frendes/ after good humanyte  
Kepte a noble houlholde/ shewed great lybalyte  
Both to ryche and poore/ that to this feest wolde come  
No man was denyed/ every man was well come.

Her uncles and aunes/ were present there all  
Ethelred and Merwalde/ and Mercelly also  
Thre blessed kynges/ whome sayntes we do call  
Saint kenefwyd/ saint keneburg/ theyr systers both two  
And of her noble lygnage/ many other mo  
Were redy that season/ with reuerence and honour  
At this noble tryumphe/ to do all theyr deuour.

Tho kynges mette them/ with theyr company,  
Egbryt kynge of kent/ brother to the quene  
The seconde was Aldulphe kynge of the east party  
Brother to saynt Audry/ wyfe and mayde serene  
With dyuers of theyr progeny/ and nobles as I wene  
Dukes/ erles/ barons/ and lordes ferre and nere  
In theyr best aray/ were present all in fere.<sup>2</sup>

It were full tedyous/ to make descrypcyon  
Of the great tryumphes/ and solempne royalte  
Belongynge to the feest/ the honour and prouysyon,  
By playne declaracyon/ vpon euery partye  
But the sothe to say/ withouten ambyguyte  
All herbes and floures/ fragraunt fayre and swete  
Were strawed in halles/ and layd vnder theyr fete.

Clothes of golde and arras/ were hanged in the hall  
Depaynted with pyctures/ and hytories manyfolde  
Well wrought and craftely/ with precyous stones all  
Glyteryng as Phebus/ and the beten golde  
Lyke an erthly paradyse/ pleasaunt to beholde  
As for the sayd moynes<sup>3</sup>/ was not them amonge  
But prayenge in her cell/ as done all nouice yonge.

The story of Adam/ there was goodly wrought  
And of his wyfe Eue/ bytwene them the serpent  
How they were deceyued/ and to theyr peynes brought  
There was Cayn and Abell/ offerynge theyr present  
The sacryfyce of Abell/ accepte full euydent  
Tuball and Tubalcain/ were purtrayed in that place  
The inuentours of musyke/ and craftes by great grace.  
Noe and his shyppe/ was made there curiously  
Sendynge forth a rauens/ whiche neuer came agayne;

<sup>1</sup> [Edit. 1848, cap. xvi. p. 58.]

<sup>2</sup> together.

<sup>3</sup> nun, i. e. The Lady Werburg.

And how the doue retourned/ with a braunche hastily  
A token of conforte and peace/ to man certayne  
Abraham there was/ standyng upon the mount playne  
To offer in sacryfyce/ Isaac his dere sone,  
And how the shepe for hym/ was offered in oblacyon.

The twelue sones of Jacob/ there were in purtrayture  
And how into Egypt/ yonge Jesepe was folde  
There was impryoned/ by a false coniectour  
After in all Egypte/ was ruler (as is tolde).  
There was in pycture/ Moyses wyse and bolde  
Our lorde apperynge in bushe flammyng as fyre  
And nothyng therof brent/ lefe/ tree/ nor spyre.<sup>1</sup>

The ten plages of Egypt/ were well emboft  
The chylde of Israel/ passyng the reed see  
Kynge Pharoo drowned/ with all his proude hoost  
And how the two tables/ at the mounte of Synaye  
Were gyuen to Moyses/ and how soone to ydolatri  
The people were prone/ and punysshed were therfore,  
How Datan and Abyron/ for pryde were lost full youre.<sup>2</sup>

Duke Josue was ioyned/ after them in pycture,  
Ledyng the Isrehelytes/ to the lande of promysyon  
And how the said lande/ was diuyded by mesure  
To the people of god/ by equall fundry porcyon  
The Judges and byshopps/ were there euerychone  
Theyr noble actes/ and tryumphes Marcyall  
Freschly were browdred/ in these clothes royall.

Nexste to hye borde/ appered fayre and bryght  
Kynge Saull and Dauyd/ and prudent Salomon,  
Roboas succedyng/ whiche soone lost his myght  
The good kynge Escheyas/ and his generacyon  
And so to the Machabees/ and dyuers other nacyon  
All these sayd storyes/ so rychely done and wrought  
Belöyng to kyng Wulfer/ agayn y<sup>3</sup> tyme were brought.<sup>3</sup>

But ouer the hye desse<sup>4</sup>/ in the pryncypall place  
Where the sayd thre kynges/ fate crowned all  
The best hallynge<sup>5</sup> hanged/ as reason was  
Wherin were wrought/ the .ix. ordres angelycall  
Dyuyded in thre Jerarchyses/ not cessyng to call  
*Sanctus/ sanctus/ sanctus/* blessed be the trynity  
*Dominus Deus sabaoth/* thre perones in one deyte

Nexste in ordre suyng<sup>6</sup>/ sette in goodly purtrayture  
Was our blessed lady/ floure of femynyte  
With the twelue apostles/ echeone in his fygure  
And the foure euangelystes/ wrought moost curyously  
Also the dyscyples/ of chryst in theyr degre  
Prechyng and techyng/ vnto euery nacyon  
The faythtes<sup>7</sup> of holy chyrche/ for their saluacyon.

Martyrs than folowed/ ryght manyfestly  
The holy innocentes/ whome Herode had slayne,  
Blessed saynt Stephan/ the prothomartyr truly  
Saynt Laurêce/ saynt Vyncēt/ sufferyng great payne  
With many other mo/ than here ben now certayne

<sup>1</sup> twig, branch.<sup>2</sup> burnt.<sup>3</sup> All this tapestry, belonging to King Wulfer, was brought to Ely monastery on this occasion.<sup>4</sup> feat; [*vid. supr.*]<sup>5</sup> tapestry.<sup>6</sup> following.<sup>7</sup> feats; facts.

Of whiche sayd martyrs/ exfample we may take  
Pacyence to obserue/ in herte for chrystes sake.

Confessours approched/ ryght conuenient,  
Frefshely enbrodred/ in ryche tyfshewe and fyne;  
Saynt Nycholas/ saynt Benedycte/ and his couente  
Saynt Jerom/ Bafilyus/ and saynt Auguftyne  
Gregory the great doctour/ Ambrose and saynt Martyne  
All thefe were fette/ in goodly purtrayture  
Them to beholde/ was a heuenly pleafure.

Vyrgyns them folowed/ crowned with the lyly  
Amonge whome our lady/ chefe prefydent was  
Some crowned with rooſes/ for theyr great vyctory  
Saynt Katheryne/ saynt Margerete/ saynt Agathas  
Saynt Cycyly/ saynt Agnes/ and saynt Charytas  
Saynt Lucy/ saynt Wenefryde/ and saynt Apolyn  
All thefe were brothered/<sup>1</sup> the clothes of golde within.

Upon the other fyde of the hall fette were  
Noble auneynt ſtories/ & how the ſtronge Sampſon  
Subdued his enemyes by his myghty power  
Of Hector of Troy/ ſlayne by fals treaſon  
Of noble Arthur/ kynge of this regyon  
With many other mo/ whiche it is to longe  
Playnly to expreſſe/ this tyme you amonge.

The tables were couered with clothes of Dyaper  
Rychely enlarged/ with ſyluer and with golde  
The cupborde with plate/ ſhynynge fayre and clere  
Marſhalles theyr offyces/ fulfilled manyfolde  
Of myghty wyne plenty/ bothe newe and olde  
All maner kynde/ of meetes delycate  
(Whan grace was ſayd) to them was preparete.

To this noble feſt/ there was ſuche ordynauce  
That nothyng wanted/ that goten myght be  
On ſee and on lande/ but there was habundaunce  
Of all maner pleafures/ to be had for monye  
The bordes all charged/ full of meet plente  
And dyuers ſubtyltes/<sup>2</sup> prepared ſothly were  
With cordyall ſpyces/ theyr gheſtes for to chere.

The Joyfull wordes/ and ſwete communycacyon  
Spoken at the table/ it were harde to tell  
Eche man at lyberte/ without interrupcyon  
Bothe ſadnes and myrthes/ alſo pryue counſell  
Some adulatoryn/ ſome the truthe dyd tell  
But the great aſtates/<sup>3</sup> ſpake of theyr regyons  
Knyghtes of theyr chyualry/ of craftes the comons.

Certayne at eche cours/ of ſeruice in the hall  
Trumpettes blewe vp/ ſhalmes and claryons  
Shewynge theyr melody with/ toynes<sup>4</sup> muſycall  
Dyuers other mynſtrelles/ in crafty proporcyons  
Made ſwete concordauce/ and luſty dyuſyſons  
An heuenly pleafure/ ſuche armony to here  
Reioyſynge the hertes/ of the audyence full clere.

A ſynguler mynſtrell/ all other ferre paſſynge  
Toyned<sup>5</sup> his inſtrument/ in pleaſaunte armony

<sup>1</sup> embroidered.<sup>4</sup> tunes.<sup>2</sup> diſhes of curious cookery, ſo called.<sup>5</sup> tuned.<sup>3</sup> kings.

And fange moost swetely/ the company gladyng  
Of myghty conquerours/ the famous vyctory  
Wherwith was rauyshed/ theyr spyrytes and memory  
Specyally he fange/ of the great Alexandere  
Of his tryumphe and honours/ enduryng .xii. yere.

Solemply he songe/ the state of the Romans  
Ruled vnder kynges/ by polycy and wysedome  
Of theyr hye iustyce/ and ryghtfull ordynauns  
Dayly encreasynge/ in worthyp and renowne  
Tyll Tarquyne y<sup>e</sup> proude kyng/ with y<sup>e</sup> great cōfusyon  
Oppressed dame Lucrece/ the wyfe of Colatyne  
Kynges neuer reigned in Rome/ syth that tyme.

Also how the Romayns/ vnder thre dyctatours  
Gouerned all regyons/ of the worlde ryght wysely  
Tyll Julyus Cesar/ excellynge all conquerours  
Subdued Pompeius/ and toke the hole monarchy  
And the rule of Rome/ to hymselfe manfully  
But Cassius Brutus/ the fals conspyratour  
Caused to be slayne/ the sayd noble emperour.

After the sayd Julyus/ succeeded his syfter sone  
Called Octuianus/ in the imperyall see  
And by his precepte/ was made descrypcyon  
To euery regyon/ lande/ thyre/<sup>1</sup> and cytee  
A trybute to pay/ vnto his dygnyte  
That tyme was/ vnyuerfall peas and honour  
In whiche tyme was borne/ our blessed savyoure.

All these hyforyes/ noble and auncyent  
Reioysynge the audyence/ he fange with pleafuer  
And many other mo of the newe testament  
Pleasaunt and profytable/ for theyr soules cure  
Whiche be omytted/ now not put in vre  
The mynysters were redy/ theyr offyce to fulfyll  
To take vp the tables/ at theyr lordes wyll.

Whan this noble feest/ and great solempnyte  
Dayly enduryng/ a longe tyme and space  
Was royally ended/ with honour and royalte  
Eche kyng at other/ lysence taken hace  
And so departed from thens/ to theyr place  
Kyng Wulfer retourned/ with worthyp and renowne  
Frome the houle of Ely to his owne mansyon.

If there be any merit of imagination or invention, to which the poet has a claim in this description, it altogether consists in the application. The circumstances themselves are faithfully copied by Bradshaw, from what his own age actually presented. In this respect, I mean as a picture of ancient life, the passage is interesting; and for no other reason. The versification is infinitely inferior to Lydgate's worst manner.

Bradshaw [died on the 15th May, 1513, and] was buried in the cathedral church, to which his convent was annexed.<sup>2</sup> Bale, a

<sup>1</sup> This puts one in mind of the *Sheriffs*, in our translation of the Bible, among the officers of the kingdom of Babylon, *Dan*. iii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Oxon.* i. 9, [and Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit.* Anglo-Saxon period, 518-19. The *year* is ascertained by one of the laudatory "balades" affixed, which speaks of Bradshaw :

violent reformer, observes that our poet was a person remarkably pious for the times in which he flourished.<sup>1</sup> This is an indirect satire on the monks, and on the period which preceded the Reformation. I believe it will readily be granted, that our author had more piety than poetry. His Prologue contains the following humble professions of his inability to treat lofty subjects, and to please light readers :

To descrybe hie hyftories/ I dare not be so bolde  
Syth it is a mater/ for clerkes conuenient  
As of the .vii. aeges/ and of our parentes olde  
Or of the .iiii. empyres whylom moost excellent  
Knowynge my lernynge therto insufficient  
As for bawdy balades you shall haue none of me  
To excyte lyght hertes to pleasure and vanyte.<sup>2</sup>

A great translator of the lives of the Saxon saints from the Saxon, in which language only they were then extant, into Latin, was [Gotfelin or] Goscelinus, a monk of [the monastery of St. Bertin], who passed from France into England with Hereman [afterwards] bishop of Salisbury, [in] 1058.<sup>3</sup> As the Saxon language was at this time but little understood, these translations opened a new and ample treasure of religious history : nor were they acquisitions only to the religion, but to the literature, of that era. Among the rest were the *Lives of Saint Werburgh*,<sup>4</sup> *Saint Etheldred*,<sup>5</sup> and *Saint Sexburgh*,<sup>6</sup> most probably the legends, which were Bradshaw's originals. Usher observes, that Goscelinus also translated into Latin the ancient Catalogue of the Saxon saints buried in England.<sup>7</sup> In the Register of Ely it is recorded, that he was the most eloquent writer of his age ; and that he circulated all over England, the lives, miracles and gifts of

"Now departed from this temporall lyght,  
The present yere of this Translacion  
M. D. xiiii. of Christis incarnation."

Sign. f ii b.—*Park.*]

<sup>1</sup> Cent. ix. Numb. 17.

[<sup>2</sup> Edit. 1848, p. 4. Bradshaw also wrote the *Life of Saynt Radegunde*, in 7-line stanzas, printed by Pynson, without date in 4to.]

<sup>3</sup> W. Malmesbur. lib. iv. *ubi infr.*—Goscelin. in *Prefat. ad Vit. S. Augustini*. See Mabillon, *AB. Ben. Sec.* i. p. 499 [and Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Anglic.* ii. 594, edit. Hardy.]

<sup>4</sup> *AB. Sanctar.* Bolland, tom. i. Februar. p. 386. A part in Leland, *Coll.* ii. 154. Compare MSS. C.C.C. Cant. J. xiii. [which contains, however, only so much as related to St. Augustine and his companions. The most important MS. of Goscelin's *Lives of Saints* in Latin is MS. Cotton. Vesp. B. xx. nearly coeval with the author. See also *ibid.* Claudius, A, v. and Harl. MS. 105, where the series of lives is called *Ecclesiastica Historie Libri viii.*]

<sup>5</sup> Registr. Eliens. *ut infra.*

<sup>6</sup> See Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 152. Compare the Lives of SS. Etheldred, Werburgh, and Sexburgh, at the end of the *Historia aurea* of John of Tynemouth, MS. Lambeth, 12. I know not whether they make a part of his famous *Sanctilogium* [or *Nova Legenda Anglie*, attributed to Capgrave. See a list of the contents in *Catal. Cotton. MSS.* pp. 76-7.] He flourished about the year 1380.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiquit. Brit.* c. ii. p. 15. See Leland's *Coll.* iii. 86 *seq.* And Hickes, *Theaur.* last vol. pp. 86, 146, 208.

the saints of both sexes, which he reduced into prose-histories.<sup>1</sup> The words of the Latin deserve our attention. "In historiis in *prosa* dic-tando mutavit." Hence we may perhaps infer, that they were not before in prose, and that he took them from old metrical legends: this is a presumptive proof, that the lives of the saints were at first extant in verse. The passion for versifying everything was carried to such a height in the middle ages, that before the year 1300, Jus-tinian's Institutes and the code of French jurisprudence were trans-lated into French rhymes. There is a very ancient edition of this work, without date, place, or typographer, said to be corrected *par plusieurs docteurs* and *souverains légistes*, in which are these lines:—

J'ay par paresse demouré  
Trop longuement a commencer  
Pour Institutes romancer.<sup>2</sup>

In the same light we are to understand the words which immediately follow in the Register: "Hic scripsit *Prosam* sanctæ Etheldredæ;" which is extant in this Ely register, and contains 54 heads; where the *prose* of St. Etheldred is opposed to her *poetical* legend. These improved prose-narratives were often turned back again into verse, even so late as in the age before us: to which (among others I could mention) we may refer the legend of St. Eustathius:—

Seynt *Euface*, a nobull knyghte,  
Of hethen law he was;  
And ere than he crystened was  
Mene callyd him *Placidus*.  
He was with *Trajan* thempelor, &c.<sup>3</sup>

By *mutavit dicendo* we are to understand, that he *translated* or *re-formed*, or, in the most general sense, *wrote anew in Latin*, these antiquated lives. His principal objects were the more recent saints, especially those of this island. Malmesbury says, "Innumeras *Sanctorum Vitas Recentium stylo extulit, veterum vel amissas, vel informiter editas, comptius renovavit.*"<sup>4</sup> In this respect, the labours of Gottselin partly resembled those of Symeon Metaphrastes, a celebrated Con-stantinopolitan writer of the tenth century, who obtained the distin-guished appellation of the *Metaphrast* because, at the command and under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenita, he modernised the more ancient narratives of the miracles and martyrdoms of the most eminent eastern and western saints for the use of the Greek church: or rather digested from detached, imperfect, or obsolete books on the subject a new and more commodious body of sacred biography.

Concerning legend-makers, there is a curious story in [Richard

<sup>1</sup> Cap. x. *Vit. Ethel.*

<sup>2</sup> See Menage, *Obs. sur la Lang. Fr.* partie prem. ch. 3. Verdier and La Croix, iii. 428, iv. 160, 554, 560. *Bibl. Fr.* edit. 1773.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Cotton. Calig. A. 2. A Latin legend on this saint is in MS. Harl. 2316, 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Angl.* lib. iv. p. 130.

James's *Iter Lancastrense*.]<sup>1</sup> Gilbert de Stone, a learned ecclesiastic, who flourished about the year 1380, was solicited by the monks of Holywell in Flintshire to write the life of their patron saint. Stone, applying to these monks for materials, was answered that they had none in their monastery. Upon which he declared, that he could execute the work just as easily without any materials at all: and that he would write them a most excellent legend, after the *manner* of the legend of Thomas a Becket. He has the character of an elegant Latin writer, and seems to have done the same piece of service, perhaps in the same way, to other religious houses. From his *Epistles* it appears that he wrote the *Life of St. Wulfade*, patron of the priory of canons regular of his native town of Stone in Staffordshire, which he dedicated to the prior, William de Madely.<sup>2</sup> He was Latin secretary to several bishops, and could possibly write a legend or a letter with equal facility. His epistles are 123 in number. The first of them in which he is styled "chancellor to the Bishop of Winchester," is to the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>3</sup> This Bishop of Winchester must have been William of Wykeham.

The most extraordinary composition of this kind, if we consider, among other circumstances, that it was compiled at a time when knowledge and literature had made some progress, and when mankind were so much less disposed to believe or to invent miracles, more especially when the subject was quite recent, is the *Legend of King Henry the Sixth*. It is entitled, *De Miraculis beatissimi illius Militis Christi, Henrici sexti, &c.* That it might properly rank with other legends, it was translated from an English copy into Latin by one Johannes, styled *Pauperculus*, a monk, about [1490], at the command of John Morgan, dean of Windsor, afterwards [in 1496] Bishop of St. David's. It is divided into two books: to both of which prefaces are prefixed, containing proofs of the miracles wrought by this pious monarch. At the beginning there is a hymn with a prayer addressed to the royal saint<sup>4</sup> :—

Salve, miles preciose,  
Rex, Henrice generose, &c.

Henry could not have been a complete saint without his legend.<sup>5</sup> What shall we think of the judgment and abilities of the dignified ecclesiastic, who could seriously patronise so ridiculous a narrative?

Among the many striking contrasts between the manners and characters of ancient and modern life, which these annals present, we must not be surprised to find a mercer, a sheriff, and an alderman of London, descending from his important occupations to write verses. This is Robert Fabyan, who yet is generally better known as an

<sup>1</sup> MSS. James, xxxi. p. 6 (Bibl. Bodl.) [The *Iter* was edited by Mr. Corser for the Chetham Society, 1845.]

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.* iii. dat. 1399. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Sup. D i. Art. 123.

<sup>3</sup> [MSS. Cotton. Vitell. E. x, 17.]

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 72.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. Harl. 423, 7. And MSS. Reg. 13 C. 8.

historian than as a poet. He was esteemed not only the most facetious, but the most learned, of all the mercers, sheriffs and aldermen of his time: and no layman of that age is said to have been better skilled in the Latin language. [He was the son of John Fabyan, and is supposed to have been a native of Essex. His will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, July 12, 1513 (though dated July 11 in the previous year), and Bale says that he died Feb. 28, 1512-13.<sup>1</sup> Very little is known of his personal history. He was sheriff of London in 1493]. In his *Chronicle* or *Concordance of Histories* from Brutus to the year 1485, it is his usual practice, at the division of the books [and elsewhere] to insert metrical prologues and other pieces in verse. The best of his metres is the *Complaint* of Edward II. who, like the personages in Boccaccio's *Fall of Princes*, is very dramatically introduced, reciting his own misfortunes.<sup>2</sup> But this soliloquy is nothing more than a translation from a short and a very poor Latin poem attributed to that monarch, but probably written by William of Wyrcester, which is preserved among the MSS. of the College of Arms, and entitled, *Lamentatio gloriosi regis Edwardi de Carnarvon quam edidit tempore suæ incarcerationis*. Our author's transitions from prose to verse, in the course of a prolix narrative, seem to be made with much ease; and when he begins to versify, the historian disappears only by the addition of rhyme and stanza. In the first edition of his *Chronicle*, by way of epilogues to his seven books, he has given us *The Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin in English Rime*; and under 1325 there is a poem to the virgin, and another on one Badby a Lollard under the year 1409.<sup>3</sup> These are [in part omitted and in part altered in Reynes's and Kingston's editions, but inserted entire in Rastell's]. He has likewise left a panegyric on the city of London; but despairs of doing justice to so noble a subject for verse, even if he had the eloquence of Tully, the morality of Seneca, and the harmony of that *faire Lady Calliope*.<sup>4</sup> The reader will thank me for citing only one stanza from King Edward's *Complaint* :—

Whan Saturne with his colde icy face,  
The grounde with his frokys turnyth the grene to whyte,  
The tyme of wynter which trees doth deface  
And causyth all verdure to avoyde quyte:  
Then fortune, whiche sharpe was with stormys not alyte,

<sup>1</sup> [Edit. 1811, Preface, iii., where his will is printed entire.]

<sup>2</sup> [Page 431, edit. 1811.] See Hearne's *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* p. 425. And *Prefat.* p. xxxviii. Fabyan says, "They are reported to be his own makynge, in the tyme of his emprysonment."—*Ibid.* By the way, there is a passage in this chronicler which points out the true reading of a controverted passage in Shakespeare, "Alfo children were christened thorough all the land, and menne *houfeled* and *anealed*, excepte *fuche*," &c. tom. ii. p. 30, coll. 2. Another proof which ascertains this reading of the controverted passage in *Hamlet*, occurs in the romance of *Morte Arthur*. When Sir Lancelot was dying, "whan he was *houfeled* and *eneled*, and had *all that a crysten man ought to have*, he praid the bishop, that his felowes might beare his bodie unto Joyous Garde," &c. B. xxi. cap. xii.

<sup>3</sup> Edit. Lond. 1516, fol.

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 2, tom. ii. *ut sup.*

Hath me affautyd with hir frowarde wyll,  
And me beclippyed with daungeours right yll.<sup>1</sup>

As an historian, our author is the dullest of compilers. He is equally attentive to the succession of the mayors of London and of the monarchs of England: and seems to have thought the dinners at Guildhall and the pageantries of the city companies more interesting transactions than our victories in France and our struggles for public liberty at home. One of Fabyan's historical anecdotes, under the important reign of Henry V., is that a new weathercock was placed on the cross of Saint Paul's steeple. It is said that Cardinal Wolsey commanded many copies of this chronicle to be committed to the flames, because it made too ample a discovery of the excessive revenues of the clergy. The earlier chapters of these childish annals faithfully record all those fabulous traditions, which generally supply the place of historic monuments in describing the origin of a great nation.

Another poet of this period is John [Watton], a priest. He wrote a Latin theological tract entitled *Speculum Christiani*, which is a sort of paraphrase on the decalogue and the creed.<sup>2</sup> But it is interspersed with a great number of wretched English rhymes: among which is the following hymn to the Virgin Mary:<sup>3</sup>

Mary Moder, wel thu be;  
Mary Moder thenk on me:  
Mayden and moder was never non  
Togedir, lady, fave thu allon.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum there is a poem [by Sir Francis Hubert, knight,] on this subject, and in the same stanza. MSS. Harl. 2393, 4to. 1. [Printed surreptitiously in 1628, again in 1629 and 1631 from a genuine text, and fourthly in 1721. Sir F. Madden thinks the Harl. MS. may be autograph.] The ghost of Edward II., as here, is introduced speaking. It is addressed to Queen Elizabeth, as appears (among other passages) from st. 92, 242, 243, 305. It begins thus:

"Whie shoulde a wafted spirit spent in woe  
Disclose the wounds receyved within his brest?"

It is imperfect, having only 352 stanzas. Then follows the same poem, with many alterations, additions, and omissions. This is addressed to James I., as appears from stanza 6, 259, 260, 326, &c. It contains 581 stanzas. There is another copy in the same library, Num. 558. At the end the poet calls himself Infortunio. It begins thus:—

I sing thy sad disaister, fatal king,  
Carnarvon Edward, second of that name.

The poem on this subject in the addition to the *Mirror of Magistrates* by [Richard] Niccols, is a different composition, [and is called]: *A Winter Night's Vision*. [Edit.] 1610, p. 702. These two manuscript poems deserve no further mention: nor would they have been mentioned at all, but from their reference to the text, and on account of their subject. Compare MSS. Harl. 2251, 119. fol. 254. An unfinished poem on Edward II., perhaps by Lydgate. Princ. *Beholde this greate prince Edward the Secunde*.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. C.C.C. Oxon. 155. MSS. Laud. G. 12, MSS. Thoresb. 530. There is an abridgment of this work, [MSS. Harl. 2250. 20.] with the date 1477. This is rather beyond the period with which we are at present engaged.

<sup>3</sup> Compare a hymn to the Holy Virgin, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> These four lines are in the exordium of a prayer to the virgin, MSS. Harl. 2382. (4to) 3. fol. 86. b.

Swete lady, mayden clene,  
 Schilde me fro ille, schame, and tene,  
 And out of dette, for charitee, &c.<sup>1</sup>

[In this work is a story taken from the *Gesta Romanorum*.]<sup>2</sup>

Matthew Paris relates that Godrich, a hermit about the year 1150, who lived in a solitary wild on the banks of the river Wear near Durham, had a vision in his oratory of the Virgin Mary, who taught him this song :

Sainte Marie [clane] virgine,  
 Moder Jhesu Cristes Nazarene,  
 Onfo, schild, help thir Godric  
 Onfang, bring heglicly with the in godes riche.  
 Sainte Marie, Cristes bur.  
 Maidens clenhad, moderes flur,  
 Dilie min sinne, rix in min mod,  
 Bring me to winne with the selfd god.<sup>3</sup>

In [Harl. MS. 2253, of the time of Edward I. or Edward II., from which some extracts have been given in a preceding section,] many very ancient hymns to the Holy Virgin occur. These are specimens :<sup>4</sup>

Blessed be þou levedy, ful of hevene blisse,  
 Swete flur of paradys, moder of mildenesse,  
 Preye Jhesu þy sone þat he me rede and wyffe  
 So my wey forte gon, þat he me never myffe.<sup>5</sup>

As y me rod þis ender day,  
 By grene wode to seche play,  
 Mid herte y bohte al on a May  
 Swettest of alle þinge!

Lybe, and ich ou telle may al of þat suete þinge.<sup>6</sup>

Mayden moder milde, *oiez cel oreyfoun,*  
 From shome þou me shilde, *e di ly mal feloun,*  
 For love of thine childe, *me menez de trefoun,*  
 Ich wes wod and wilde, *ore fu en prifoun.*<sup>7</sup>

In the library of Mr. Farmer, of Tusmore in Oxfordshire, [was] a collection of hymns and antiphones, paraphrased into English by William Herbert, a Franciscan friar and a famous preacher about the year 1330. These, with some other of his pieces in autograph contained in the same library, are unmentioned by Bale<sup>8</sup> and Pits,<sup>9</sup> Pierre de Corbian, a troubadour, has left a hymn or prayer to the Holy Virgin which, he says, he chose to compose in the romance-language, because he could write it more *intelligibly* than Latin. Another troubadour, a mendicant friar of the thirteenth century, had worked himself up into such a pitch of enthusiasm concerning the Holy Virgin, that he became deeply *in love* with her. It is partly

<sup>1</sup> Printed by William Machlinia [about 1480, in 4to.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir F. Madden's information. Edit. 1838, No. 37.\*]

<sup>3</sup> Matt. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* [Henric. ii.] p. 115, edit. 1589. [The present text has been taken from Mr. Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*.—Price.]

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 66, fol. 80, b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 67, fol. 81, b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 69, fol. 83. In French and English.

<sup>7</sup> See also *ibid.* 49, fol. 75; 57, fol. 78; and 372, 7, fol. 55.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* v. 31.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 428.

owing, as I have already hinted, to the gallantry of the dark ages, in which the female sex was treated with so romantic a respect, that the Virgin Mary received such exaggerated honours, and was so distinguished an object of adoration in the devotion of those times.

Caxton, the celebrated printer, was likewise a poet; [see] the rhyming introductions and epilogues with which he frequently decorates his books.

Among the anonymous pieces of poetry belonging to this period, which are very numerous, the most conspicuous is the *Calendar of Shepherds*. It seems to have been translated into English about the year 1480, [or perhaps somewhat later,] from a French book entitled *Kalendrier des Bergers*. It was printed [at Paris in 1503, folio, and having been re-translated or revised throughout by Robert Copland, was again printed before 1506. There are many later impressions from the presses of De Worde, Pynson, and other typographers.]<sup>1</sup> This piece was calculated for the purposes of a perpetual almanack, and seems to have been the universal magazine of every article of salutary and useful knowledge. It is a medley of verse and prose, and contains, among many other curious particulars, the fables of the whole year, the moveable feasts, the signs of the zodiac, the properties of the twelve months, rules for blood-letting, a collection of proverbs, a system of ethics, politics, divinity, physiognomy, medicine, astrology, and geography. Pieces of this sort were not uncommon. In the British Museum there is an astrological poem, teaching when to buy and sell, to let blood, to build, to go to sea, the fortune of children, the interpretation of dreams, with other like important particulars, from the day of the moon's age.<sup>2</sup> In the principal letter the author is represented in a studious posture. The manuscript, having [the usual] Saxon letters intermixed, begins thus :

He that wol herkyn of wit  
That ys witnest in holy wryt,  
Lyftenyth to me a stonde,  
Of a story y schal þow telle,  
What tyme ys good to byen and to sylle,  
In bok as hyt ys y-fownde.

The reader who is curious to know the state of quackery, astrology, fortune-telling, midwifery, and other occult sciences about the year 1420, may consult the works of one John Crophill, who practised in Suffolk.<sup>3</sup> This *cunning-man* was likewise a poet, and has left in the same manuscript some poetry spoken at an entertainment of *Frere Thomas* and five ladies of quality, whose names are mentioned, at which two great bowls or goblets, called *Mercy* and *Charity*, were briskly circulated.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have an edition printed by John Waley, without date, 4to. In the prologue it is said, "This book was first corruptly printed in France, and after that at the cost and charges of Richard Pynson, newly translated and reprinted, although not so faithfully as the original copy required," &c. [See Herbert's *Ames*, i. 210-12.]

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Harl. 2320. 3, fol. 31.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Harl. 1735. 4to. 3 *seq.* [See fol. 29. 36.]

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 48.

Among other authors, *Cathon the great clarke*,<sup>1</sup> *Solomon*, *Ptolomeus the prince of astronomy*, and *Aristotle's Epistle to Alexander*, are quoted [in this calendar].<sup>2</sup> Every month is introduced respectively speaking, in a stanza of *balad royal*, its own panegyric. This is the speech of May :<sup>3</sup>

Of all monthes in the yeare I am kinge,  
Flourishing in beauty excellently ;  
For, in my time, in vertue is all thinge,  
Fieldes and medes sprede most beautioufly,  
And birdes singe with sweete harmony ;  
Rejoyfing lovers with hot love endewed,  
With fragrant flowers all about renewed.

In the theological part, the terrors and certainty of death are described by the introduction of Death, seated on the pale horse of the Apocalypse, and speaking thus :<sup>4</sup>

Upon this horse blacke and hideous  
Death I am, that fiercely doth fitte :  
There is no fairenesse, but sight tedious,  
All gay colours I do hitte.  
My horse runneth by dales and hilles,  
And many he smiteth dead and killes.  
In my trap I take some by every way,  
By towns [and] castles I take my rent.  
I will not respite one an houre of a daye,  
Before me they must needes be present.  
I flea all with my mortall knife,  
And of duety I take the life.  
Hell knoweth well my killing,  
I sleepe never, but wake and warke ;  
It followeth me ever running,  
With my darte I flea weake and starke :  
A great number it hath of me,  
Paradyse hath not the fourth parte, &c.

In the eighth chapter of our calendar are described the seven visions, or the punishments in hell of the seven deadly sins, which Lazarus saw between his death and resurrection. These punishments are imagined with great strength of fancy, and accompanied with wooden cuts<sup>5</sup> boldly touched, and which the printer probably procured from some German engraver in the infancy of the art.<sup>7</sup> The proud are bound by hooks of iron to vast wheels, like mills, placed between craggy precipices, which are incessantly whirling with the most violent impetuosity, and sound like thunder. The envious are

<sup>1</sup> Epilogue.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cap. xix. [Mr. Ashby asks, how can a black and a pale horse be one and the same? Groseley and Comines both make the same mistake, owing to the likeness of *blanc* and *black*. MS. note.—*Park*. May not a horse be black and pale too?]

<sup>5</sup> That is, hell.

<sup>6</sup> [Herbert remarks here, that W. de Worde's edition being but a small quarto, could not admit of the more elegant drawings to the folio edition in 1503, which were exactly copied in 1656.—*Park*. But the cuts described here by *Park*, as in the folio of 1656, were also in those of 1556, 1559, &c.]

<sup>7</sup> Compare the torments of Dante's Hell. *Inf. Cant. v. vi. seq.*

plunged into a lake half frozen, from which as they attempt to emerge for ease, their naked limbs are instantly smitten with a blast of such intolerable keenness, that they are compelled to dive again into the lake. To the wrathful is assigned a gloomy cavern, in which their bodies are butchered, and their limbs mangled, by demons with various weapons. The slothful are tormented in a horrible hall dark and tenebrous, swarming with innumerable flying serpents of various shapes and sizes, which sting to the heart. This, I think, is the hell of the Gothic Edda. The covetous are dipped in caldrons filled with boiling metals. The gluttonous are placed in a vale near a loathsome pool, abounding with venomous creatures, on whose banks tables are spread, from which they are perpetually crammed with toads by devils. Concupiscence is punished in a field full of immense pits or wells, overflowing with fire and sulphur. This visionary scene of the infernal punishments seems to be borrowed from a legend related by Matthew Paris, under the reign of King John: in which the soul of one Turkill, a native of Tidstede in Essex, is conveyed by St. Julian from his body, when laid asleep, into hell and heaven. In hell he has a sight of the torments of the damned, which are presented under the form and name of the infernal pageants, and greatly resemble the fictions I have just described. Among the tormented is a knight, who had passed his life in shedding much innocent blood at tilts and tournaments. He is introduced, completely armed on horseback, and couches his lance against the demon, who is commissioned to seize and to drag him to his eternal destiny. There is likewise a priest who never said mass, and a baron of the exchequer who took bribes. Turkill is then conducted into the mansions of the blessed, which are painted with strong oriental colouring: and in Paradise, a garden replenished with the most delicious fruits and the most exquisite variety of trees, plants and flowers, he sees Adam, a personage of gigantic proportion but the most beautiful symmetry, reclining on the side of a fountain which sent forth four streams of different water and colour, and under the shade of a tree of immense size and height, laden with fruits of every kind, and breathing the richest odours. Afterwards St. Julian conveys the soul of Turkill back to his body; and when awakened, he relates this vision to his parish priest.<sup>1</sup> There is a story of a similar cast in Bede,<sup>2</sup> which I have mentioned before.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. Paris. *Hist.* p. 206, *seq.* Edit. Tig. Much the same sort of fable is related, *ibid.* p. 178, *seq.* There is an old poem on this subject called *Owayne Miles*, MSS. Cott. Calig. A. 12, f. 90. [Another copy of *Owein Miles* is in the Auchinleck MS., and has been printed by Laing, 1837. See also the well-known *Visions of Tundale*, which involve a similar superstition. An English translation is in the Auchinleck MS. and has been (not very carefully) edited by Turnbull. Mr. Wright's monograph on *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, 1842, should also be consulted. Warton himself says:] See also the legend of St. Patrick's cave, Matt. Paris, p. 84; and MSS. Harl. 2385. 82. *De quodam ducto-videre penas Inferni*, fol. 56, b.

<sup>2</sup> See [*supra*, vol. i p. 203]. The Dead Man's Song there mentioned seems to be more immediately taken from this fiction as it stands in our *Shepherd's Kalender*. It is entitled, *The Dead Man's Song*, whose dwelling was near Basinghall in

As the ideas of magnificence and elegance were enlarged, the public pageants of this period were much improved: and (beginning now to be celebrated with new splendour) received among other advantages the addition of *speaking personages*. These spectacles, thus furnished with speakers characteristically habited, and accompanied with proper scenery, co-operated with the *Mysteries*, of whose nature they partook at first, in introducing the drama. It was customary to prepare these shows at the reception of a prince, or any other solemnity of a similar kind; and they were presented on moveable theatres or occasional stages, erected in the streets. The speeches were in verse; and as the procession moved forward the speakers, who constantly bore some allusion to the ceremony, either conversed together in the form of a dialogue, or addressed the noble person whose presence occasioned the celebrity. Speakers seem to have been admitted into our pageants about the reign of Henry VI.

In the year 1432, when Henry VI., after his coronation at Paris, made a triumphal entry into London, many stanzas, very probably written by Lydgate, were addressed to his majesty, amidst a series of the most splendid allegorical spectacles, by a giant representing religious fortitude, Enoch and Eli, the holy Trinity, two Judges and eight "Serjeants of the coife, dame Clennesse," Mercy, Truth, and other personages of a like nature.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1456, when Margaret, wife of Henry VI., with her little son Edward, came to Coventry on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, she was received with the presentation of pageants, in one of which Edward the Confessor, Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Margaret, each speak to the queen and the prince in verse.<sup>3</sup> In the next reign, in the year 1474, another Prince Edward, son of

London. Wood's *Ballads* [and other copies exist in the various collections.] It begins thus:

"Sore sicke, dear friends, long tyme I was,  
And weakly laid in bed," &c.

These highly painted infernal punishments and joys of Paradise are not the invention of the author of the *Kalendar*. They are taken both from M. Paris and from Henry of Saltry's Description of St. Patrick's *Purgatory*, written in 1140, and printed by Messingham in his *Florilegium Insule Sanctorum*, &c. Paris, 1624, fol. cap. vi. &c. p. 101. See *Bibl. Bodl. MSS.* 550. [See *infra*, p. 128.] Messingham has connected the two accounts of M. Paris and H. de Saltry with some interpolations of his own. This adventure appears in various MSS. No subject could have better suited the devotion and the credulity of the dark ages.

<sup>2</sup> Fabyan, *ubi sup.* fol. 382, *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Leet-book of the city of Coventry. MS. fol. 168. Stow says that at the reception of this queen in London in the year 1445, several pageants were exhibited at Paul's-gate, with verses written by Lydgate, on the following lemmata. "Ingredimini et replete terram. Non amplius irascar super terram. Madam Grace chancellor de dieu. Five wise and five foolish virgins. Of saint Margaret," &c. *Chronicle*, pag. 385, edit. Howes. I know not whether these poems were spoken, or only affixed to the pageants. Fabyan says that in those pageants there was "resemblance of dyvise olde hytories." I suppose tapestry. *Cron.* tom. ii. fol. 398, edit. 1533. See the ceremonies at the coronation of Henry VI. in 1430. Fab. *ibid.* fol. 378.

Edward IV., visited Coventry, and was honoured with the same species of show: he was first welcomed in an octave stanza by Edward the Confessor, and afterwards addressed by St. George, completely armed: a king's daughter holding a lamb, and supplicating his assistance to protect her from a terrible dragon, the lady's father and mother standing in a tower above, the conduit on which the champion was placed "renning wine in four places, and minstrelcy of organ playing."<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly the Franciscan Friars of Coventry, whose sacred interludes, presented on Corpus Christi day in that city and at other places, make so conspicuous a figure in the history of the English drama, were employed in the management of these devices; and that the Coventry men were famous for the arts of exhibition, appears from the share they took in the gallant entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth Castle, before whom they played their old storial show. The friars themselves were [originally] the actors. But this practice being productive of some enormities, and the laity growing as wise as the clergy, at least as well qualified to act plays, there was an injunction in the *Mexican Council*, ratified at Rome in the year 1589, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the Mysteries, even on Corpus Christi Day. "Neque in Comœdiis personam agant, etiam in festo Corporis Christi."<sup>2</sup>

At length personages of another cast were added; and this species of spectacle, about the period with which we are concerned, was enlivened by the admission of new characters, drawn either from profane history or from profane allegory, in the application of which some degree of learning and invention appeared. Profane allegory, however, had been applied in pageants somewhat earlier. In the pageants above mentioned, presented to Henry VI., the seven liberal sciences personified are introduced in a "tabernacle of curious worke," from which their queen, "dame Sapience," speaks verses. At entering the city she is met and saluted in metre by three ladies "richly cladde in golde and filkes," with coronets, who suddenly issue from a stately tower hung with the most splendid arras. These are the dames: Nature, Grace, and Fortune.<sup>3</sup> But this is a rare instance so early.

I have observed in a former work, and it is a topic which will again be considered in its proper place, that the frequent and familiar use of allegoric personifications in the public pageants—I mean the general use of them—greatly contributed to form the school of Spenser.<sup>4</sup> But moreover, from what is here said, it seems probable that the Pageants, which being shown on civil occasions, derived great part of their decorations and actors from historical fact, and consequently made profane characters the subject of public exhibition,

<sup>1</sup> Fab. *ib.* fol. 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Sacrofanct. Concil.* fol. per Labb. tom. xv. p. 1268, edit. 1672.

<sup>3</sup> Fabyan, *ut sup.* fol. 382, *seq.* [Mr. Collier seems to differ from Warton here, and to consider his account of the origin of the Moralities incorrect. *Hist. of Dram. Poet.* iii. 260-1.]

<sup>4</sup> See *Obs. Fairy Queen*, ii. 90.

dictated ideas of a regular drama much sooner than the Mysteries, which being confined to Scripture stories, or rather the legendary miracles of sainted martyrs, and the no less ideal personifications of the Christian virtues, were not calculated to make so quick and easy a transition to the representations of real life and rational action.

In the year 1501, when the Princess Catharine of Spain came to London to be married to Prince Arthur, her procession through the city was very magnificent. The pageants, in which the principal actors or speakers were not only God the Father, St. Catharine, and St. Ursula, but King Alphonso the astronomer and an ancestor of the princess, a Senator, an Angel, Job, Boethius, Nobility, and Virtue, were numerous, and superbly furnished. These personages sustained a sort of action, at least of dialogue. The lady was compared to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus; and Alphonso, from his skill in the stars, was introduced to be the fortune-teller of the match.<sup>1</sup> These machineries were contrived and directed by an ecclesiastic of great eminence, Bishop Fox who, says Bacon, "was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works and a good master of ceremonies, and anything else that was fit for the active part belonging to the service of court or state of a great king." It is probable that this prelate's dexterity and address in the conduct of a court raree show procured him more interest than the gravity of his counsels and the depth of his political knowledge; at least his employment in this business presents a striking picture of the importance of those popular talents which, even in an age of blind devotion and in the reign of a superstitious monarch, were instrumental in paving the way to the most opulent dignities of the church. "Whosoever," adds the same penetrating historian, "had these toys in compiling, they were not altogether pedantical."<sup>2</sup> About the year 1487, Henry VII. went a progress into the north, and at every place of distinction was received with a pageant, in which he was saluted in a poetical oration not always religious, as at York by Ebranck, a British king and the founder of the city, as well as by the Holy Virgin and King David; at Worcester by Henry VI. his uncle; at Hereford by St. George and King Ethelbert, at entering the cathedral there; at Bristol, by King Bremmuis, Prudence, and Justice. The two latter characters were personated by young girls.<sup>3</sup>

In the mean time it is to be granted, that profane characters were personated in our pageants before the close of the fourteenth century. Stow relates that in the year 1377, for the entertainment of the young Prince Richard, son of Edward the Black Prince, one hundred and thirty citizens rode disguised from Newgate to Kennington where the court resided, attended by an innumerable multitude of waxen torches and various instruments of music, in the

<sup>1</sup> Chron. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Bacon's *Henry the Seventh* (Compl. Hist. Eng. vol. i. p. 628).

<sup>3</sup> From a MS. in the Cotton library, printed in Leland's *Collectanea ad calc.* vol. iii. p. 185.

evening of the Sunday preceding Candlemas-day. In the first rank were forty-eight, habited like esquires, with visors, and in the second the same number, in the character of knights. "Then followed one richly arrayed like an Emperor, and after him, at some distance, one stately-tyred like a Pope, whom followed twenty-four Cardinals, and after them eyght or tenne with blacke visors not amiable, as if they had been Legates from some forrain princes." But this parade was nothing more than a dumb show, unaccompanied by any kind of interlocution. This appears from what follows. For our chronicler adds that, when they entered the hall of the palace, they were met by the prince, the queen, and the lords, "whom the said mummers did salute, *shewing by a pair of dice their desire to play with the prince,*" which they managed with so much complaisance and skill, that the prince won of them a bowl, a cup, and a ring of gold, and the queen and lords, each a ring of gold. Afterwards, having been feasted with a sumptuous banquet, they had the honour of dancing with the young prince and the nobility; and so the ceremony was concluded.<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris informs us that at the magnificent marriage of Henry III. with Eleanor of Provence in 1236 certain strange pageants and wonderful devices were displayed in the city of London; and that the number of *Histriones* on this occasion was infinite.<sup>2</sup> But the word *histrion*, in the Latin writers of the barbarous ages, generally comprehends the numerous tribe of mimics, jugglers, dancers, tumblers, musicians, minstrels, and the like public practitioners of the recreative arts, with which those ages abounded: nor do I recollect a single instance in which it precisely bears the restrained modern interpretation.

The most splendid spectacle of this sort which occurs in history, at least so early as the fourteenth century, is described by Froissart, who was one of the spectators. It was one of the shows at the magnificent entrance of Queen Isabel into Paris in 1389. The story is from the Crusade against Saladin. I will give the passage: "Than after, under the mynster of the Trinite, in the strete,

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Surv. Lond.* p. 71, edit. 1599. It will perhaps be said, that this show was not properly a pageant but a mummary. But these are frivolous distinctions: and, taken in a general view, this account preserves a curious specimen of early personation, and proves at least that the practice was not then in its infancy.

<sup>2</sup> I will cite the passage more at large, and in the words of the original. "Con-venerunt autem vocata ad convivium nuptiale tanta nobilium multitudo utriusque sexus, tanta religiosorum numerositas, tanta plebium populositatis, tanta histrionum *Varietas*, quod vix eos civitas Londoniarum sinu suo capaci comprehenderet. Ornata est igitur civitas tota olivaceis, et vexillis, coronis, et palliis, cereis et lampadibus, et quibusdam *prodigiis ingenius et portentis,*" &c. *Hist.* p. 406, edit. 1589, *sub* Henrico III. Here, by the way, the expression "*Varietas* histrionum" plainly implies the comprehensive and general meaning of the word *histrion*; and the multifarious performances of that order of men. ["Among the regulations under A. D. 1258, we meet with the following remarkable expression: 'Histrionibus potest dari cibus, quia pauperes sunt, non quia histriones; et eorum ludi non videantur, vel audiantur, vel permittantur fieri coram Abbate et Monachis.' Here the words *histriones* and *ludi* would seem distinctly to point out the nature of the performance."—*Collier.*]

there was a stage, and therupon a castell. And along on the stage there was ordeyned the Passe of Kyng Salhadyn, and all their dedes in Perfonages: the cristen men on the one parte, and the Sarazins on the other parte. And there was, in Perfonages, all the lordes of name that of olde tyme hadde ben armed, and had done any feates of armes at the Passe of Salhadyne, and were armed with suche armure as they than used. And thanne, a lyttel above them, there was in Perfonages the Frenche kyng and the twelve Peeres of Fraunce armed, with the blason of their armes. Andwhan the Frenche quenes lytter was come before this stage, she rested there a season. Thenne the Perfonages on the stage of Kyng Rychard departed fro his company, and wente to the Frenche kyng, and demaunded lycence to go and assaile the Sarazins; and the kyng gave hym [them] leave. Thanne kyng Rycharde retourned to his twelve companions. Thanne they all sette them in order, and incontynente wente and assailed Salhadyne and the Sarazins. Then in sporte there seemed a great bataile, and it endured a good space. This pageaunt was well regarded."<sup>1</sup> By the two kings, he means Philip of France and our Richard I. who were jointly engaged in this expedition. It is observable, that the superiority is here given to the King of France.

I cannot omit the opportunity of adding a striking instance of the extraordinary freedom of speech, permitted to the minstrels at the most solemn celebrities. About 1250, Henry III. passing some time in France, held a most magnificent feast in the great hall of the knights-templars at Paris: at which, beside his own suite, were present the kings of France and Navarre, and all the nobility of France. The walls of the hall were hung all over with shields, among which was that of our Richard I. Just before the feast began, a jocolator or minstrel accosted King Henry thus: "My lord, why did you invite so many Frenchmen to feast with you in this hall? Behold, there is the shield of Richard, the magnanimous king of England!—All the Frenchmen present will eat their dinner in fear and trembling!"<sup>2</sup> Whether this was a preconcerted compliment, previously suggested by the King of France, or not, it is equally a proof of the familiarity with which the minstrels were allowed to address the most eminent personages.

There is a passage in John of Salisbury much to our purpose, which I am obliged to give in Latin.<sup>3</sup> Here Gignadii, a word unexplained

<sup>1</sup> *Chron.* tom. ii. c. 56, fol. clxxii. col. i. Lord Berners's transl. 1523.

<sup>2</sup> *Matt. Paris.* p. 871, *sub* Henr. III. edit. 1589.

<sup>3</sup> "At eam [desidiā] nostris prorogant histriones. Admissa sunt ergo Spectacula, et infinita lenocinia vanitatis.—Hinc mimi, salii vel saliares, balatrones, emiliani, gladiatores, palefritæ, gignadii, prestigiatores malefici quoque multi, et tota jocolatorum scena procedit. Quorum adeo error invaluit, ut a præclaris domibus non arceantur etiam illi, qui obscænis partibus corporis, oculis omnium eam ingerunt turpitudinem, quam erubescet videre vel cynicus. Quodque magis mirere, nec tunc ejiciuntur, quando tumultuantes inferius crebro sonitu aerem sedant, et turpiter inclusum turpius produnt. Veruntamen quid in singulis possit aut deceat, animus

by Du Cange, signifies wrestlers or the performers of athletic exercises: for *gignasium* was used for *gymnasium* in the barbarous Latinity. By *apologos*, we are perhaps to understand an allegorical story or fable, such as were common in the Provençal poetry, and by *narrationes*, tales of chivalry: both which were recited at festivals by these hisfriones. *Speſtacula* I need not explain: but here seems to be pointed out the whole system of ancient exhibition or entertainment. I must add another pertinent passage from this writer, whom the reader will recollect to have flourished about the year 1140.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to Apologi, mentioned below, I have farther to observe that the Latin metrical apologues of the dark ages are probably translations from the Provençal poetry. Of this kind is Wircker's *Speculum Stultorum*, or Burnell's *Aſi* and the *Aſinus Pœnitentiarius*, in which an aſs, wolf and fox are introduced, confessing their sins, &c.<sup>2</sup> In the British Museum there is an ancient thin folio volume on vellum, containing upwards of two hundred short moral tales in Latin prose, which I also class under the apologi here mentioned by John of Salisbury. Some are legendary, others romantic, and others allegorical. Many of them I believe to be translations from the Provençal poetry. Several of the *Æſopian* fables are intermixed. In this collection is Parnell's *Hermit*,<sup>3</sup> and a tale in Fontaine of the king's son who never saw a woman.<sup>4</sup> The stories seem to have been collected by an Englishman, at least in England, for there is the tale of one Godfrey, a priest of Suffex.<sup>5</sup> The story of Parnell's *Hermit* is in *Gesta Romanorum*.<sup>6</sup>

As our thoughts are here incidentally turned to the rudiments of the English stage, I must not omit an anecdote with regard to the mode of playing the Mysteries at this period, which yet is perhaps of much higher antiquity. In 1487, while Henry VII. kept his residence at the castle at Winchester, on occasion of the birth of Prince Arthur, on a Sunday during the time of dinner he was entertained with a religious drama called *Chriſti Deſcenſus ad Inferos*, or *Chriſt's deſcent into hell*.<sup>7</sup> It was represented by the Pueri Eleemoſynarii or choir-boys of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory, two large monasteries at Winchester. This is the only proof I have ever seen of choir-boys acting in the old Mysteries, nor do I recollect any other instance of a royal dinner, even on a festival, accom-

---

fapientis advertit, nec apologos refugit, aut narrationes, aut quæcunque ſpectacula, dum virtutis," &c. *Polyerat.* lib. i. cap. viii. p. 28, edit. 1595.

<sup>1</sup> "Non facile tamen crediderim ad hoc quemquam impelli poſſe litteratorem, ut hiſtrionem profiteatur.—Gestus ſiquidem exprimunt, rerum utilitate deducta." *Ibid.* lib. viii. cap. xii. p. 514. Compare *Fragm. Antiquitatis*, 1815, p. 79, [where, however, I can diſcover nothing to the purpoſe.]

<sup>2</sup> See Matt. Flacius, *Catal. Teſt. Verit.* p. 903, edit. 1556.

<sup>3</sup> De Angelo et Heremita Peregrinum occiſum ſepelientibus, *Rubr.* 32, fol. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Rubr.* 8, fol. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Rubr.* 40, fol. 8. MSS. Harl. 463.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. Harl. 2270, ch. lxxxx. [Several of theſe are included in Mr. Wright's *Latin Stories, A Contribution to the Hiſtory of Fiction During the Middle Ages*, 1842.]

<sup>7</sup> *Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton.* MS. ut ſupr.

panied by this species of diversion.<sup>1</sup> The story of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Christ, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptist, was not uncommon in the ancient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the *Ludus Paschalis*, or *Easter Play*.<sup>2</sup> It occurs in the Coventry plays acted on Corpus Christi day,<sup>3</sup> and in the Whitfun-plays at Chester, where it is called the *Harrowing of Hell*.<sup>4</sup> The representation is Christ entering hell triumphantly, delivering our first parents and the most sacred characters of the Old and New Testaments from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into Paradise.<sup>5</sup> There is an ancient dramatic poem on the same subject among the Harleian MSS., containing our Saviour's dialogues in hell with Sathanas, the Janitor or porter of hell, Adam, Eve, Habraham, David, Johan Baptist, and Moyfes. It begins,

Alle herkneþ to me nou :  
A strif wolle y tellen ou  
Of Jhesu ant of Sathan  
þo Jhesu wes to helle y-gan.<sup>6</sup>

The composers of the *Mysteries* did not think the plain and probable events of the New Testament sufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be surprised. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The subject of the *Mysteries* just mentioned was borrowed from the Gospel of Nicodemus:<sup>7</sup> a book which, together with the numerous

<sup>1</sup> Except, that on the first Sunday of the magnificent marriage of James of Scotland with the Princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry VII. celebrated at Edinburgh with high splendour, "after dynnar a Moralite was played by the said Master Inglyshe and hys companyons in the presence of the kyng and qwene." On one of the preceding days, "After soupper the kyng and qwene beyng togader in hyr grett chamber, John Inglysh and his companyons *plaid*." This was in 1503. Leland, *Coll.* iii. pp. 300, 299. *Append.* edit. 1770.

<sup>2</sup> The Italians pretend that they have a *Ludus Paschalis* as old as the twelfth century. *Teatro Italiano*, 1723, tom. i. See *Istoria del Teatro*, &c. prefixed, p. ii.

<sup>3</sup> [*Ludus Coventrie*, 1841, p. 329.] "Nunc dormiunt milites, et veniet anima Christi de inferno cum Adam et Eva, Abraham, Joh. Baptiste, et aliis."

<sup>4</sup> [*Chester Mysteries*, ed. Wright, ii. 71. This was the Cooks' Play.]

<sup>5</sup> ["This legend, so very popular in the middle ages, was taken . . . from the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus. It enters into the French Mystery of the Resurrection. It forms a separate play in the Townley series (under the title of *Extrañio Animarum ab Inferno*)."—Wright.]

<sup>6</sup> [Copies are in Harl. MS. 2258, Digby MS. 86, and the Auchinleck MS. The last was printed with *Owain Miles*, &c. 1837, 8vo., but it is incomplete. The Digby and Harl. MSS. have also been published, the latter by Mr. Halliwell, 1840, 8vo.] There is a poem on this subject, MS. Bodl. 1687 :

"How Jesu Crist harowed helle  
Of hardi gestes ich wille telle."

[See *supr.* vol. i.]

<sup>7</sup> In Latin. A Saxon translation, from a MS. at Cambridge, coeval with the Conquest, was printed by Thwaites, 1699. In an English translation [printed in 1509] by Wynkyn de Worde, the prologue says, "Nichodemus, which was a worthy

apocryphal narratives, containing infinite innovations of the evangelical history, and forged at Constantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endless variety of legends concerning the life of Christ and his apostles;<sup>1</sup> and which, in the barbarous ages, was better esteemed than the genuine Gospel, on account of its improbabilities and absurdities.

But whatever was the source of these exhibitions, they were thought to contribute so much to the information and instruction of the people on the most important subjects of religion, that one of the Popes granted a pardon of one thousand days to every person who resorted peaceably to the plays performed in the Whitsun week at Chester, beginning with the creation and ending with the general judgment; and this indulgence was seconded by the bishop of the diocese, who granted forty days of pardon: the pope at the same time denouncing the sentence of damnation on all those incorrigible sinners, who presumed to disturb or interrupt the due celebration of these pious sports.<sup>2</sup> It is certain that they had their use, not only in teaching the great truths of Scripture to men who could not read the Bible, but in abolishing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tournament, which had so long prevailed as the sole species of

---

prynce, dydde wryte thys bleffyd storye in Hebrewe. And Theodosius, the emperour, dyde it translate out of Hebrewe into Latin, and byshoppe Turpyn dyde translate it out of Latin into Frenshe." See a very old French version, MSS. Harl. 2253, 3, fol. 33, b. There is a translation into English verse, about the fourteenth century. MSS. Harl. 4196, 1, fol. 206. See also, 149, 5, fol. 254, b. And MSS. Coll. Sion. 17. The title of the original is, *Nicodemi Discipuli de Jesu Christi passione et resurrectione Evangelium*. Sometimes it is entitled *Gesta Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi*. Our lord's Descent into hell is by far the best invented part of the work. Edit. apud *Orthodox Patr.* Basil. 1569, pag. 653, seq. The old Latin title to the pageant of this story in the Chester plays is: *De Descensu ad inferna, et de his que ibidem fiebant secundum Evangelium Nicodemi*, [p. 71, ut *supr.*] Hence the first line in the old interlude, called *Hyckescorner* [circa 1510], is illustrated.

"Now Jesu the gentyll that brought Adam from hell."

There is a Greek homily on St. John's Descent into hell, by Eusebius Alexandrinus. They had a notion that St. John was our Saviour's precursor, not only in this world, but in Hades. See *Allat. de libr. eccles. Græcor.* p. 303, seq. Compare the Legend of Nicodemus, Christ's descent into hell, Pilate's exile, &c. MSS. Bodl. B. 5, 2021, 4, seq.

<sup>1</sup> In the MS. Register of St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester, it is recorded that Leofric, bishop of [Devonshire and Cornwall] about 1150, gave to the convent a book called *Gesta Beatissimi Apostoli Petri cum Glosa*. This is probably one of these commentitious histories. By the way, the same Leofric was a great benefactor in books to his church at Exeter. Among others, he gave *Boetii Liber Anglicus* and *Magnus Liber Anglicus omnino metricè descriptus*. What was this translation of Boethius, I know not, unless it is Alfred's. The other piece, the *great book of English* [was no doubt the celebrated *Codex Exoniensis*, edited by Thorpe in 1842. See Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit. A.-S. period*, 38-9.] The grant is in Saxon, and, if not genuine, must be of high antiquity. Dugdale's *Monast.* tom. i. p. 222. I have given Dugdale's Latin translation. The Saxon words are, "Boetier boc on englisc. — And 1 mycel englisc boc be gehwilem hingum on leod þran gehwihet." The Saxon text speaks neither of prose nor verse. [Dugdale has confounded leor, populus, with leob, carmen.—*Price*.]

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Harl. 2124, 2013.

popular amusement. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they softened the manners of the people, by diverting the public attention to spectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than those of bodily strength and savage valour.

[This seems a more suitable place than was originally selected for mentioning a few of the miscellaneous poetical compositions of the reign of Henry VII. They may as well be taken in the order in which they have been hitherto thrown together in a foot note. A translation of the *Castle of Labour* was made from the French of Pierre Gringoire by Alexander Barclay, and printed by Pynson without date, and by W. de Worde in 1506. Which of these was the prior is uncertain: that from the press of Pynson has some good woodcuts. The colophon says in both cases: "Thus endeth the castell of labour wherein is rycheffe vertue and honour."

It is of some length, and an allegory in which Lady Reason conquers Despair, Poverty, and other evils, which attend a poor man lately married. The Prologue begins, "Ye mortal people that desire to obtayne." The poem begins, "In musyng an evenyng with me was none." It is in seven-lined stanzas. The French poem by [Pierre Gringoire was first printed in 1499, and entitled *Le Chateau de Labour*. It became popular, and was frequently republished.] Our highest efforts of poetry at this period were translations from the French. This piece of Gringoire] was also translated into English rhymes by one Dane or dominus James: the same perhaps who made the version of the *Orchard of Syon*: "Prynted at the cost of master Richard Sutton esquire," Stewarde of the monasterie of Syon, by Wynkyn de Worde, 1529, folio, with fine Gothic cuts in wood. This Master Richard Sutton, steward of the opulent monastery of Sion near London, was one of the founders of Brasenose college in Oxford, [and perhaps father of Thomas Sutton, founder of the Charter-House.]

In 1509, W. de Worde printed *The Parlyament of Deuylls*; it was republished by Richard Fakes and Julian Notary, in both cases without date. There is an early MS. of it at Lambeth, which has been printed for the Early English Text Society. De Worde's edition commences: "As Mary was great with Gabriel." The poem occupies eight quarto leaves in the old printed copies.

Of the *Hystorie of Jacob and his Twelve Sones*, in verse, there have been at least four early impressions, all without date, so far as can be ascertained. The first was from the press of W. de Worde about 1504, and the latest from that of John Allde about 1570. The edition by Allde has been reprinted. It would not be very surprising, perhaps, to find even a later edition than that issued by John Allde: for the book is mentioned in the inventory of the stock of John Foster, bookseller of York, so late as 1616, and as a rule Foster appears to have confined himself to recent publications.<sup>1</sup> It is a dogrel poem in seven-line stanzas, on fourteen leaves, and begins:

<sup>1</sup> [Davies, *Memoir of the York Press*, 1868.]

All yong and olde that list for to here  
 Of deeds doon in old time  
 By the holy Patriarks that there were  
 Which descendid of olde Adams line,  
 Often the sun of grace on them did shine,  
 For to read this Story it wil doo you much good,  
 Of Abram's Sonne, that was sith Noes flood.

Vnto one Rebecca this Isaac was maried,  
 Of age (the Bible saith) he was .xl. year,  
 Indeed his maidenhed so long with him taried,  
 And yet in long time his wife no child did bere,  
 Then to our Lord God he made his prayer  
 For to send him frute this world to multiply,  
 And then his wife conceived, as Scriptur doth specifie.

About the same time W. de Worde issued a *Lytel Treatyse called the Dysputacyon, or Complaynte of the Herte thorughe perced with the lokynge of the Eye*, a translation of *Le Debat du Cuer et de l'Oeil*, which is printed from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Imperiale in the Appendices to Mr. Wright's edition of the Poems ascribed to Walter Mapes, or from the Latin *Disputatio inter cor et Oculum*, of which there is a copy among the Digby MSS. This seems to be a kindred composition to the *Debat du Corps et de l'Ame* attached to *La Grande Danse Machabre*, 1486. The French commences :

En May la premiere sepmaine —

Of the English version, the first stanza runs thus :

In the fyrst weke of the season of Maye,  
 Whan that the wodes be covered in grene,  
 In which the nyghtyngale lyst for to playe  
 To shewe his voys among the thornes kene,  
 Them to rejoyce which loves servaunts bene,  
 Which fro all comforte thynke them fast behynd;  
 My pleasyr was, as it was after sene,  
 For my disport to chafe the harte and hynde.

A highly curious production from Pynson's press in 1520 was *The lyfe of Joseph of Armathia*, which is not in the Golden Legend, and which is a poetical narrative of Joseph of Arimathea's adventures in Somersethire, his Travels about Glastonbury, and his ascent of what is called in the poem (as it is now) *Weary-all Hill*. The story is in the octave stanza, and is contained on ten leaves. But of this tract there are earlier copies in MS. Another biography, but of a different stamp, is the *Lyfe of Petronylla*, printed by Pynson without date. It is also in verse, and begins thus on the second of the four leaves, of which it consists :

The parsite lyfe to put in remembraunce  
 Of a virgyn moost gracious and entere  
 Which in all vertu had foveryn suffysaunce,  
 Called Petronilla petyrs doughter dere.  
 Benygne of porte, humble of face and chere,  
 All other maydyns excelled in fairenesse,  
 And as her legende playnly doth us lere,  
 Though she were fayre more commended for mekenesse.

The *A. B. C. of Aristotle*<sup>1</sup> consists of proverbial verses in the alliterative manner, viz.

Woso wil be wise and worship desireth,  
Lett him lerne one letter, and loke on another, &c.

There are also some satirical ballads written by Frere Michael Kildare, chiefly on the Religious orders, Saints, the White Friars of Drogheda, the vanity of riches, &c. &c. A divine poem on death, &c.<sup>2</sup> He has left a Latin poem in rhyme on the abbot and prior of Gloucester,<sup>3</sup> and burlesque pieces on some of the divine offices.<sup>4</sup> Hither we may also refer a few pieces written by one Whyting, not mentioned in Tanner.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly many other poems of this period both printed and MSS. have escaped my enquiries. Among Rawlinson's MSS. there is a poem of considerable length on the antiquity of the Stanley family, beginning thus,

I entende with true reporte to praise  
The valiaunte actes of the foute Standelais,  
From whence they came, &c.

It comes down no lower than Thomas Earl of Derby, who was executed in the reign of Henry VII. This induced me to think at first, that the piece was written about that time. But the writer mentions Henry VIII. and the suppression of monasteries. [To these compositions may be added *The most pleasant Song of Lady Bessy*, an important historical poem upon the proceedings of Elizabeth of York, afterwards Queen of England, from Christmas, 1484, to the Battle of Bosworth-field. Two MSS. of it are known, one Harl. Coll. 367, and the other in private hands.<sup>6</sup> It cannot be said that either of the copies is of any particular antiquity or philological value; but in a literary point of view the poem is interesting and valuable. The supposed author is Humphrey Brereton, the Lady's squire, and a dependent of the Stanleys.

We must not overlook another piece somewhat of the same nature, alleged to have been written by Robert Bostock, entitled *The Earles of Chester*, of which there is a copy among Cole's collections, and a second in the recently edited Percy MS. It is a mere biographical chronicle in stanzas, and has no pretensions to poetical merit.]

I will only add part of a Will in verse, dated 1477:<sup>7</sup>

Flethly lustes and festes,  
And furures of divers bestes,  
(A fend was hem fonde;)  
Hole clothe cast on shredys,  
And wymen with thare hye hedys,  
Have almost lost thys londe!

To the reign of Henry VI. we may also refer a poem written by

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Harl. 1304, 4, again, *ibid.* 541, 19, fol. 213. [Compare *ibid.* 913, 10, fol. 15, b. 11, fol. 15 b.]

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Harl. 913; 3, fol. 7; 4, fol. 9; 5, fol. 10; 13, fol. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 5, fol. 10.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Harl. 541, 14, fol. 207, *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> [Both are printed by Mr. Halliwell in his *Palatine Anthology*, 1850.]

<sup>7</sup> MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl. vi. fol. 176. [M. 13. Th.]

one Richard Sellyng, whose name is not in any of our biographies.<sup>1</sup> It is entitled and begins thus, "Evidens to be ware and gode covnseyle made now late by that honovrable squier Richard Sellyng :

Loo this is but a symple tragedie,  
Ne thing lyche un to hem of Lumbardye,  
Which that Storax wrote unto Pompeie,  
Sellyng maketh this in his manere,  
And to John Shirley now sent it is  
For to amende where it is amisse.

He calls himself an old man. Of this honourable squire I can give no further account. John Shirley, here mentioned, lived about the year 1440. He was a gentleman of good family, and a great traveller. He collected, and transcribed in several volumes which John Stow had seen, many pieces of Chaucer, Lydgate, and other English poets. [Among the Ashmole MSS. now in the Bodleian library], occurs : *A boke cleped the Abstracte Brevyare compyled of divers balades, roundels, virilays, tragedyes, envoys, complaints, moralities, storyes, practysed, and eke devysed and ymaged, as it sheweth here followyng, collected by John Shirley.*<sup>2</sup> In Thoresby's library was a MS. once belonging to the college of Selby, *A most pyteous cronycle of thorribil dethe of James Stewarde, late kynge of Scotys, nought long agone prisoner yn Englande yn the tymes of the kynges Henry the Fifte and Henry the Sixte, translated out of Latine into oure mothers Englishe tong bi your simple subject John Shirley.*<sup>3</sup> Also, *The boke clepyd Les bones meures translated out of French by your humble serviture John Shirley of London, MCCCCXL, comprised in v. parties. The firste partie spekith of remedie that is agaynst the sevyen deadly sins. 2. The estate of holy church. 3. Of prynces and lordes temporall. 4. Of comone people. 5. Of deth and universal dome.* Also, his Translation of the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, &c.<sup>4</sup> A preserver of Chaucer's and Lydgate's works deserved these notices. Ames, the industrious author of the *History of Printing*, had in his possession a folio volume of English Ballads in manuscript, composed or collected by one John Lucas about the year 1450.

## SECTION XXVII.

**T**HE only writer deserving the name of a poet in the reign of Henry VII. is Stephen Hawes. He was patronised by that monarch, who possessed some tincture of literature, and is said by Bacon to have confuted a Lollard in a public disputation at Canterbury.<sup>5</sup>

Hawes flourished about the clofe of the fifteenth century, and was

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Harl. f. 38, a.      <sup>2</sup> MSS. 89, ii. [But see Ritson (*Bibl. Poet.* 101).]

<sup>3</sup> [This has been printed.—F.]

<sup>4</sup> *Ducat. Leod.* p. 530. [Add. MS. Br. Mus. 5467.]

<sup>5</sup> *Life of Henry VII.* p. 628, edit. *ut sup.* One Hodgkins, a fellow of King's College in Cambridge, and vicar of Ringwood in Hants, was eminently skilled in the mathematics; and on that account Henry VII. frequently condescended to visit him at his house at Ringwood. Hatcher. *MS. Catal. Præpos. et Soc. Coll. Regal. Cant.*

a native of Suffolk.<sup>1</sup> After an academical education at Oxford, he travelled much in France, and became a complete master of the French and Italian poetry. His polite accomplishments quickly procured him an establishment in the household of the king who, struck with the liveliness of his conversation, and because he could repeat by memory most of the old English poets, especially Lydgate, made him groom of the privy chamber.<sup>2</sup> His facility in the French tongue was a qualification which might strongly recommend him to the favour of Henry VII. who was fond of studying the best French books then in vogue.<sup>3</sup>

Hawes has left many poems, which are now but imperfectly known, and scarcely remembered. These are, the *Conversion of Swearers*,<sup>4</sup> in octave stanzas, with Latin lemmata, printed in 1509 [and afterwards]. *A Joyful Meditation to all England of the Coronation of our most natural sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth* [1509]. These coronation-carols were customary. There is one by Lydgate.<sup>4</sup> *The [Comfort] of Lovers. The Example of Virtue. The Delight of the Soul. Of the Prince's Marriage. The Alphabet of Birds.* [Of the two last pieces we know nothing. Perhaps the *Alphabet of Birds* may be the *Armonye of Byrdes*, a well known poem, but not by Hawes, and by possibility the piece *Of the Prynces Marriage* may simply be a mistake by Wood for the *Joyfull Medytacyon*. Of the *Example of Virtue* W. de Worde issued two editions, one without date, but about 1512, and the other in 1530. The former possesses the following explanatory colophon: "This boke called the example of vertue was made and compyled by Stephyn Hawys one of the gromes of the moost honorable chamber of oure souerayne lorde kyng Henry the .vii. the .xix. yere of his moost noble reygne, and by hym presented to our sayd souerayne lorde chapytred and marked after this table here before sette." The latest edition of the *Conversion of Swerers* was printed by William Copland in 1551. *The Comfort of Lovers* is described as a poem on eighteen leaves from the press of Wynkyn de Worde, but we have never met with a copy.]

Hawes's capital performance is a poem entitled *The Pastime of Pleasure; or the History of Graunde Amour and La Bell Pucel: containing the knowledge of the seven Sciences, and the course of mans life in this worlde. Invented by Stephen Hawes, grome of kyng Henry the Seventh his chamber.*<sup>5</sup> It is dedicated to the kyng, and was finished at the beginning of the year 1506.

<sup>1</sup> Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Bale says, that he was called by the king, "ab interiori camera ad privatum cubiculum." Cent. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Bacon, *ut sup.* p. 637. [Several illustrations of Henry's love of books might be produced from records of the period. See *Excerpta Historica*, 1833, where selections are given from his *Privy Purse Expenses*. But he was not peculiar in this respect. Mr. Rye, of the British Museum, in a MS. note to his copy of Warton, notices an entry of a payment of £1. to Hampton of Worcester for making ballads.]

<sup>4</sup> *A Ballad presented to Henry the Sixth the day of his coronation.* Princ. "Most noble prince of crysten princes all." MSS. Ashmol. 59, ii.

<sup>5</sup> By Wynkyn de Worde, in 1517, with woodcuts. [It was reprinted in 1554 and 1555, and has been republished by the Percy Society, 1845.] See a poem called

The *Pastime of Pleasure* is almost the only effort of imagination and invention which had yet appeared in our poetry since Chaucer. This poem contains no common touches of romantic and allegoric fiction. The personifications are often happily sustained, and indicate the writer's familiarity with the Provençal school. The model of his versification and phraseology is that improved harmony of numbers, and facility of diction, with which his predecessor Lydgate adorned our octave stanza. But Hawes has added new graces to Lydgate's manner. Antony Wood, with the zeal of a true antiquary, laments that "such is the fate of poetry, that this book, which in the times of Henry VII. and VIII. was taken into the hands of all ingenious men, is now thought but worthy of a ballad-monger's stall!" The truth is, such is the good fortune of poetry, and such the improvement of taste, that much better books have become fashionable. It must indeed be acknowledged, that this poem has been unjustly neglected: and on that account an apology will be less necessary for giving the reader a circumstantial analysis of its substance and design.

*Graunde Amoure*, the hero of the poem, who speaks in his own person, is represented walking in a delicious meadow. There is something dramatic in this circumstance. Raimond Vidal de Bessaudin, a troubadour of Provence, who flourished about the year 1200, has given the following dramatic form to one of his *contes* or tales. One day, says the troubadour, Alphonfus, King of Castille, whose court was famous for good cheer, magnificence, loyalty, valour, the practice of arms and the management of horses, held a solemn assembly of minstrels and knights. When the hall was quite full, came his Queen Eleanor, covered with a veil, and disguised in a close robe bordered with silver, adorned with the blazon of a golden lion; who making obeysance, seated herself at some distance from the king. At this instant, a minstrel advancing to the king addressed him thus: "O king, emperor of valour, I come to supplicate you to give me audience." The king, under pain of disgrace, ordered that no person should interrupt the minstrel in what he should say. The minstrel had travelled from his own country to recite an adventure which had happened to a baron of Arragon, not unknown to King Alphonfus; and he now proceeds to tell no unaffecting story concerning a jealous husband. At the close, the minstrel humbly requests the king and queen to banish all jealous husbands from their dominions. The king replied, "Minstrel, your tale is pleasant and gentle, and you shall be rewarded. But to show you still further how much you have entertained me, I command that henceforth your tale shall be called *Le Jaloux Chatie*." Our trou-

---

a *Dialogue between a Lover and a Jay*, by Thomas Feylde [twice] printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 4to. Princ. Prol. "Thoughe laureate poetes in old antiquite." [Mr. Heber has enabled me to produce an allusion by Feylde to Hawes:

"Yonge Steven Hawes, whose soule God pardon  
Treated of love so clerkely and well,  
To rede his workes is myne affectyon,  
Which he compyled of *La Bell Pusell*."—*Park*.]

badour's tale is greatly enlivened by these accompaniments, and by being thrown into the mouth of a minstrel.

In the meadow, the hero discovers a path which conducts him to a glorious image, both whose hands are stretched out and pointing to two highways; one of which is the path of Contemplation, the other of Active Life, leading to the Tower of Beauty. He chooses the last-mentioned path, yet is often tempted to turn aside into a variety of bye-paths, which seemed more pleasant; but proceeding directly forward, he sees afar off another image, on whose breast is written, "This is the road to the Tower of Doctrine, he that would arrive there must avoid sloth," &c. The evening being far advanced, he sits down at the feet of the image, and falls into a profound sleep; when, towards the morning, he is suddenly awakened by the loud blast of a horn. He looks forward through a valley, and perceives a beautiful lady on a palfrey, swift as the wind, riding towards him, encircled with tongues of fire.<sup>1</sup> Her name was Fame, and with her ran two milk-white greyhounds, on whose golden collars were inscribed in diamond letters Grace and Governauce.<sup>2</sup>

Greyhounds were anciently almost as great favourites as hawks. Our forefathers reduced hunting to a science; and have left large treatises on this species of diversion, which was so connected with their state of life and manners. The most curious one I know was among the manuscripts of Mr. Farmer, of Tusmore in Oxfordshire. It was entitled, *Le Art de Venerie, le quel maistre Guillaume Twici venour le roy d'Angleterre fist en son temps per aprendre autres.* This master William Twici was grand huntsman to Edward II. In the Cotton library this book occurs in English under the names of William Twety and John Giffard, most probably a translation from the French copy, with the title of *a book of Venerie dialogue twife.*<sup>3</sup> The less ancient tract on this subject, called the *Maistre of the Game*, written for the instruction of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V., is much more common.<sup>4</sup> I believe the *maistre veneur* has been long abolished in England, but the royal falconer still remains. The latter was an officer of high dignity in the Grecian court of Constantinople, at an early period, under the style of *πρωτοειραναριος.*<sup>5</sup> Phrenzes says, that the Emperor Andronicus Palæologus the younger kept more than one thousand four hundred hawks, with almost as many men to take care of them.<sup>6</sup>

About the year 750, Winifrid or Boniface, a native of England and archbishop of Mons, acquaints Ethelbald, a king of Kent, that he has sent him one hawk, two falcons, and two shields. Hedilbert, a king of the Mercians, requests the same archbishop

<sup>1</sup> In Shakespeare, Rumour is painted full of tongues. This was from the Pageants.

<sup>2</sup> See *supr.*

<sup>3</sup> Princ. "Twety now will we begynnen." MSS. Cotton. Vespas. B. xii.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Digb. 182. Bibl. Bodl.

<sup>5</sup> Pachym. lib. i. c. 8, x. 15, Codin. cap. ii.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. i. c. 10.

Winifrid to send him two falcons which have been trained to kill cranes.<sup>1</sup> Falconry, or a right to sport with falcons, is mentioned so early as the year 986.<sup>2</sup> A charter of Kenuff, King of the Mercians, granted to the abbey of Abingdon, and dated 821, prohibits all persons carrying hawks or falcons to trespass on the lands of the monks.<sup>3</sup> Julius Firmicus, who wrote about the year 355, is the first Latin author who mentions hawking, or has even used the word falco.<sup>4</sup> Hawking is often mentioned in the capitularies of the eighth and ninth centuries. The grand fauconnier of France was an officer of great eminence. His salary was 4000 florins; he was attended by a retinue of fifty gentlemen and fifty assistant falconers, and allowed to keep three hundred hawks. He licensed every vendor of falcons in France, and received a tribute for every bird that was sold in that kingdom, even within the verge of the court. The King of France never rode out on any occasion without this officer.

An ingenious French writer insinuates, that the passion for hunting, which at this day subsists as a favourite and fashionable species of diversion in the most civilised countries of Europe, is a strong indication of our gothic origin, and is one of the savage habits, yet unreformed, of our northern ancestors. Perhaps there is too much refinement in this remark. The pleasures of the chace seem to have been implanted by nature; and under due regulation, if pursued as a matter of mere relaxation and not of employment, are by no means incompatible with the modes of polished life.

[To return: the palfrey of Fame] is Pegasus; and the burning tongues denote her office of consigning the names of illustrious personages to posterity; among which she mentions a lady of matchless accomplishments, named La Bell Pucell, who lives within a tower seated in a delightful island; but which no person can enter without surmounting many dangers. She then informs our hero that, before he engages in this enterprise, he must go to the Tower of Doctrine, in which he will see the seven sciences; and that there, in the turret or chamber of music, he will have the first sight of La Bell Pucell.

[Brunetto Latini, in his *Tesoro*, gives the following account of his own system of erudition, which may not be inapplicable here. He means to show himself a profound and universal scholar; and professes to understand the seven liberal arts, grammar, the Latin language, logic, the Decretals of Gratian, music according to Boethius and Guy Aretin, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, the ecclesiastic computation, medicine, pharmacy, surgery, necromancy, geomancy, magic, divination, and mythology, better than Ovid and Thales le Menteur: the histories of Thebes, Troy, Rome, Romulus, Cæsar, Pompey, Augustus, Nero, Vespasian, Titus who took Jerusalem, the

<sup>1</sup> See *Epistol.* Winifrid [Bonifac.] Mogunt. 1605. 1629. And in *Bibl. Patr.* tom. vi. and tom. xiii. p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Chart. Ottonis iii. Imperator. ann. 986. *apud* Ughell. *De Episcop. Januens.*

<sup>3</sup> Dugd. *Monast.* i. p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Mathes. lib. v. c. 7, vii. c. 4.

Twelve Cæsars down to Constantine: the history of Greece; and that of Alexander, who dying distributed his acquisitions among his twelve peers; the history of France, containing the transactions of Clovis, converted by St. Remi; Charles Martel, who established tenths; King Pepin, Charlemagne and Roland, and the good King Louis. To these he adds the history of England, which comprehends the arrival of Brutus in England, and his conquest of the giant Corineus, the prophecies of Merlin, the redoubted death of Arthur, the adventures of Gawaine, and the amours of Tristram and Bel Isould. Amidst this profusion of fabulous history, which our author seems to think real, the history of the Bible is introduced; this he traces from the patriarchs down to the day of judgment. At the close of the whole, he gives us some more of his fashionable accomplishments, and says that he is skilled in the plain chant, in singing to the lute, in making canzonetts, pastorals, amorous and pleasant poesies, and in dancing: that he is beloved by ecclesiastics, knights, ladies, citizens, minstrels, squires, &c.<sup>1</sup>

Fame departs, but leaves with him her two greyhounds. Graunde Amoure now arrives at the tower, or rather castle, of Doctrine framed of fine copper, and situated on a craggy rock: it shone so brightly that he could distinctly discern the form of the building; till at length, the sky being covered with clouds, he more visibly perceives its walls decorated with figures of beasts in gold, and its lofty turrets crowned with golden images. He says that the little turrets had, for weathercocks or fans, images of gold which, moving with the wind, played a tune. So, [in the poem called *Chaucer's Dream*:]

For every yate of fine golde  
A thousand fanes, aie turning,  
Entuned had, and briddes singing,  
Divers, and on each fane a paire,  
With open mouth again *here*;  
And of a fute were all the toures,

With many a small turret hie.<sup>2</sup>

Again, in the Castle of Pleasant Regard, the fans on the high towers are mentioned as a circumstance of pleasure and beauty:

The towris hie full pleasant shall ye finde,  
With phanis freshe, turning with everie winde.

And our author Hawes, again,<sup>3</sup>

Aloft the towres the golden fanes goode  
Dyde with the wynde make full sweete armony  
Them for to heare it was great melody.

Hawes here paints from the life. An excessive agglomeration of turrets, with their fans, is one of the characteristic marks of the florid mode of architecture, which was now almost at its height, as

<sup>1</sup> [See *supra*, i. 147, and *infra*, iv. 179.]

<sup>2</sup> [Morris's *Chaucer*, vol. v. p. 88, v. 76.]

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxxviii. *The Assembly of Ladies*, v. 160 [printed improperly by Urry in 1721 among Chaucer's works.]

may be seen in the old views of the palaces of Nonesuch and Richmond.

Graunde Amoure is admitted to the Tower by Countenance the portress, who leads him into a court, where he drinks water of a most transcendent fragrance from a magnificent fountain, whence flow four rivers, clearer than Nilus, Ganges, Tigris, or Euphrates.

The crusades made the eastern rivers more famous among the Europeans than any of their own. Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour of the thirteenth century, declares he had rather please his mistress than possess all the dominions which are washed by Hebrus, Meander and Tigris.<sup>1</sup> The compliment would have been equally exaggerated, if he had alluded to some of the rivers of his own country.

He next enters the hall framed of jasper, its windows crystal, and its roof overspread with a golden vine, whose grapes are represented by rubies;<sup>2</sup> the floor is paved with beryl, and the walls hung with rich tapestry, on which our hero's future expedition to the Tower of La Bell Pucell was gloriously wrought. In the eleventh book of Boccaccio's *Thesid*, after Arcite is dead, Palamon builds a superb temple in honour of him, in which his whole history is painted. The description of this painting is a recapitulatory abridgment of the preceding part of the poem. Hawes's tapestry is less judiciously placed in the beginning of the piece, because it precludes expectation by forestalling all the future incidents.

The marshal of the castle of La Bell Pucell is Reason, the sewer Obervance, the cook Temperance, the high-steward Liberality, &c. He then explains to Doctrine his name and intended adventure; and she entertains him at a solemn feast. He visits her seven daughters, who reside in the castle. First he is conducted to Grammar, who delivers a learned harangue on the utility of her science: next to Logic, who dismisses him with a grave exhortation: then to Rhetoric who, crowned with laurel and seated in a stately chamber strewed with flowers and adorned with the clear mirrors of speculation, explains her five parts in a laboured oration. Graunde Amoure resolves to pursue their lessons with vigour, and animates himself, in this difficult task, with the examples of Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, who are panegyrised with great propriety.

He recites some of the pieces of the two latter. Chaucer, he says, wrote the *Book of Fame* "on hys own invencion." *The Tragedies of the xix ladies*, he wrote "a translaycon." *The Canterbury Tales*, he calls "upon hys ymaginacyon, some of which are vertuous, others glad and merry." *The pytous dolour of Troilus and Cressida*, "and many other bokes."

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Troub.* ii. p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> From Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*. "In the hall, is a vine made of gold, that goeth all aboute the hall: and it hath many bunches of grapes, some are white, &c. All the red are of rubies," &c. ch. lxvii. Paulus Silentarius, in his description of the church of S. Sophia at Constantinople, mentions such an ornament, ii. 235:

κλημασι χρυτακμοισι περιδρομος αμπελος ιερη, &c.

Palmitibus auricomis circumcurrentis vitis serpit.

Among Lydgate's works, he recites the *Life of our Lady. Saint Edmund's Life. The Fall of Princes. The three Reasons. The Chorle and the Bird. The Troy Book. Virtue and Vice.*<sup>1</sup> *The Temple of Glas. The [Interpretacion of the Names] of Gods and GoddesSES.*

The poem of the *Chorle and the Bird* our author calls a "pamflete." Lydgate himself says that he translated this tale from a "pamflete in Frensche," ft. 5. The fable on which it is founded is told by Petrus Alphonsus, a writer of the twelfth century, in his tract *De Clericali Disciplina*, [printed in 1825 and 1827.<sup>2</sup>]

Our author, in his recital of Chaucer's pieces, calls the *Legend of good Women* "tragedies." Anciently a serious narrative in verse was called a tragedy; and it is observable, that he mentions "xix. ladyes" belonging to this legend. Only *nine* appear at present. Nineteen was the number intended, as we may collect from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*,<sup>3</sup> where eight more ladies than are in the present legend are mentioned. This piece is called the *legendis of ix good women*.<sup>4</sup> Chaucer himself says, "I sawe cominge of ladyes nineteen in roiall habit."<sup>5</sup>

Our hero is afterwards admitted to Arithmetic, who wears a golden "wede,"<sup>6</sup> and (last of all) is led to the Tower of Music, which was composed of crystal, in eager expectation of obtaining a view of La Bell Pucell, according to Fame's prediction. In the [*Tesoro of Latini*] cited at large above, Music, according to Boethius and Guy Aretin, is one of the seven liberal sciences. At Oxford, the graduates in music, which still remains there as an academical science, are at this day required to shew their proficiency in Boethius *De Musica*. In a pageant, at the coronation of Edward VI., Music personified appears among the seven sciences.<sup>7</sup> Music was playing on an organ before a solemn assembly, in the midst of which at length he discovers La Bell Pucell, is instantly captivated with her beauty, and almost as soon tells her his name, and discloses his passion. In the description of her person, which is very elegant, and consists of three stanzas, there is this circumstance, "She gartered wel her hose."<sup>8</sup> She is more beautiful than Helen, Proserpine, Cressida, Queen Hypolita, Medea, Dido, Polyxena, Alcmena, Menalippa or even fair

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Harl. 2251, 63, fol. 95.

<sup>2</sup> [Compare p. 132, *supr.* note 5.]

<sup>3</sup> Prol. and *ibid.* l. i. c. 6. Compare *Man of L. T.* Prol. v. 60.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Fairf. xvi.

<sup>5</sup> ver. 383. Compare *Parv. T. Urr.* p. 214, col. 1. [An additional argument, for believing that the number intended was nineteen, may be drawn from the *Court of Love*, ver. 108, where, speaking of Alceste, Chaucer says:

"To whom obeyed the ladies gode nineteen."—*Tyrwhitt*.

See also the note on ver. 4481 of the *Canterbury Tales*.—Price.]

<sup>6</sup> The walls of her chamber are painted in gold with the three fundamental rules of arithmetic.

<sup>7</sup> Leland, *Coll. Append.* iii. 317, edit. 1770.

<sup>8</sup> ch. xxx. Chaucer has this circumstance in describing the Wife of Bath, *Prol.* ver. 458:

"Hire hosen weren of fine scarlet rede  
Full fraite yteyed."

*Rosamund.* The solemnity being finished, Music and La Bell Pucell go forth into a stately temple, whither they are followed by our hero. Here Music feats herself amidst a concert of all kinds of instruments. She explains the principles of harmony. A dance is played,<sup>1</sup> and Graunde Amoure dances with La Bell Pucell. That is, tabours, trumpets, pipes, sackbuts, organs, recorders, harps, lutes, "croudds, tymphans," [? symphans] dulcimers, "claricimbales, rebeckes, clarychordes."<sup>2</sup> At the marriage of James of Scotland with the Princess Margaret, in the year 1503, "the king began before hyr to play of the clarychordes and after of the lute. And uppon the said clarychorde sir Edward Stanley played a ballade and sange therewith." Again, the king and queen being together, "after she played upon the clarychorde and after of the lute, he beinge uppon his knee allwaies bareheaded."<sup>3</sup> In Lydgate's poem, entitled *Reason and Sensuallite*, various instruments and sorts of music are recited:<sup>4</sup>—

Of al maner mynstralcye  
That any man kan specifye :  
For there were rotys of Almayne,  
And eke of Arragon and Spayne :  
Songes, stamperes, and eke daunces,  
Divers plente of plesaunces ;  
And many unkouth notys newe  
Of swiche folke as lovid trewe ;  
And instrumentys that dyd excelle,  
Many moo than I kan telle :  
Harpys, fythales, and eke rotys,  
Well according with her notys,  
Lutys, ribibles, and geternes,  
More for estatys than tavernes ;  
Orguys, cytolis, monacordys.  
There were trumpes, and trumpettes,  
Lowde shallys and doucettes.

Here "geterne" is a guitar which, with "cytolis" has its origin in *cithara*. "Fythales" is fiddles. "Shallys," I believe, should be shalmies, or shawms. "Orguys" is organs. By "estatys" he means [royal or noble] assemblies.

Graunde Amoure retires, deeply in love. He is met by Counsel, who consoles and conducts him to his repose in a stately chamber of the castle. In the morning, Counsel and our hero both together visit La Bell Pucell. At the gate of the garden of the castle they are informed by the portress Courtesy, that the lady was sitting alone in an arbour, weaving a garland of various flowers. The garden is

<sup>1</sup> Music commands her minstrels to play the dance, which was called "Mamour the swete." So at the royal marriage just mentioned, "The mynstrelles begonne to play a baffe dance, &c. After this done, they plaid a rownde, the which was daunced by the lorde Grey ledyng the said queene.—After the dinner incontynent the mynstrelles of the chammer [chamber] began to play and then daunced the queene," &c. Leland, *Append. ubi sup.* p. 284, *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cap. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> Leland, *Coll. Append.* iii. pp. 284, 285, edit. 1770.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Fairfax, xvi. Bibl. Bodl. [Pr. "To all folkys virtuous."] "Here reherfith the auctor the mynstralcys that were in the gardyn." [See Ritson's *Bibl. Poet.* p. 69, note †.]

described as very delicious, and they find the lady in the harbour near a stately fountain, "among the flowers of aromatic fume." After a long dialogue, in which for some time she seems to reject his suit, at last she resigns her heart; but withal acquaints her lover, that he has many monsters to encounter and many dangers to conquer, before he can obtain her. He replies, that he is well acquainted with these difficulties, and declares that, after having received instructions from Astronomy, he will go to the Tower of Chivalry, in order to be more completely qualified to succeed in this hazardous enterprise. They take leave with tears, and the lady is received into a ship, which is to carry her into the island, where her tower stood. Counsel consoles Amoure,<sup>1</sup> and leaves him to attend other desponding lovers. Our hero bids adieu in pathetic terms to the Tower of Music, where he first saw Pucell. Next he proceeds to the Tower of Geometry, which is wonderfully built and adorned. From thence he seeks Astronomy, who resides in a gorgeous pavilion pitched in a fragrant and flowery meadow: she delivers a prolix lecture on the several operations of the mind, and parts of the body.<sup>2</sup> He then, accompanied with his greyhounds, enters an extensive plain overspread with flowers; and looking forward, sees a flaming star over a tower. Going forward, he perceives that this tower stands on a rough precipice of steel, decorated with beasts of various figures. As he advances towards it, he comes to a mighty fortress, at the gate of which were hanging a shield and helmet, with a marvellous horn. He blows the horn with a blast that shook the tower, when a knight appears: who, asking his business, is answered that his name is Graunde Amoure, and that he was just arrived from the tower of Doctrine. He is welcomed by the knight, and admitted. This is the castle of Chivalry. The next morning he is conducted by the porter Stedfastness into the base court, where stood a tower of prodigious height, made of jasper: on its summit were four images of armed knights on horses of steel which, on moving a secret spring, could represent a turney. Near this tower was an ancient temple of Mars: within it was his statue or picture of gold, with the figure of Fortune on her wheel: and the walls were painted with the siege of Troy. This

<sup>1</sup> Counsel mentions the examples of Troilus and Creffida, and of Ponthus and Sidonia. Of the latter faithful pair, there is an old French romance [of which the earliest edition seems to want the title-page in the only copy traceable (see Brunet, last edit. iv. 810); but it was frequently republished under the title of] *Le Roman du noble roy Ponthus filz du roy de galice et la belle fidoine fille du roy de bretagne*. It is in the royal library at Paris, MS. fol. (see Lengl. Bibl. Rom. ii. 250), and among the king's MSS. in the British Museum there is *Le Livre du roy Ponthus*. 15 E. vi. 6. I think there are some elegant miniatures in this MS. Our author calls him "the famous knyght yclypped Ponthus, whych loved Sydonye," cap. xvi. *King Ponthus* was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde, *The Noble Hystory of Ponthus and Galyce, and of lytell Brytayne*. With woodcuts, 1511, 4to. [It is another reading of the Legend or Gest of King Horn, as to which see *supr.* i. sect. i.]

<sup>2</sup> In a woodcut Ptolemy the astronomer is here introduced, with a quadrant; and Plato, the "conynge and famous clerke," is cited.

was a common subject of tapestry, as I have before observed : but as it was the most favourite martial subject of the dark ages, is here introduced with peculiar propriety. The general popularity of the story made it a subject for painted glass, as in [the poem entitled] *Chaucer's Dream* :<sup>1</sup>

and with glas  
Were al the windowes wel yglased  
Ful clere, and nat an hole ycrased.  
That to beholde it was grete joy ;  
For wholly all the story of Troy  
Was in the glaifinge ywrought thus,  
Of Hector, and king Priamus,  
Achilles, &c.

In our author's description of the palace of Pucell, "there was enameled with figures curious *the syege of Troy*."<sup>2</sup>

Our hero now supplicates Mars, that he may be enabled to subdue the monsters which obstruct his passage to the Tower of Pucell. Mars promises him assistance ; but advises him first to invoke Venus in her temple. Fortune reproves Mars for presuming to promise assistance, and declares that all human glory is in the power of herself alone. Amoure is then led by Minerva through the sumptuous hall of the castle, which is painted with the *Siege of Thebes*, and where many knights are playing at chess, to king Melyzus,<sup>3</sup> the inventor of tilts and tournaments, who dubs him a knight. He leaves the castle of Chivalry, and on the road meets a person, habited like a fool, named Godfrey Gobilive, who enters into a long discourse on the falsehood of women :

His father is *Davy Drunken nole*,  
Who never dranke but in a fayre *blacke boule*.

Here he seems to allude to Lydgate's poem, called *Of Jack Wat that could pull the lining out of a black boll*.<sup>4</sup> One *Jack Hare* is the same sort of ludicrous character, who is thus described in Lydgate's *Tale of froward Maymonde*.<sup>5</sup>

A froward knave pleynty to descryve,  
And a sloggard shortely to declare,  
A precious knave that castith hym never to thryve.  
His mouth weel weet, his flevis ryzt thredbare ;  
A turnebroche [turn-spit], a boy for hogge of ware,  
With louring face noddying and slumberyng,  
Of new cryfthened, and called Jakke Hare,  
Whiche of a boll can *plukke out the lynyng*.

<sup>1</sup> V. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. xxxviii. sign. A. iii, edit. 1555. The arras was the "*syege of Thebes*," *Ibid.* In the Temple of Mars was also "the sege of Thebes depaynted fayre and clere" on the walls, cap. xxvii. sign. Q. iii. [See *supr.*]

<sup>3</sup> A fabulous king of Thrace who, I think, is mentioned in Caxton's *Recuyell of the Hystories of Troy*, printed [between 1472 and 1474.] Our author appeals to this romance, which he calls the *Recule of Troye*, as an authentic voucher for the truth of the labours of Hercules, ch. i. By the way, Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods* is quoted in this romance of Troy, B. ii. ch. xix.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Ashmol. Bodl. 59. ii ; MSS. Harl. 2251. 12, fol. 14.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. Laud. D. 31. Bodl.

These two pieces of Lydgate [are] the same.<sup>1</sup>

He relates how Aristotle, *for all his clergy*, was so infatuated with love, that he suffered the lady, who only laughed at his passion, to bridle and ride him about his chamber.<sup>2</sup> Then follows a long and ridiculous story about Virgil the poet [transformed into a necromancer, as appears in the romance of *Virgilius*,] in the dark ages, who is deceived by the tricks of a lady at the court of Rome; on whom, however, her paramour takes ample revenge by means of his skill in music, ch. xxix. [Similar honours have been conferred upon Horace in the neighbourhood of Palestrina, where he is still revered by the people as a powerful and benevolent wizard.] This fiction is also alluded to by Gower, and added to that of Aristotle's, among his examples of the power of love over the wisest men:<sup>3</sup>

And eke Virgile of aqueintaunce  
I sigh [saw] where he the maiden praid  
Which was the doughter, as men said,  
Of temperour whilom of Rome.<sup>4</sup>

Graunde Amoure and his companion go together into the temple of Venus, who was now holding a solemn assembly or court for the redress of lovers. Here he meets with Sapience, who draws up a supplication for him, which he presents to Venus. Venus, after having exhorted him to be constant, writes a letter to Pucell, which she sends by Cupid. After offering a turtle, he departs with Godfrey Gobilive, who is overtaken by a lady on a palfrey, with a knotted whip in her hand, which she frequently exercises on Godfrey.<sup>5</sup> Amoure asks her name which, she answers, is Correction; that she lived in the Tower of Chastity, and that he who assumed the name of Godfrey Gobilive was False Report, who had just escaped from her prison, and disguised himself in a fool's coat. She invites Amoure to her Tower, where they are admitted by Dame Measure; and led into a hall with a golden roof, in the midst of which was a carbuncle of a prodigious size, which illuminated the room.<sup>6</sup> They are next

<sup>1</sup> [See Ritson's *Bibl. Poet.* p. 72.]

<sup>2</sup> This story is in Gower, *Conf. Amant.* lib. viii. [edit. 1857, iii. 366.] See *supr.* vol. ii.

"I sigh there Aristotle also  
Whom that the quene of Grece also  
Hath bridled," &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Ubi supr.*

<sup>4</sup> *Virgil's Life* is mentioned by Laneham among other romantic pieces, *Kilnsey Castle*, p. 34, edit. 1575.

<sup>5</sup> In another place he is called *Folly*, and said to ride on a mare. When chivalry was at its height in France, it was a disgrace to any person, not below the degree of a gentleman, *to ride a mare*.

<sup>6</sup> From Chaucer, *Rom. Rose*, v. 1119. [edit. Morris.] Richeffe is crowned with the costliest gems:

"But alle byfore ful sottilly  
A fyn charboncle sette saugh I,  
The stoon so clere was and so bright,  
That, also soone as it was nyght,  
Men myghte seen to go for nede

introduced to a fair chamber ; where they are welcomed by many famous women of antiquity, Helen, *quene* Proserpine, the *lady Meduse*, Penthefilea, &c. The next morning, Correction shews our hero a marvellous dungeon, of which Shamefastness is the keeper ; and here False Report is severely punished. He now continues his expedition, and near a fountain observes a shield and a horn hanging. On the shield was a lion rampant of gold in a silver field, with an inscription, importing that this was the way to La Bell Pucell's habitation, and that whoever blows the horn will be assaulted by a most formidable giant. He sounds the horn : when instantly the giant appeared, twelve feet high, armed in brass, with three heads on each of which was a streamer, with the inscriptions *Falsehood*, *Imagination*, *Perjury*. After an obstinate combat, he cuts off the giant's three heads with his sword *Claraprudence*. He next meets three fair ladies, Vanity, Good-operation, Fidelity. They conduct him to their castle with music ; where, being admitted by the portress Observance, he is healed of his wounds by them. He proceeds and meets Perseverance, who acquaints him that Pucell continued still to love : that, after she had read Venus's letter, Strangeness and Disdain came to her, to dissuade her from loving him ; but that soon after Peace and Mercy<sup>1</sup> arrived, who soon undid all that Disdain and Strangeness had said, advising her to send Perseverance to him with a shield. This shield Perseverance now presents, and invites him to repose that night with her cousin Comfort, who lived in a moated manor-place under the side of a neighbouring wood. There is a description of a magnificent *manor-place*, curious for its antiquity, in an old poem, written [in the fourteenth century], entitled a *Disputation bytwene a Crysten man and a Jewe*, perhaps translated from the French :<sup>2</sup>

Forth heo<sup>3</sup> wenten on the Feld  
To an hul<sup>4</sup> thei bi held,  
The eorthe cleved<sup>5</sup> as a scheld,<sup>6</sup>  
On the grownde grene :

A myle or two, in lengthe and brede.  
Sich lyght *tho* sprange oute of the stone."

But this is not uncommon in romance, and is an Arabian idea. See *supr.* vol. ii. In the *History of the Seven Champions*, a book compiled in the reign of [Elizabeth] by Richard Johnson, and containing some of the most capital fictions of the old Arabian romance, in the adventure of the *Enchanted Fountain*, the knights entering a dark hall, "tooke off their gauntlets from their left hands whereon they wore *marvellous great and fine diamonds*, that gave so much light, that they might plainly see all things that were in the hall, the which was very great and wide, and upon the walls were painted the figures of many furious fiends," &c. *Sec. P.* ch. ix. And in Mandeville's *Travels*, "The emperor hath in his chamber a pillar of gold, in which is a ruby and carbuncle a foot long, which lighteth all his chamber by night," &c. ch. lxxii.

<sup>1</sup> Mercy is no uncommon divinity in the love-system of the troubadours. See Millot's *Hist. Litt. des Troubad.* tom. i. p. 181, Par. 1774.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Vernon, fol. 301, *ut supr.* [See Carpentier's *Suppl. du Cange, Lat. Gloss. V. Radimere.*]

<sup>3</sup> they.

<sup>4</sup> hill.

<sup>5</sup> cleaved.

<sup>6</sup> shield.

Some fonde thei on ftiȝ,<sup>1</sup>  
 Thei went theron radly;<sup>2</sup>  
 The cristen mon hedde farly<sup>3</sup>  
 What hit miȝte mene.

Aftir that ftiȝ lay a ftrete,  
 Clere i-pavet with gete,<sup>4</sup>  
 Thei fond a Maner that was mete  
 With murthes ful ſchene:  
 Wel corven and wroȝt  
 With halles heiȝe uppon loft,<sup>5</sup>  
 To a place weore thei bouȝt  
 As paradys the clene.<sup>6</sup>

Ther was foulen<sup>7</sup> ſong,  
 Much murthes among,  
 Hoſe lenge wolde longe  
 Ful luitell hym thouȝt:  
 On vche a ſyde of the halle,  
 Pourpell, pelure, and palle;<sup>8</sup>  
 Wyndowes in the walle  
 Was wonderli i-wrouȝt:<sup>9</sup>

There was doſera<sup>10</sup> on the dees,<sup>11</sup>  
 Hoſe the cheefe wolde ches<sup>12</sup>  
 That never richere was,  
 In no ſale<sup>13</sup> ſouȝt:  
 Both the mot and the mold  
 Schone al on red golde:  
 The criftene mon hadde ferli of that folde,<sup>14</sup>  
 That hider was brouȝt.

There was erbes<sup>15</sup> growen grene,  
 Spices ſpringynge bi twene,  
 Such hadde I not ſene,  
 For ſothe as I ſay:  
 The thruſtell<sup>16</sup> ſonge full ſhrille,  
 He newed notes at his wille;  
 Faire flowres to fille,  
 Fine in that Fay:

And al the rounde table good,  
 Hou Arthur in eorthe ȝod,<sup>17</sup>  
 Sum ſate and ſum ſtod,  
 O the grounde grey:

<sup>1</sup> road, way, cavern ascent.

<sup>2</sup> [had wonder. *Riſon*.]

<sup>3</sup> with halls built high.

<sup>7</sup> fowls, birds.

<sup>9</sup> wonderfully wrought.

<sup>10</sup> *doffer* is a basket carried on the back. Lat. *dorfarium*. Chaucer's *H. F.* iii. 850. "Or eſe hutchis or *doffers*." We muſt here underſtand provisions.

<sup>11</sup> *dees* is here the *table*.

<sup>13</sup> hall. Lat. *ſala*.

<sup>15</sup> An Herbarry, for furniſhing domeſtic medicines, always made a part of our ancient gardens. In Hawes's poem, now before us, in the delicious gardens of the caſtle of Muſic, "Amiddes the garden there was an *herber fayre* and quadrante," ch. xviii. [But whatever *Herbarry* may be underſtood to mean, *Herber*, in our old poetry, undoubtedly ſignifies arbour, or rather a houſe or *bower*, fitted up in the garden. Roſamond's Bower was an arbour in this ſenſe.]

<sup>16</sup> thruſh.

<sup>12</sup> whoever would chuſe the beſt.

<sup>14</sup> [ground.]

<sup>17</sup> *ȝod*, went; walked on earth.

<sup>4</sup> readily, eaſily.

<sup>6</sup> paved with [jet. *Riſon*.]

<sup>8</sup> bright, or pleaſant, as Paradife.

<sup>5</sup> [The hall was hung with purple, &c.—*Price*.]

Hit was a wonder fist  
 As thei were quik men<sup>1</sup> diȝt  
 To se hou they play.<sup>2</sup>

Together with some of his expressions, I do not always understand Hawes's context and transitions, which have great abruptness. In what he says of King Arthur, I suppose he means that King Arthur's round table, and his knights turneyng, were painted on the walls of the hall.<sup>3</sup>

[At the house of Comfort, Grande Amoure] is ushered into a "chamber precious," perfumed with the richest odours. Next morning, guided by Perseverance and Comfort, he goes forward and sees a castle, nobly fortified and walled with jet. Before it was a giant with seven heads, and upon the trees about him were hanging many shields of knights, whom he had conquered. On his seven heads were seven helmets crowned with seven streamers, on which were inscribed Diffimulation, Delay, Discomfort, Variance, Envy, Detraction, Doubtfulness. After a bloody battle, he kills the giant, and is saluted by the five ladies, Steadfastness, Amorous Purveyance, Joy after Sorrow, Pleasance, Good Report, Amity, Continuance, all riding from the castle on white palfreys. These ladies inform Amoure, that they had been exiled from La Bell Pucell by Disdain, and besieged in this castle, for one whole year, by the giant whom he had just slain. They attend him on his journey, and travel through a dreary wilderness, full of wild beasts: at length they discern, at a vast distance, a glorious region, where stood a stately palace beyond a tempestuous ocean. "That (says Perseverance) is the palace of Pucelle." They then discover in the island before them an horrible fiend, roaring like thunder, and breathing flame, which my author strongly paints:

The fyre was greet, it made the yland lyght.

Perseverance tells our hero that this monster was framed by the two witches Strangeness and Disdain, to punish La Bell Pucell for having banished them from her presence. His body was composed of the seven metals, and within it a demon was inclosed. They now enter a neighbouring temple of Pallas, who shews Amoure in a trance the secret formation of this monster, and gives him a box of wonderful ointment. They walk on the sea-shore, and espy two ladies rowing towards them; who land, and having told Amoure that they are sent by Patience to enquire his name, receive him and his company into the ship Perfection. They arrive in the island; and Amoure discovers near a rock the monster, whom he now examines more distinctly. The face of the monster resembled a virgin's, and was of gold; his neck of silver; his breast of steel; his fore-legs, armed with strong talons, of laton; his back of copper; his tail of

<sup>1</sup> as if they were living men.      <sup>2</sup> to see their sports, tournaments, &c.

<sup>3</sup> [Arthur and his knights appear rather to be the inhabitants of this marvellous spot. Some were engaged in sports, whilst others either "sat or stood upon the gray ground" observing them.—*Price*.]

lead, &c. Amoure, in imitation of Jafon, anoints his sword and armour with the unguent of Pallas which, at the first onset, preserves him from the voluminous torrent of fire and smoke issuing from the monster's mouth. At length he is killed, and from his body flew out a foule ethiope or black spirit, accompanied by such a smoke that all the island was darkened, and loud thunder-claps ensued. When this spirit had entirely vanished, the air grew serene; and our hero now plainly beheld the magnificent castle of La Pucell, walled with silver, and "many a story upon the wall enameled royally." I know not from what romantic history of the Crusades Richard Johnson took the description of the stately house of the courteous Jew at Damascus, built for entertaining Christian pilgrims, in which "the walls were painted with as many stories as there were years since the creation of the world."<sup>1</sup> The word *enameled* is probably used in the same sense as in Stow.<sup>2</sup> "The great bell-tower [of the priory of S. John in Clerkenwell], a most curious piece of workmanship, graven, guilt, and inameled, to the great beautifying of the citie, and passinge all other that I have seene," &c. So again our author Hawes:<sup>3</sup>

where the tower doth stande  
Made all of golde, enameled aboute  
Wyth noble storyes.

Our hero rejoins his company; and entering the gates of the castle, is solemnly received by Peace, Mercy, Justice, Reason, Grace, and Memory. He is then led by the portress Countenance into the base court where, into a conduit of gold, dragons spouted water of the richest odour. The gravel of the court is like gold, and the hall and chambers are most superbly decorated. Amoure and La Pucell sit down and converse together. Venus intervenes, attended by Cupid clothed in a blue mantle embroidered with golden hearts pierced with arrows, which he throws about the lovers, declaring that they should soon be joined in marriage. A sudden transition is here made from the pagan to the Christian theology. The next morning they are married, according to the catholic ritual, by *Lex Ecclesiæ*; and in the wooden print prefixed to this chapter, the lovers are represented as joining hands at the western portal of a great church, a part of the ceremonial of ancient marriages.<sup>4</sup> A solemn feast is then held in honour of the nuptials, which are described thus:<sup>5</sup>

Why should I tary by long continuance  
Of the feast, &c.

In the same manner Chaucer passes over the particularities of Cambuscan's feast.<sup>6</sup> Matthew Paris, in describing the magnificent mar-

<sup>1</sup> Sec. P. ch. iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Survey*, p. 359, edit. 1599.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. ii.

<sup>4</sup> For this custom, see the romance of *Appolyne* [of *Thyre*,] ch. xxxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Cap. xxix.

<sup>6</sup> *Squ.* T. v. 83. And of Theseus's feast, *Kn. T.* v. 2199. See also *Man of L. T.* v. 704, and Spenser's *Fairy Qu.* v. iii. 3.

riage and coronation of Queen Eleanor in 1236, uses exactly the same formulary, and on a similar subject.<sup>1</sup> Compare another feast described in the same chronicle, much after the same manner; and which, the writer adds, was more splendid than any feast celebrated in the time of Ahasuerus, King Arthur, or Charlemagne.<sup>2</sup>

Here the poem should have ended. But the poet has thought it necessary to extend his allegory to the death and burial of his hero. Graund Amoure, having lived in consummate happiness with his amiable bride for many years, saw one morning an old man enter his chamber, carrying a staff, with which he strikes Amoure's breast, saying, "Obey," &c. His name is Old Age. Not long after came Policy or Cunning and Avarice. Amoure now begins to abandon his triumphal shows and splendid carousals, and to be intent on amassing riches. At last arrived Death, who peremptorily announces, that he must prepare to quit his wealth and the world. After this fatal admonition, came Contrition and Conscience, and he dies. His body is interred by Mercy and Charity; and while his epitaph is written by Remembrance, Fame appears; promising that she will enroll his name with those of Hector, Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, King David, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Arthur, Charlemagne,<sup>3</sup> and Godfrey of Boulogne.<sup>4</sup> The chief reason for ranking King David among the knights of romance was, as I have already hinted, because he killed the giant Goliath; an achievement here mentioned by Hawes. Of Arthur and his knights he says, that their exploits are recorded "in royall boke and jesses hystoryall."<sup>5</sup> Sir Thomas [Malory] had now just published his *Morte Arthur*, a narrative digested from various French romances on Arthur's story. [Some] printed copy of this favourite volume, which first appeared in 1485 from Caxton's press, must have been known to our poet

<sup>1</sup> "Quid in ecclesia seriem enarrem deo, ut decuit, reverenter ministrantium? Quid in mensa dapium et diversorum libaminum describam fertilitatem redundantem? Venationis [venison] abundantiam? Piscium varietatem? Jocularium voluptatem? Ministrantium venustatem," &c. *Hist. Angl.* sub Hen. iii. p. 406, edit. 1589.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 871.

<sup>3</sup> With his "douseperes" or twelve peers, among which he mentions Rowland and Oliver.

<sup>4</sup> These are the Nine Worthies: to whom Shakespeare alludes in *Love's Lab. Lost*. "Here is like to be a good presence of Worthies. He presents Hector of Troy: The swain, Pompey the Great: The parish-curate, Alexander: Armado's page, Hercules: The pedant, Judas Maccabeus," &c. Act v. Sc. [ii, Dyce's edit. 1868, ii. 226]. Elias Cairels, a troubadour of Perigord, about the year 1240, wishes for the wisdom of Solomon, the courtesy of Roland, the puissance of Alexander, the strength of Samson, the friendly attachment of Sir Tristram, the "chevalerie" of Sir Gawaine, and the learning of Merlin. Though not immediately connected with the present purpose, I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the remainder of our troubadour's idea of complete happiness in this world. His ambition can be gratified by nothing less than by possessing "Une si parfaite loyauté, que nul chevalier et nul jongleur n'aient rien à reprendre en lui; une maitresse jeune, jolie, et decente; mille cavaliers bien en ordre pour le suivre par tout," &c. Millot, *Hist. Litt. des Troubad.* tom. i. p. 388. [See *supr.* vol. ii.]

<sup>5</sup> Cap. xliiii.

Hawes. By the way, in panegyrising Chaucer, Hawes mentions it as a circumstance of distinction, that his works were printed :<sup>1</sup>

Whose name

In printed bokes doth remayne in fame.

This was natural at the beginning of the typographic art. Many of Chaucer's poems had been now [1506] recently printed by Caxton. With regard to [Malory's] book, much, if not most of it, I believe, is taken from the great French romance of *Lancelot*, translated from Latin into French at the command of [Henry II.]<sup>2</sup> It appears, however, that Henry III. also paid great attention to these compositions from the following curious anecdote, which throws new light on the monarch's character:—Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour, highly celebrated by Dante and Petrarch, about 1240 made a voyage into England, where (in the court of Henry III.) he met a minstrel, who challenged him at difficult rhymes. The challenge was accepted, a considerable wager was laid, and the rival bards were shut up in separate chambers of the palace. The king, who appears to have much interested himself in the dispute, allowed them ten days for composing, and five more for learning to sing, their respective pieces : after which each was to exhibit his performance in the presence of his majesty. The third day, the English minstrel announced that he was ready. The troubadour declared he had not written a line ; but that he had tried, and could not as yet put two words together. The following evening he overheard the minstrel practising his chanson to himself. The next day he had the good fortune to hear the same again, and learned the air and words. At the day appointed they both appeared before the king. Arnaud desired to sing first. The minstrel, in a fit of the greatest surprise and astonishment, suddenly cried out “ C'est ma chanson, This is my song.” The king said it was impossible. The minstrel still insisted upon it ; and Arnaud, being closely pressed, ingenuously told the whole affair. The king was much entertained with this adventure ; and, ordering the wager to be withdrawn, loaded them with rich presents. But he afterwards obliged Arnaud to give a chanson of his own composition.<sup>3</sup> In the meantime Henry II. equally encouraged these pieces ; for Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, translated from Latin into French the popular romance of *Saint Graal*, at the instance of Henry II. to whom he was chaplain, about 1190.<sup>4</sup> Benoit [de Sainte Maur (or More) already mentioned] was also patronised by this monarch, at whose command he compiled his metrical Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, in which are cited Isidor Hispalensis, Pliny, and Saint Austin.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cap. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> [The English version in Benet College library is the *History of the Holy Graal* (or the romance of *Joseph of Arimathea*), edited by me for the Roxburghe Club, followed by part of the *Romance of Merlin*.—F.]

<sup>3</sup> Millot, *ut sup.* tom. ii. p. 491.

<sup>4</sup> See MSS. Reg. 20 D. iii. a [MS. written in the thirteenth century].

<sup>5</sup> MSS. Harl. 1717, 1, on vellum. See fol. 85, 163, 192, 236. This old French

Afterwards (to return from this digression) Time and Eternity, clothed in white vestments and crowned with a triple diadem of gold, enter the temple, and pronounce an exhortation. Last follows an epilogue, in which the poet apologises for his hardness in attempting to feign and devise this fable.

The reader readily perceives, that this poetical apologue is intended to shadow the education of a complete gentleman; or rather, to point out those accomplishments which constitute the character of true gallantry, and most justly deserve the reward of beauty. It is not pretended, that the personifications display that force of colouring and distinctness of delineation, which animate the ideal portraits of Jean de Meun. But we must acknowledge, that Hawes has shown no inconsiderable share of imagination, if not in inventing romantic action, at least in applying and enriching the general incidents of the Gothic fable. In the creation of allegoric imagery he has exceeded Lydgate. That he is greatly superior to many of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries in harmonious versification and clear expression, will appear from the following stanza:

Befydes this gyaunt, upon every tree  
I did see hang many a goodly shelde  
Of noble knyghtes, that were of hie degre,  
Whiche he had slayne and mured in the felde :  
From farre this gyaunt I ryght well behelde ;  
And towarde hym as I rode my waye,  
On his first head I sawe a banner gay.<sup>1</sup>

To this poem a dedication of eight octave stanzas is prefixed, addressed to King Henry VII.: in which our author professes to follow the manner of his "maister" Lydgate:

To folowe the trace and all the perfyness  
Of my maister Lydgate with due exercyse,  
Suche fayned tales I do fynde<sup>2</sup> and devyse :  
For under a coloure a truthe may aryse,  
As was the guyse, in olde antiquitie,  
Of the poetes olde a tale to surmyse,  
To cloke the truthe.

In the course of the poem he complains that, since Lydgate, "the most dulcet sprynge of famous rhetoryke," that species of poetry, which deals in fiction and allegoric fable, had been entirely lost and neglected. He allows, that some of Lydgate's successors had been skilful versifiers in the ballad royal or octave stanza, which Lydgate carried to such perfection: but adds this remarkable restriction:

They fayne no fables pleasaunt and covert :—  
Makyng balades of fervent amyte,  
As gestes and tryfles.<sup>3</sup>

---

poem is full of fabulous and romantic matter, and seems to be partly translated from a Latin Chronicle, [edited by M. Francisque Michel, Paris, 1836-44, 3 vols. 4to.] *De Moribus et Actis primorum Normannie Ducum*, written about 1000, by Dudo, dean of St. Quentin's, and first printed among Du Chesne's *Scriptor. Norman.* p. 49, edit. 1619. Maister Benoit ends with our Henry I., Dudo with the year 996.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxxv. [repr. of ed. 1555, 1845, p. 179].

<sup>2</sup> invent.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xiv. So Barclay, in the *Ship of Fools*, finished in 1508, fol. 18, a. edit.

These lines, in a small compass, display the general state of poetry which now prevailed.

[We venture to lay before the reader, before leaving Hawes, specimens of his two other performances already mentioned, *The Conuersyon of Swerers* and *A Joyfull Medytacyon*. The following is a stanza from the Prologue of the *Conuersyon of Swerers* :

I lytell or nought expert in poetrye,  
Remembrynge my youth so lyght and frayle  
Purpose to compyle here full breuyatly  
A lytell treatyse wofull to bewayle  
The cruell swerers whiche do god assayle  
On every syde his swete body to tere  
With terryble othes as often as they swere.

This is neither better nor worse than the rest, which is a production altogether destitute of pathos, imagery, or invention of any kind. The *Joyfull Medytacyon* is a very superior piece, and contains some pretty and even elegant passages. Take a stanza from the Prologue, addressed to Henry VIII. :

Amyddes the medowe of flora the quene  
Of the goddes elycon, is the sprynge or well  
And by it groweth a fayre laurell grene  
Of whiche the poetes do ofte write and tell ;  
Besyde this olyue I dyde neuer dwell  
To tast the water whiche is aromatyke  
For to cause me wryte with lusty rethoryke.]

Coeval with Hawes was William Walter, a retainer to Sir Henry Marney, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster : an unknown and obscure writer whom I should not have named, but that he versified, in the octave stanza, Boccaccio's story, so beautifully paraphrased by Dryden, of *Sigismonda and Guiscardo*. This poem was printed by Wynkyn de Worde [1532].<sup>1</sup> It is in two books. He also wrote a dialogue in verse, called the *Spectacle of Lovers* : [a *lytell contraversyale dialogue bytwene love and counsell*, printed by W. de Worde, without date. To this poem there is a prologue by Robert Copland.<sup>2</sup> Walter is likewise the author of *The History of Titus and Gessippus, translated out of latyn into englyshe by Wyllyam Walter, &c.*]

About the year [1500], Henry Medwall, chaplain to Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, composed an interlude called *Nature*. It is not improbable, that it was played before the archbishop. It was

1570. He is speaking of the profane and improper conversation of priests in the choir :

“ And all of fables and jestes of Robin Hood,  
Or other trifles.”

<sup>1</sup> [A later translation appeared in 1597; under the title of *The tragedy of Guiscard and Sifmond*, among] *Certaine worthy Manuscript Poems of great Antiquitie, Referued long in the studie of a Northfolke Gentleman, & now first published by J. S.* [The *Stately Tragedy* is a totally different translation from that of Walter. In MS. Add. 12,124, Brit. Mus. is a much earlier translation in verse of the story of Guiscard and Sigismond, by Gilbert Banestre, a poet of the fourteenth century.—Madden.]

<sup>2</sup> Begins the Prologue, “ Forasmuche as ydelness is rote of all vices.”

the busyness of chaplains in great houses to compose interludes for the family. This piece was printed by [John Rastell, about 1510], and entitled, *Nature, a goodly interlude of Nature, copyld by mayster Henry Medwall, chapleyn to the ryght reuerent father in god Johan Morton somtyme Cardynall and archebyschop of Canterbury*.<sup>1</sup> [The date of the original composition of the interlude of *Nature* is very uncertain; but it appears that it was performed (probably as a revival) at Christmas, 1514-15, before the king at Richmond, by "Inglyshe and oothers of the Kynges pleyers," but that it proved tedious owing to its length, and that "the kyng departyd befor the end to his chambre."]<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1497, Laurence Wade, a Benedictine monk of Canterbury,<sup>3</sup> translated into English rhymes *The Life of Thomas a Beckett*, written about the year 1180 in Latin<sup>4</sup> by Herbert Bosham. The MS., which will not bear a citation, is preserved in Benet college in Cambridge.<sup>5</sup> The original had been translated into French verse by Peter Langtoft.<sup>6</sup> Bosham was Becket's secretary, and was present at his martyrdom.

## SECTION XXVIII.



PLACE Alexander Barclay within the year 1500, as his *Ship of Fools* appears to have been projected about that period. He was educated, [it has been said,] at Oriel College in Oxford, accomplished his academical studies by travelling, and was appointed one of the priests or prebendaries of the college of Saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire. He seems to have spent some time at Cambridge,<sup>7</sup>

And once in Cambridge I heard a scoller say,  
(One of the same which go in copes gay).<sup>8</sup>

The chief patron of his studies appears to have been Thomas Cornish, provost of Oriel College, and Suffragan Bishop of Tyne in the diocese of Bath and Wells, to whom he dedicates, in a handsome Latin epistle, his *Ship of Fools*. But in the poem he mentions

<sup>1</sup> [The same to whom Sir Thomas More was a page in his youth. Perhaps some of the dramatic or quasi-dramatic compositions, which we are at present obliged to regard as anonymous, and which were chiefly printed by John Rastell, More's relative by marriage, were written by the future Chancellor.]

<sup>2</sup> [Collier's *Hist. of Dram. Poet.* i. 65.]

<sup>3</sup> Professed in the year 1467. *Catal. Mon. Cant.* inter MSS. C. C. C. C. (N. 7).

<sup>4</sup> *Vita et Res Gestæ Thomæ Episcopi Cantuariensis*, published in the *Quadrilogus*,

1495.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. CCCXCII. 1. Beginn. Prol. "O ye vertuous soverayns spirituall and temporall."

<sup>6</sup> Pitts. p. 890, *Append.*

<sup>7</sup> [There seems to be no sufficient evidence that Barclay was educated at Oriel College.]

<sup>8</sup> *Eglog.* i. signat. A 4, *verso*.

*My Maister Kyrkham*, calling himself "his true servitour, his chaplayne, and bede man."<sup>1</sup> Some biographers suppose Barclay to have been a native of Scotland. It is certain that he has a long and laboured encomium on James IV., king of Scotland, whom he compliments for his bravery, prudence, and other eminent virtues. One of the stanzas of this panegyric is an acrostic on Jacobus.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monastery;<sup>3</sup> and at length took the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury.<sup>4</sup> He temporised with the changes of religion; for he possessed some church-preferments in the reign of Edward VI. He was instituted to Much Badew in Essex, in 1546. And to Wokey in Somersetshire, the same year.<sup>5</sup> He had also the church of All Saints in Lombard Street, London, on the presentation of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, which was vacant by his death, Aug. 24, 1552.<sup>6</sup>

He frequently mentions Croydon in his *Egloges*. He was buried in Croydon church:<sup>7</sup>

And as in Croidon I heard the Collier preache.

Again:<sup>8</sup>

While I in youth in Croidon towne did dwell.

Again:<sup>9</sup>

He hath no felowe betwene this and Croydon  
Save the proude plowman (Gnoto) of Chorlington.

He mentions the collier again:<sup>10</sup>

Such maner riches (the Collyer tell thee can).

Also [alluding to Bishop Alcock]:<sup>11</sup>

As the riche shepheard which woned in Mortlake.

He died, very old, at Croydon in 1552. [It seems pretty certain that he was of Scottish extraction; for Bullein the physician, who was his contemporary, expressly tells us, that he was born "beyond the cold river of Tweed."]

Barclay's principal work is the *Ship of Fools*, above mentioned. About the year [1494]<sup>12</sup> Sebastian Brandt, a learned civilian of Basle and an eminent philologist, had published a satire in German with this title.<sup>13</sup> The design was to ridicule the reigning vices and follies

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 152, b, edit. 1570.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 206, a.

<sup>3</sup> In the title to his translation from Mancinus, called the *Mirror of Good Manners*.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Bale, Sloan. f. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Newcourt, Rep. i. 254, and *Registr. Wellens.*

<sup>6</sup> Newc. *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> [*Eglog.* i. sign. A 4, *verso*.]

<sup>8</sup> [Sign. A ij, *verso*.]

<sup>9</sup> [Sign. A 4, *verso*.]

<sup>10</sup> [*Ibid.*]

<sup>11</sup> [Sign. A ij, *recto*.]

<sup>12</sup> [The German bibliographers speak of an edition printed at Basle, without date, as the earliest known to them, though others maintain the Strasburg edition of 1494 to be the first of the German original. See Brunet, last edit. in v.—*Price*.]

<sup>13</sup> I presume this is the same Sebastian Brandt, to whom Thomas Acuparius, poet laureate, dedicates a volume of Poggius, *Argentorat.* 1513, fol. He is here styled, "Juris utriusque doctor, et S. P. Q. Argentinensis cancellarius." The dedication is dated 1511. See Hendreich. *Plante*. p. 703.—[Brandt was a doctor of laws, an imperial counsellor, and Syndic to the Senate of Strasburgh.—*Price*.]

of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a ship freighted with fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage of adventures, a composition of such a nature became extremely popular. It was translated into French<sup>1</sup> [verse by Pierre Riviere, whose work appeared at Paris in 1497, and thence into French prose by Jean Drouyn, the latter printed in 1498; but in the preceding year (1497) had been published a translation] into tolerable Latin verse by James Locher,<sup>2</sup> a German, and a scholar of the inventor Brandt.<sup>3</sup> From the original and the two translations Barclay formed a large English poem in the ballad or octave stanza, with considerable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed in 1509 by Pinson, whose name occurs in the poem:

How be it the charge Pynson has on me laide  
With many fooles our Nauy not to charge.<sup>4</sup>

It was finished in 1508 in the college of Saint Mary Ottery, as appears by the title: *The Shyp of Fols of the Worlde*. *This present boke named the shyp of fols of the worlde was translated in the college of saynt mary Otery, in the counte of Deuonshyre oute of Laten, Frenche, and Doche into Englyshe tonge, by Alexander Barclay prestre and at that tyme chaplen in the sayde college, translated the yere of our Lord-God, M.CCCC.VIII.*<sup>5</sup> Our author's stanza is verbose, prosaic and tedious: and for many pages together his poetry is little better than a trite homily in verse. The title promises much character and pleasantry: but we shall be disappointed, if we expect to find the foibles of the crew of our ship touched by the hand of the author of the *Canterbury Tales*, or exposed in the rough yet strong satire of Langland. He sometimes has a stroke of humour: as in the following stanza, where he wishes to take on board the eight secondaries or minor canons of his college. *Alexander Barclay ad fatuos, ut dent locum octo*

<sup>1</sup> By Joce Bade. Paris, 1497. In verse. From which the French prose translation was made the next year.

<sup>2</sup> In the colophon, it is said to have been *jampridem traducta* from the German original by Locher; and that this Latin translation was revised by the inventor Brandt, with the addition of many new Fools. A second edition of Locher's Latin was printed at Paris in 1498, 4to. In the royal library at Paris there is a curious copy of Barclay's English *Ship of Fols* by Pinson on vellum, a rarity not, I believe, to be found in England.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Prologue*.

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 38, *verso*. In another place he complains that some of his *wordes* are *amis*, on account of the "printers not perfect in science." And adds, that

"The Printers in their busynes  
Do all their workes speedely and in haste—"

fol. 258, b, [edit. 1570].

<sup>5</sup> In folio. A second edition, from which I cite, was printed with his other works in the year 1570, also in folio, with curious wooden cuts, taken from Pynson's impression, viz. *The Ship of Fooles, wherein is shewed the folly of all States*, with diuers other workes adioyned vnto the same, &c. This has both Latin and English. [In all the former editions, the extracts from Barclay are (as usual) inaccurate, and the references often erroneous.]

*Jecundariis beatæ Mariæ de Oterei, qui quidem prima huius ratis transstra merentur.*<sup>1</sup>

Softe,<sup>1</sup> fooles, softe, a little slacke your pace,  
Till I haue space you to' order by degree,  
I haue eyght neyghbours, that first shall haue a place  
Within this my ship, for they most worthy be,  
They may their learning receyue costles and free,  
Their walles abutting and ioyning to the scholes;<sup>2</sup>  
Nothing they can,<sup>3</sup> yet nought will they learne nor see,  
Therefore shall they guide this our ship of fooles.

The ignorance of the English clergy is one of the chief objects of his animadversion. He says:<sup>4</sup>

For if one can flatter, and beare a Hauke on his fist,  
He shalbe made Parson of Honington or of Clift.

These were rich benefices in the neighbourhood of Saint Mary Ottery. He disclaims the profane and petty tales of the times:

I write no jefte ne tale of Robin Hood,<sup>5</sup>  
Nor sowe no sparkles, ne fede of vicioufnes;  
Wife men love vertue, wilde people wantonnes,  
It longeth not my science nor cuning,  
For Philip the sparrow the dirige to sing.

The last line is a ridicule on his cotemporary Skelton, who wrote *The Booke of Philip Sparrow*, or a Dirge

For the fowle of Philip Sparowe  
That was late slayne at Carow, &c.<sup>6</sup>

[Or rather perhaps it may be an allusion to the latent meaning of the phrase, for probably Skelton in his poem, and certainly Gascoigne in his *Praise of Phillip Sparrowe*, intended an *erotic allegory*.]<sup>7</sup> In another place, he thus censures the fashionable reading of his age, much in the tone of his predecessor Hawes:

Nor godly scripture is not worth an hawe:  
But tales are loued, ground of ribaudry,  
And many are so blinded with their foly,  
That no scripture thinke they so true nor good  
As is a foolishe iest of Robin Hood.<sup>8</sup>

As a specimen of his general manner, I insert his character of the Student or Bookworm: whom he supposes to be the First Fool in the vessel:<sup>9</sup>

That in this Ship the chief place I	Primus in excelsa teneo quod naue ru-
gouverne,	dentes,
By this wide Sea with fools wandering,	Stultiuagofq; sequor comites per flu-
	mina vasta:

<sup>1</sup> fol. 68.

<sup>2</sup> To the collegiate church of Saint Mary Ottery a school was annexed by the munificent founder, Grandison, bishop of Exeter. This college was founded in the year 1337.

<sup>3</sup> know.

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Fol. 23.

<sup>6</sup> [Skelton's works, edit. Dyce, i. 51.]

<sup>7</sup> [Gascoigne's works, by Hazlitt, i. 488-9. See a passage, moreover, in Skelton's *Magnificence*, (Works, by Dyce, i. 276.)]

<sup>8</sup> Fol. 23.

<sup>9</sup> I add the Latin from which he translates, that the reader may judge how much is our poet's own, fol. 1. a.

The cause is plaine and easy to discern,  
Still am I busy bookes assembling,  
For to haue plentie it is a pleasaunt thing  
In my conceyt, and to haue them ay in  
hande :

But what they meane do I not vnder-  
stande.

But yet I haue them in great reuerence  
And honoure, sauing them from filth  
and ordure ;

By often brushing and moch diligence,  
Full goodly bounde in pleasaunt couer-  
ture

Of Damas, Sattin, or els of Veluet pure :<sup>1</sup>  
I keepe them sure, fearing least they  
should be lost,

For in them is the cunning wherein I  
me boast.

But if it fortune that any learned man  
Within my house fall to disputation,  
I drawe the curtaynes to shewe my bokes  
then,

That they of my cunning should make  
probation :

I loue not to fall in altercation :

And while the commen, my bookes I  
turne & winde,

For all is in them, and nothing in my  
minde.

Ptolomeus<sup>2</sup> the riche caused longe agone  
Ouer all the worlde good bookes to be  
sought,

Done was his commaundement anone :

Lo in likewise of bookes I haue store,  
But fewe I reade, and fewer vnderstande,  
I folowe not their doctrine nor their lore,  
It is ynough to beare a booke in hande :  
It were too muche to be in fuche a bande ;  
For to be bound to loke within the booke,  
I am content on the fayre couering to  
looke.—

Eche is not lettred that nowe is made a  
lorde,

Nor eche a Clerke that hath a benefice :  
They are not all lawyers that ples do  
recorde,

All that are promoted are not fully wise,  
On fuche chaunce nowe fortune throwes  
her dice,

Non ratione vacat certa, sensuq; la-  
tenti :

Congestis etenim stultus confido libellis ;  
Spem quoq; nec paruam, collecta vo-  
lumina præbent,

Calleo nec verbum, nec libri sentio men-  
tem :

Attamen in magno per me seruantur  
honore,

Pulueris & cariem plumatis tergo fla-  
bellis.

Ast vbi doctrinæ certamen voluitur, in-  
quam,

Ædibus in nostris librorum culta fu-  
pellex

Eminet, & chartis viuio contentus opertis :  
Quas video ignorans, iuuat & me copia  
sola.

Constituit quondam diues Ptolomeus,  
haberet

Vt libros toto quæsitos undiq; mundo,  
Quos grandes rerum thesauros esse pu-  
tabat :

Non tamen archanæ legis documenta  
tenebat,

Quis sine non poterat vitæ disponere  
cursum.

En pariter teneo numerosa volumina,  
tardus

Pauca lego, viridi contentus tegmine  
libri.

Cur vellem studio sensus turbare fre-  
quenti,

Aut tam sollicitis animum confundere  
rebus ?

Qui studet, assiduo motu fit stultus &  
amens.

<sup>1</sup> Students and monks were anciently the binders of books. In the first page of a MS. Life of Concubranus this note occurs, "Ex conjunctione dompni Wylllemi Edys monasterii B. Mariæ S. Modwenæ virginis de Burton super Trent monachi, dum effet studens Oxoniæ, A. D. MDCXVII." See MSS. Cotton. Cleopatr. ii., and MSS. Coll. Oriel. N. vi. 3, et 7, Art. The word conjunctio = *ligatura*. The book is much older than this entry.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolomeus Philadelphus, for whom he quotes Josephus, lib. xii.

That though one knowe but the yrishe  
game,<sup>1</sup>

Yet would he haue a gentlemans name.

So in like wise I am in suche case,

Though I nought can, I woulde be  
called wise :

Also I may set another in my place,

Which may for me my bookes exercise ;

Or els I shall ensue the common guise,

And say *concedo* to every argument

Least by much speeche my latin should  
be spent.<sup>2</sup>

Seu studeam, seu non, dominus tamen  
esse vocabor ;

Et possum studio socium disponere  
nostro,

Qui pro me sapiat, doctusq; examinet  
artes :

At si cum doctis versor, concedere  
malo

Omnia, ne cogar fors verba latina pro-  
fari.

In one part of the poem the apologue of Prodicus, of Hercules meeting Virtue and Pleasure, is introduced. In the speech of Pleasure our author changes his metre, and breaks forth into a lyrical strain, not totally void of elegance and delicacy, and in a rhythmical arrangement adopted by Gray :

All my vesture is of golde pure,  
My gay Chaplet with stones set,  
With couerture of fine asure,  
In siluer net my heare vp knet,  
Softe silke betwene, least it might fret ;  
My purple pall ouercouereth all,  
Cleare as Christall, no thing egall.—

With harpe in hande alway I stande,  
Passing eche houre in swete pleasour ;  
A wanton bande of every lande,  
Are in my towre me to honour,  
Some of valour, some bare and poore ;  
Kinges in their pride sit by my side :  
Every freshe floure, of swete odoure,  
To them I prouide, that with me bide.—

Who euer they be that folowe me,  
And gladly flee to my standarde,  
They shall be free, not sicke, nor see  
Aduersitie nor paynes harde.

No poynt of payne shall he sustayne,  
But ioy souerayne, while he is here ;  
No frost ne rayne there shall distayne  
His face by payne, ne hurt his chere.

He shall his head cast to no drede  
To get the mede<sup>3</sup> and lawde of warre ;  
Nor yet have nede for to take hede,  
How battayles spede, but stande a farre.

Nor yet be bounde to care the founde  
Of man or grounde, or trompet shrill,  
Strokes that redound shall not confounde,  
Nor his minde wounde, but if he will, &c.<sup>4</sup>

All ancient satirical writings, even those of an inferior cast, have their merit, and deserve attention, as they transmit pictures of familiar manners, and preserve popular customs. In this light, at least,

<sup>1</sup> [See *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1870, ii. 315.]

<sup>2</sup> fol. 2.

<sup>3</sup> meed ; reward.

<sup>4</sup> fol. 241-2.

Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, which is a general satire on the times, will be found entertaining. Nor must it be denied that his language is more cultivated than that of many of his cotemporaries, and that he contributed his share to the improvement of the English phraseology. His author, Sebastian Brandt, appears to have been a man of universal erudition; and his work, for the most part, is a tissue of citations from the ancient poets and historians.

[In 1517, Henry Watson, the compiler of the old romance of *Valentine and Orson*, produced a prose version of Locher's Latin, and it came from the press of Wynkyn de Worde in 1518. The translator says "that this booke hathe ben made in Almayne language/ and out of Almayne it was translated into Latyne by mayster Jaques Locher/ and out of Latyn in to rethoryke Frenshe." He further informs us that he thought that a prose version would be more acceptable than a metrical one, and that he had executed the task at the request of his worshipful master Wynken de Worde, through the "enticement" and exhortation of the Countess of Richmond and Derby.]

Barclay's other pieces are the *Mirror of Good Manners*, and five *Eclogues*. He also wrote: 1. *The figure of our Mother holy church oppressed by the French king*, [known at present only from Maunsell's *Catalogue*.] 2. *Against Skelton*, [which is mentioned by Bale, but is not otherwise traceable.<sup>1</sup>] 3. *The Lives of St. Catharine, St. Margaret, and St. Etheldred*. 4. *The Life of S. George*, from Mantuan: dedicated to N. West, bishop of Ely, and written while our author was a monk of Ely. 5. [*The Introductory to wryte and pronoynce French*, which will occur again.] 6. *The famous cronycle of the warre which the Romaynes had agaynst Jugurth usurper of the kyngdome of Numidy: which cronycle is compyled in latyn by the renowned Sallust. And translated into englyshe by Syr Alexander Barclay, preest at commaundment of the right hye and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke*. The Latin and English are printed together. The Latin is dedicated to Vesey, bishop of Exeter, and dated "ex Cellula Hatfeld regis [*i.e.* King's Hatfield, Hertfordshire] iii. id. Novemb." A new edition, without the Latin and the two dedications, was printed in 1557. 7. *Orationes variae*. 8. *De fide Orthodoxa*.

The *Mirror* is a translation from a Latin elegiac poem, written in the year 1516 by Dominicus Mancinus, *De quatuor Virtutibus*. It is in the ballad stanza.<sup>2</sup> Our translator, as appears by the address prefixed, had been requested by Sir Giles Alynghton to abridge or modernize Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. But the poet declined this undertaking as unsuitable to his age, infirmities and profession, and chose rather to oblige his patron with a grave system of ethics. It is

<sup>1</sup> ["Bale mentions, among the writings of Alexander Barclay, a piece 'against Skelton.' It has not come down to us, but the extant works of Barclay bear testimony to the hearty dislike with which he regarded our author."—*Dyce*.]

<sup>2</sup> [It was printed separately by R. Pynson, without date, folio, and is included in the ed. of the *Ship of Fools*, 1570.]

certain that he made a prudent choice. The performance shows how little qualified he was to correct Gower. [He was not, however, the only renderer into our English tongue of the treatise on the Virtues; for W. de Worde printed, in or about 1518, a different translation with the original Latin of Mancinus. Of a still later version we shall speak in another place.]

Our author's *Éclogues*, I believe, are the first that appeared in the English language.<sup>1</sup> They are, like Petrarch's and Mantuan's,<sup>2</sup> of the moral and satirical kind, and contain but few touches of rural description and bucolic imagery. They seem to have been written about the year 1514.<sup>3</sup> The three first are paraphrased, with very large additions, from the *Miseriæ Curialium* of Eneas Sylvius,<sup>4</sup> and treat of the *Miseries of Courtiers and Courtes of all princes in generall*. The fourth (in which is introduced a long poem in stanzas, called the *Towre of vertue and honour*)<sup>5</sup> treats of the behaviour of *Riche men agaynst Poetes*. The fifth, of the *disputation of Citizens and men of the Countrey*. These pastorals, if they deserve the name, contain many allusions to the times. The poet is prolix in his praises of Alcock, bishop of Ely, and founder of Jesus College in Cambridge. This very learned and munificent prelate deservedly possessed some of the highest dignities in church and state. He was appointed Bishop of Ely in 1486. He died at Wisbeach in 1501.<sup>6</sup> Roffe says that he was tutor to Prince Edward, afterwards Edward V., but was removed by the king's uncle, Richard. Roffe, I think, is the only historian who records this anecdote."<sup>7</sup>

Yes since his dayes a cocke was in the fen,<sup>8</sup>  
I knowe his voyce among a thousande men :  
He taught, he preached, he mended every wrong ;  
But, Coridon, alas no good thing bideth long.

<sup>1</sup> [The first four were printed by R. Pynson, without date, 4to, with woodcuts; the fifth, *Of the Cytezen and Vlondishman*, came from W. de Worde's press, also without date, 4to. There are later editions.]

<sup>2</sup> Whom he mentions, speaking of Egloges. *Eglog.* 1, *Prolog.*

"And in like maner nowe lately in our dayes,  
Hath other Poetes attempted the same wayes :  
As the moste famous Baptiste Mantuan  
The best of that sort since Poetes first began,  
And Francis Petrарke also in Italy," &c.

<sup>3</sup> Because he praises "noble Henry which now departed late." Afterwards he falls into a long panegyric on his successor Henry VIII. *Eglog.* i. As he does in the *Ship of Fools*, fol. 205, a, where he says :

"This noble prince beginneth virtuously  
By iustice and pitie his realme to maynteyne."

He then wishes he may retake Jerusalem from the Turks, and compares him to Hercules, Achilles, &c.

<sup>4</sup> That is, Pius II., who died in 1464. This piece is among his *Epistles*, some of which are called tracts. *Epist.* clvi.

<sup>5</sup> It is properly an Elegy on the death of the Duke of Norfolk, lord high admiral.

<sup>6</sup> See Whart. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 675, 801, 381.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. Reg. Angl.* p. 212, edit. Hearn.

<sup>8</sup> The isle of Ely.

He all was a cocke,<sup>1</sup> he wakened vs from slepe,  
 And while we slumbred, he did our foldes kepe.  
 No cur, no foxes, nor butchers dogges wood,  
 Coulede hurte our fouldes, his watching was so good.  
 The hungry wolues, which that time did abounde,  
 What time he crowed,<sup>2</sup> abashed at the founde,  
 This cocke was no more abashed of the foxe,  
 Than is a lion abashed of an oxe.  
 When he went, faded the floure of al the fen;  
 I boldly dare sweare this cocke trode neuer hen!<sup>3</sup>

Alcock, while living, erected a beautiful sepulchral chapel in his cathedral, still remaining, but defaced. To which the shepherd alludes in the lines that follow:

This was a father of thinges pastorall,  
 And that well sheweth his Church cathedrall.  
 There was I lately about the middell of May:  
 Coridon, his Church is twenty fith more gay  
 Then all the Churches betwene the same and Kent;  
 There sawe I his tome and Chapell excellent.—  
 Our parithe Church is but a dongeon  
 To that gay Churche in comparison.—  
 When I sawe his figure lye in the Chapell side, &c.<sup>4</sup>

In another place he thus represents the general lamentation for the

<sup>1</sup> Alcock.

<sup>2</sup> Among Wren's MSS. Collections (Registr. parv. Confistorii Eliensis, called the *Black Book*) the following curious memorial, concerning a long sermon preached by Alcock at Saint Mary's in Cambridge, occurs: "1. Alcock, divina gratia episcopus Eliensis, prima die dominica, 1488, bonum et blandum sermonem prædicavit in ecclesia B. Mariæ Cantabrig. qui incepit in hora prima post meridiem et duravit in horam tertiam et ultra." He sometimes, and even in the episcopal character, condescended to sport with his own name. He published an address to the clergy assembled at Barnwell, under the title of *Galli cantus ad confratres suos curatos in synodo apud Barnwell*, 25 Sept. 1498; to which is annexed his Constitution for celebrating certain feasts in his diocese, printed by Pinson, 1498. In the beginning is the figure of the bishop preaching to his clergy, with two cocks on each side; and there is a cock in the first page. By the way, Alcock wrote many other pieces. *The Hill of Perfection*, from the Latin, 1497, 4to; again, 1501, 4to. *Spousage of a Virgin to Christ*, 1486. *Homeliæ vulgares. Meditationes piæ*. A fragment of a [translation of] the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, in English verse, is supposed to be by Bishop Alcock, MSS. Harl. 1704, 4, fol. 13. [But Sir F. Madden has pointed out to the present editor that this is the same which is found in MS. Sloane 1853, and MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3.20, and is assigned to Thomas Brampton. It was edited for the Percy Society by Mr. W. H. Black in 1842. Warton also wrongly attributed to Alcock the *Abbaye of the Holy Ghost*, a copy of which is in the Vernon MS. written before he was born. Sir F. Madden remarks: Another copy of the piece is in the Thornton MS. in the library of Lincoln Cathedral, A. 1. 17, of the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. Furnivall notes incidentally: "The Porkington MS. No. 20, belonging to Mr. Ormsby Gore, contains a translation of the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, beginning,

'Lord, in thyn yre vp take me noust,  
 And in thyn yre blame not me—'

This MS. may be about A. D. 1400. MS. No. 19, in the same collection, a translation in prose of the *Horologium Sapientiæ*, is dated May 31, 1419."

<sup>3</sup> [Sign. A iij, recto. The *butchers dogges wood* may be an oblique allusion to Wolfey.]

<sup>4</sup> Eglog. i. signat. A iij, recto.

death of this worthy prelate : and he rises above himself in describing the sympathy of the towers, arches, vaults, and images of Ely Monastery :

The pretie palace by him made in the fen,<sup>1</sup>  
 The maides, widowes, the wiues, and the men,  
 With deadly dolour were pearfed to the hearte,  
 When death conftreyned this shepheard to departe.  
 Corne, grasse, and fieldes, mourned for wo and payne,  
 For oft his prayer for them obtayned rayne.  
 The pleasaunt floures for wo faded eche one.—  
 The okes, elmes, and euery sorte of dere<sup>2</sup>  
 Shronke vnder shadowes, abating all their chere.  
 The mightie walles of Ely monastery,  
 The stones, rockes, and towres semblably,  
 The marble pillers and images echeone,  
 Swet all for sorowe, when this good cocke was gone, &c.<sup>3</sup>

It should be remembered that these pastorals were probably written while our poet was a monk of Ely ; and although Alcock was then dead, yet the memory of his munificence and piety was recent in the monastery.<sup>4</sup>

Speaking of the dignity and antiquity of shepherds, and particularly of Christ at his birth being first seen by shepherds, he seems to describe some large and splendid picture of the Nativity painted on the walls of Ely cathedral :

I sawe them my selfe well paynted on the wall,  
 Late gasing upon our Churche Cathedrall :  
 I sawe great wethers in picture and small lambes,  
 Daunfing, some sleeping, some sucking of their dams,  
 And some on the grounde me femed lying still :  
 Then sawe I horfemen at pendant of an hill.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He rebuilt, or greatly improved, the episcopal palace at Ely.

<sup>2</sup> beasts, quadrupeds of all kinds. So in the romance of *Syr Bevis*, signat. F iii :

“ Rattes and myce and such smal dere  
 Was his meate that seven yere.”

Whence Shakespeare took, as Dr. Percy has observed, the well-known distich of the madman in *King Lear*, act iii. sc. 4 :

“ But mice and rats, and such small deer  
 Have been Tom's food for seven long yere.”

[Dyce's edit. 1868, vii. 302.] It cannot now be doubted, that Shakespeare in this passage wrote *deer*, instead of *geer* or *cheer*, which have been conjecturally substituted by his commentators.

<sup>3</sup> *Egl.* iii.

<sup>4</sup> He also compliments Alcock's predecessor, Morton, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury : not without an allusion to his troubles, and restoration to favour, under Richard III. and Henry VII. *Egl.* iii. [sign. C ij, *verso*.]

“ And shepheard Morton, when he durst not appeare,  
 Howe his olde servauntes were carefull of his chere ;  
 In payne and pleasour they kept fidelitie,  
 Till grace agayne gaue him auctoritie, &c.”

And again, *Egl.* iiiii. [sign. C v, *recto*]:

“ Micene [Mecenas] and Morton be dead and gone certayne.”

The *Dean of Powles*, I suppose Dean Colet, is celebrated as a preacher, *ibid.* As is, “ The olde friar that wonned in Greenwich.” *Egl.* v.

<sup>5</sup> *Egl.* v. [sign. D iv, *recto*. A portion of this passage has already been cited (p. 119, *supr.*), and has therefore not been repeated.]

Virgil's poems are thus characterised in some of the best-turned lines we find in these pastorals :

He songe of fieldes and tilling of the grounde,  
Of shepe and oxen, and battayle did he founde ;  
So thrill he founded in termes eloquent  
I trowe his tunes went to the firmament.<sup>1</sup>

He gives us the following idea of the sports, spectacles and pleasures of his age :

Some men deliteth beholding men to fight,  
Or goodly knightes in pleasaunt apparayle,  
Or sturdie souldiers in bright harnes and male.<sup>2</sup>—  
Some glad is to see these Ladies beauteous,  
Goodly appoynted in clothing sumptuous :  
A number of people appoynted in like wise<sup>3</sup>  
In costly clothing after the newest gise ;  
Sportes, disgising,<sup>4</sup> fayre coursers mount and prounce,  
Or goodly ladies and knightes sing and daunce :  
To see fayre houses and curious picture[s],  
Or pleasaunt hanging<sup>5</sup> or sumptuous vesture,  
Of silke, of purpure, or golde moste orient,  
And other clothing diuers and excellent :  
Hye curious buildinges or palaces royall,  
Or Chapels, temples fayre and substanciall,  
Images grauen or vaultes curious ;<sup>6</sup>  
Gardeyns and medowes, or place<sup>7</sup> delicious,  
Forestes and parkes well furnished with dere,  
Cold pleasaunt streames or welles fayre and clere,  
Curious cundites, &c.<sup>8</sup>

I shall here throw together some traits in these Eclogues of the common customs and manners of the times. A shepherd, after mentioning his skill in shooting birds with a bow, says :

No shepheard throweth the axeltree so farre.<sup>9</sup>

A gallant is thus described :

For women vfe to loue them moste of all,  
Which boldly bofteth, or that can sing and iet ;  
Whiche hath the maistrey ofte time in tournament,  
Or that can gambauld, or daunce feat and gent.<sup>10</sup>

The following forts of wine are recited :

As Muscadell, Caprike, Romney, and Maluesy,  
From Gene brought, from Grece or Hungary.<sup>11</sup>

As are the dainties of the table. A shepherd at court must not think to eat

Swanne, nor heron,  
Curlewe, nor crane.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Egl.* iv. [sign. C iv, *verso*, col. 2.]

<sup>2</sup> armour and coats of mail.

<sup>4</sup> masques, &c.

<sup>6</sup> roofs, curiously vaulted.

<sup>8</sup> *Egl.* ii. [sign. B i, *recto*, col. 1.]

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* [sign. A ij, *recto*, col. 2, edit. *ut sup.*]

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* ii. [sign. B ij, *recto*, col. 1.]

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> apparelled in uniform.

<sup>5</sup> tapestry.

<sup>7</sup> houses, seats.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* i ; [sign. B iii, *recto*, col. 1.]

Again :

What fishe is of sauor swete and delicious,—  
Roasted or sodden in swete hearbes or wine ;  
Or fried in oyle, moſte ſaporous and fine.—

The pasties of a hart.

The crane, the ſeſant, the pecocke and curlewe,  
The partriche, plouer, bitter, and heronſewe—  
Seasoned ſo well in licour redolent,  
That the hall is full of pleaſaunt ſmell and ſent.<sup>1</sup>

At a feaſt at court :

Slowe be the ſeruers in ſeruing in alway,  
But ſwift be they after, taking thy meate away :  
A ſpeciall cuſtome is vſed them amonge,  
No good diſh to ſuffer on borde to be longe :  
If the diſhe be pleaſaunt, eyther fleſhe or fiſhe,  
Ten handes at once ſwarme in the diſhe :  
And if it be fleſh, ten kniues ſhall thou ſee  
Mangling the fleſh, and in the platter flee :  
To put there thy handes is perill without fayle,  
Without a gauntlet or els a gloue of mayle.<sup>2</sup>

The two laſt lines remind us of a ſaying of Quin, who declared it was not ſafe to ſit down to a turtle-feaſt in one of the city-halls, without a baſket-hilted knife and fork. Not that I ſuppoſe Quin borrowed his *bons-mots* from black-letter books.

The following lines point out ſome of the feſtive tales of our anceſtors :

Yet would I gladly heare ſome mery fit  
Of mayde Marian, or els of Robin hood ;  
Or Bentleyes ale which chafeth well the blood,  
Of perre of Norwich, or ſauce of Wilberton,  
Or buckiſh Joly well-ftuffed as a ton.<sup>3</sup>

He mentions “ Bentley’s Ale,” which “ maketh me to winke ; ”<sup>4</sup> and ſome of our ancient domeſtic paſtimes and amuſements are recorded :

Then is it pleaſure the yonge maydens amonge  
To watche by the fire the winters nightes long :—  
And in the aſhes ſome playes for to marke,  
To couer wardens [pears] for fault of other warke ;  
To toſte white ſheuers, and to make prophitroles ;  
And aſtir talking oft time to fill the bowles, &c.<sup>5</sup>

He mentions ſome muſical inſtruments :

Methinkes no mirth is ſcant,  
Where no rejoyſing of minſtrelſie doth want :  
The bagpipe or fiddle to us is delectable, &c.<sup>6</sup>

And the mercantile commodities of different countries and cities :

Englande hath cloth, Burdeux hath ſtore of wine,  
Cornwall hath tinne, and lymſter woolls fine.  
London hath ſcarlet, and Briſtowe pleaſaunt red, &c.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* [edit. *ut ſupr.* ſign. B iii, *verſo.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* [ſign. B iv, col. 2.]

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* iv. [ſign. C vi, *recto*, col. 1.]

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* iv. [ſign. C iv, *verſo*, col. 2.]

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* iv. [ſign. C iv, *verſo.*]

Of songs at feasts :

When your fat dishes smoke hote vpon your table,  
Then layde ye songes and balades magnifie,  
If they be mery, or written craftely,  
Ye clappe your handes and to the making harke,  
And one say to other, lo here a proper warke.<sup>1</sup>

He says that minstrels and fingers are highly favoured at court, especially those of the French *gife*.<sup>2</sup> Also jugglers and pipers.<sup>3</sup>

We have before seen, that our author and Skelton were rivals. He alludes to Skelton, who had been laureated at Oxford, in the following lines :

Then is he decked as Poete laureate,  
When stinking Thais made him her graduate :—  
If they have smelled the artes triuiall,  
They count them Poetes hye and heroicall.<sup>4</sup>

The *Tower of Vertue and Honour*, introduced as a song of one of the shepherds into these pastorals, exhibits no very masterly strokes of a sublime and inventive fancy. It has much of the trite imagery usually applied in the fabrication of these ideal edifices. It, however, shows our author in a new walk of poetry. This magnificent tower or castle is built on inaccessible cliffs of flint: the walls are of gold, bright as the sun, and decorated with "olde historyes and pictures manyfolde:" the turrets are beautifully shaped. Among its heroic inhabitants are Henry VIII., Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Shrewsbury. Labour is the porter at the gate, and Virtue governs the house. Labour is thus pictured, with some degree of spirit :

Fearfull is labour without fauour at all,  
Dreadful of visage, a monster intreatable,  
Like Cerberus lying at gates infernall;  
To some men his looke is halfe intollerable,  
His shoulders large, for burthen strong and able,  
His bodie bristled, his necke mightie and stiffe;  
By sturdie senewes, his ioyntes stronge and stable,  
Like marble stoncs his handes be as stiffe.  
Here must man vanquish the dragon of Cadmus,  
Against the Chimer here stoutly must he fight,  
Here must he vanquish the fearefull Pegasus,  
For the golden fleece here must he shewe his might:  
If labour gaynsay, he can nothing be right,  
This monster labour oft chaungeth his figure,  
Sometime an oxe, a bore, or lion wight,  
Playnely he seemeth, thus changeth his nature.  
Like as Protheus ofte chaunged his stature.

Under his browes he dreadfully doth loure  
With glistering eyen, and side-dependaunt beard,  
For thirft and hunger alway his chere is soure,  
His horned forehead doth make faynt heartes feard.

<sup>1</sup> *Elg.* iv. [sign. C iv, verso.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iv.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iv. [sign. C v, verso, col. 2.]

Alway he drinketh, and yet alway is drye,  
The sweat distilling with dropes aboundaunt, &c.

The poet adds that, when the noble Howard had long boldly contended with this hideous monster, had broken the bars and doors of the castle, had bound the porter, and was now preparing to ascend the tower of Virtue and Honour, Fortune and Death appeared, and interrupted his progress.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest modern Latin Bucolics are those of Petrarch, in number twelve, written about 1350.<sup>2</sup> The Eclogues of Mantuan, our author's model, appeared about 1400, and were followed by many others. Their number multiplied so soon, that a collection of thirty-eight modern bucolic poets in Latin was printed at Basle in 1546.<sup>3</sup> These writers judged this indirect and disguised mode of dialogue, consisting of simple characters which spoke freely and plainly, the most safe and convenient vehicle for abusing the corruptions of the church.

[It may perhaps be added here, that this was the character of the Pastoral school of poetry long before Petrarch's time, for the Eclogues of Virgil are, in several instances, mere apologies, and so it was, later on, with those of Browne, author of the *Shepherds Pipe*. The political verses printed by Bentley, in his *Excerpta Historica*, 1833, are equally in the nature of apologies, and paint real persons and events under feigned names. The same observation applies to the *Parlyament of Byrdes*, Drayton's *Owl*, and other pieces which might be specified.]

Mantuan became so popular, as to acquire the estimation of a classic, and to be taught in schools. Nothing better proves the reputation in which this writer was held, than a speech of Shakespeare's pedant, the pedagogue Holofernes :

Fauste precor, gelida quando  
Pecus omne sub umbrâ,<sup>4</sup>

and so forth. Ah, good old Mantuan ! I may speak of thee, as the traveller doth of Venice,

Vinegia, Vinegia chi non te vede,  
Ei non te pregia.

Old Mantuan ! Old Mantuan ! Who understandeth thee not loves thee not."<sup>5</sup> But although Barclay copies Mantuan, the recent and separate publication in England of Virgil's bucolics by Wynkyn de Worde<sup>6</sup> might partly suggest the new idea of this kind of poetry.

With what avidity the Italian and French poets, in their respective

<sup>1</sup> *Egl.* iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Bucolicorum Eclogæ* xii.

<sup>3</sup> [*Bucolicorum auctores* xxxviii. quotquot à Virgilii ætate, &c. See Brunet, last edit. i. 1373.]

<sup>4</sup> One of Mantuan's lines. Farnaby, in his Preface to Martial, says that *Fauste precor gelida* was too often preferred to *Arma virumque cano*. Mantuan was three times printed in England before the year 1600. [See Herbert's edit. of Ames for the full and correct titles, ii. 941, 1268.]

<sup>5</sup> *Love's Lab. L.* act iv. sc. 3 [edit. *ut suprà* ii. 195.]

<sup>6</sup> [W. de Worde appears to have printed this pretty often ; but some of the editions cited by Ames and others are doubtful.]

languages, entered into this species of composition, when the rage of Latin versification had subsided, and for the purposes above mentioned, is an inquiry reserved for a future period. I shall only add here, that before the close of the fifteenth century, Virgil's bucolics were translated into Italian<sup>1</sup> by Bernardo Pulci, Fossa de Cremona, [Hieronimo] Benivieni, and [Jacopo] Fiorino [de] Buoninsegni.

[We must not neglect to notice the work, which of all those which have come down to us from Barclay's pen, is best entitled, perhaps, to the merit of originality. This book was called *The Introductory to wryte and pronounce French compyled by Alexander Barclay compendiously at the commaudemēt of the ryght hye excellent and myghty prynce Thomas duke of Northfolke*. The particulars, which precede, are above a shield of arms, exhibiting a lion rampant holding another shield with a lion on it, and beneath the woodcut occurs: "R. Coplande to the whyte lyone, Ballade [in French]." This educational treatise was printed by Copland in 1521, and occupies only 30 folio pages. It is the tract to which Palsgrave refers in his *Eclaircissement de la Langue Française*, 1530.<sup>2</sup>

Barclay was employed by Henry VIII. to compose the impresses, or some of them, which were used at the *Field of Cloth of Gold* in 1520.<sup>3</sup> Barclay translated the Eclogues of Æneas Sylvius into English; but it does not appear who was the renderer into our language of that writer's somewhat tragical story of *Lucrece and Eurialus*, which went through at least three editions between 1549 and 1567, and which affords a curious glimpse of the state of Italian manners and morals in the fifteenth century.

Another writer, belonging to this period, was George Cavendish, gentleman-usher to Cardinal Wolfey, author of his *Life*, and also of certain Metrical Visions, somewhat on the plan of the *Mirror for Magistrates*. Of the latter some specimens are furnished elsewhere:<sup>4</sup> they are not remarkable for poetical elegance. Cavendish's *Life of Wolfey* itself is a work too well known to require further notice.]

<sup>1</sup> Viz. *La Bucolica di Virgilio per el clarissimo poeta frate Evangelista Fossa de Cremona*. Venezia, 1494, 4to. But thirteen years earlier we find *la Bucolica di Virgilio tradotta da Bernardo Pulci con le bucoliche di Fr. de arsochis, &c.* Firenze, 1481. A dedication is prefixed, by which it appears that Buoninsegni wrote a *Piscatory Eclogue*, the first ever written in Italy, in the year 1468.

<sup>2</sup> ["John Palsgrave," notes Warton himself, "a polite scholar and an eminent preceptor of the French language about the reign of Henry VIII., and one of the first who published in English a grammar or system of rules for teaching that language."]

<sup>3</sup> [Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 1st S. i. 163.]

<sup>4</sup> [*Letters of Royal and Illust. Ladies*, iii. 91, 273.]

## SECTION XXIX.

**I**T is not the plan of this work to comprehend the Scottish poetry. But when I consider the close and national connection between England and Scotland in the progress of manners and literature, I am sensible I should be guilty of a partial and defective representation of the poetry of the former, were I to omit in my series a few Scottish writers, who have adorned the present period with a degree of sentiment and spirit, a command of phraseology, and a fertility of imagination, not to be found in any English poet since Chaucer and Lydgate: more especially as they have left striking specimens of allegorical invention, a species of composition which appears to have been for some time almost totally extinguished in England.

The first I shall mention is William Dunbar, a native of Salton in East Lothian, about the year [1460].<sup>1</sup> His most celebrated poems are *The Thistle and the Rose* and *The Golden Terge*.

*The Thistle and the Rose* was occasioned by the marriage of James IV., King of Scotland, with Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry VII., King of England: an event, in which the whole future political state of both nations was vitally interested, and which ultimately produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms. It was finished on the ninth day of May in the year 1503, nearly three months before the arrival of the queen in Scotland: whose progress from Richmond to Edinburgh was attended with a greater magnificence of parade, processions, and spectacles, than I ever remember to have seen on any similar occasion.<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of particular notice, that during this expedition there was in the magnificent suite of the princess a company of players, under the direction of one John Inglis, who is sometimes called Johannes. "Amonge the faide lordes and the qweene was in order, Johannes and his companye, the minstrells of musicke," &c.<sup>3</sup> In the midst of a most splendid procession, the princess rode on horse-back behind the king into the city of Edinburgh.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards the ceremonies of this stately marriage are described; which yet is not equal, in magnificence and expense, to that of Richard II. with Isabel of France at Calais in 1397. This last-mentioned marriage is re-

<sup>1</sup> ["William Dunbar was born about the middle of the fifteenth century. The precise date of his birth has not been ascertained, but, from circumstances to be afterwards stated, we may with certainty place it not later than the year 1460."—*Laing*. It may be added that all the extracts from Dunbar, derived by Warton and his editors from inferior texts, have been collated with Mr. Laing's ed. 1834, 2 vols. 8vo.]

<sup>2</sup> See a memoir, cited above, in Leland's *Coll.* tom. iii. *Append.* edit. 1770, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> P. 267. See also, pp. 299, 300, 280, 289.

<sup>4</sup> P. 287.

corded with the most minute circumstances, the dresses of the king and the new queen, the names of the French and English nobility who attended, the presents, one of which is a collar of gold studded with jewels and worth three thousand pounds, given on both sides, the banquets, entertainments, and a variety of other curious particulars, in five large vellum pages, in an ancient Register of Merton priory in Surrey, in old French.<sup>1</sup> Froissart, who is most commonly prolix in describing pompous ceremonies, might have greatly enriched his account of the same royal wedding from this valuable and authentic record.<sup>2</sup>

It may be pertinent to premise, that Margaret was a singular patroness of the Scottish poetry, now beginning to flourish. Her bounty is thus celebrated by Stewart of Lorne, in a Scottish poem, called *Lerges of this New Zeir Day*, written in the year 1527:

Grit God relief<sup>3</sup> Margaret our quene!  
For and scho war as scho hes bene<sup>4</sup>  
Scho wald be lurger of lufray<sup>5</sup>  
Then all the laif that I of mene,<sup>6</sup>  
For lerges<sup>7</sup> of this new-yeir day.<sup>8</sup>

Dunbar's *Thistle and Rose* is opened with the following stanzas, which are remarkable for their descriptive and picturesque beauties:

Quhen<sup>9</sup> Merch wes with variand windis past,  
And Appryll had with hir silver schouris  
Tane leif<sup>10</sup> at Nature, with ane orient blast,  
And lusty May, that muddir<sup>11</sup> is of flouris,  
Had maid the birdis to begyn thair houris,<sup>12</sup>  
Amang the tendir odouris reid and quhyt,  
Quhois armony to heir it wes delyt:  
In bed at morrow sleiping as I lay,  
Me thoct Aurora, with hir cristall ene

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Laud, E. 54, fol. 105, b. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Cron.* tom. iv. p. 226, ch. 78. B. *penult.* Paris, 1574. Or lord Berners's Translation, vol. ii. f. 275, cap. ccxvi. edit. 1523.

<sup>3</sup> great God help, &c.

<sup>4</sup> If she continues to do as she has done.

<sup>5</sup> bounty. Fr. l'Offre.

<sup>6</sup> any other I could speak of.

<sup>7</sup> largess, bounty.

<sup>8</sup> St. x.

<sup>9</sup> when. *Qu* has the force of *av*.

<sup>10</sup> taken leave.

<sup>11</sup> mother.

<sup>12</sup> Mattin orisons. From *Hore* in the missal. So again in the *Golden Terge*, St. ii. Where he also calls the birds the "chapel-clarkes" of Venus, St. iii. In the *Court of Love*, Chaucer introduces the birds finging a mass in honour of May. Morris's *Chaucer*, vol. iv. p. 47, v. 1352, *seq.*

"On May day, when the larke began to ryfe,  
To matens wente the lusty nightingale."

He begins the service with *Domine labia*. The eagle sings the *Venite*. The popinjay *Cæli enarrant*. The peacock *Dominus regnavit*. The owl *Benedicite*. The *Te Deum* is converted into *Te Deum Amoris*, and sung by the thrush, &c. &c. Skelton, in the *Book of Philip Sparrow*, ridicules the missal, in supposing various parts of it to be sung by birds. Much the same sort of fiction occurs in [*the Armonye of Byrdes*, a poem printed circa 1550, and in] Sir David Lindsay's *Complaynt of the Papyngo*, edit. ut *infr.* signat. B iii:

"Suppose the geis and hennis suld cry alarum,  
And we fall serve *secundum usum Sarum*," &c.

In at the window lukit<sup>1</sup> by the day,  
 And halit<sup>2</sup> me with visage pail and grene;  
 On quhois hand a lark sang, fro the splene,<sup>3</sup>  
 "Awalk, lumaris,<sup>4</sup> out of your slomerin,<sup>5</sup>  
 Se how the lusty morrow dois up spring!"  
 Me thocht fresche May befoir my bed up stude,  
 In weid<sup>6</sup> depaynt of mony diversis hew,  
 Sober, benyng, and full of mansuetude,  
 In brycht attair of flouris forgit new,<sup>7</sup>  
 Hevinly of color, quhyt, reid, broun, and blew,  
 Balmitt in dew, and gilt with Phebus' bemys;  
 Quhyll al the house illumynit of hir lemys.<sup>8</sup>

May then rebukes the poet for not rising early, according to his annual custom, to celebrate the approach of the spring; especially as the lark has now announced the dawn of day, and his heart in former years had always

——— glaid and blisful bene  
 Sangis<sup>9</sup> to mak undir the levis grene.<sup>10</sup>

The poet replies, that the spring of the present year was unpromising and ungenial; unattended with the usual song of birds and serenity of sky: and that storms and showers, and the loud blasts of the horn of lord Eolus, had usurped her mild dominion, and hitherto prevented him from wandering at leisure under the vernal branches. May rejects his excuse, and with a smile of majesty commands him to arise, and to perform his annual homage to the flowers, the birds, and the sun. They both enter a delicious garden, filled with the richest colours and odours. The sun suddenly appears in all his glory, and is thus described in the luminous language of Lydgate:

The purpoure sone, with tendir bemys reid,  
 In orient bricht as angell did appeir,  
 Throw goldin skyis putting up his heid,  
 Quhois gilt tressis schone so wondir cleir,  
 That all the world tuke comfort fer and neir.<sup>11</sup>

Immediately the birds, like the morning-stars, singing together, hail the unusual appearance of the sun-shine:

And, as the blisful sounne of cherarchy,<sup>12</sup>  
 The fowlis song throw confort of the licht;

<sup>1</sup> looked.

<sup>2</sup> hailed.

<sup>3</sup> with good will.

<sup>4</sup> lovers.

<sup>5</sup> slumbering.

<sup>6</sup> attire.

<sup>7</sup> From Chaucer, *Miller's Tale*, vol. ii. p. 100, v. 69, Morris.

"For brighter was the schynnyng of hir hewe,  
 Than in the Tour the noble i-forged newe."

<sup>8</sup> brightness.

<sup>9</sup> songs.

<sup>10</sup> St. iv. See Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, vol. ii. p. 33, v. 183, Morris.

"Sche was arisen, and al redy dight;  
 For May wole have no sloggardy a nyght.  
 The seifoun priketh every gentil herte,  
 And maketh him out of his sleepe sterte,  
 And feith, 'Arys, and do thin observance,'" &c.

<sup>11</sup> St. viii.

<sup>12</sup> The hierarchy. See *Job*, ch. xxxviii. v. 7. The morning-stars singing together.

The birdis did with oppin vocis cry,  
 O lvaris fo, "Away thow dully nycht,  
 And welcum day that confortis every wicht.  
 Haill May, haill Flora, haill Aurora schene,  
 Haill princes Nature, haill Venus luvis quene."<sup>1</sup>

Nature is then introduced, issuing her interdict, that the progress of the spring should be no longer interrupted, and that Neptune and Eolus should cease from disturbing the waters and air :

Dame Nature gaif an inhibitioun thair,  
 To ferls Neptunus, and Eolus the bawld,<sup>2</sup>  
 Nocht to perturb the watter nor the air ;  
 And that no schouris<sup>3</sup> [snell] and no blastis cawld  
 Effray suld<sup>4</sup> flouris, nor fowlis on the fald ;  
 Scho bad eik Juno goddess of the sky  
 That scho the hevin suld keip amene and dry.<sup>5</sup>

This preparation and suspense are judicious and ingenious ; as they give dignity to the subject of the poem, awaken our curiosity, and introduce many poetical circumstances. Nature immediately commands every bird, beast, and flower, to appear in her presence ; and, as they had been used to do every May-morning, to acknowledge her universal sovereignty. She sends the roe to bring the beasts, the swallow to collect the birds, and the yarrow<sup>6</sup> to summon the flowers. They are assembled before her in an instant. The lion advances first, whose figure is drawn with great force and expression :

This awfull beist full terrible of cheir,  
 Perling of luke, and stout of countenance,  
 Rycht strong of corpis, of fassoun fair, but feir,<sup>7</sup>  
 Lusty of schaip, lycht of deliverance,  
 Reid of his cullour as the ruby glance,  
 On feild of gold he stude full mychtely  
 With floure de lycis circulit<sup>8</sup> lustely.<sup>9</sup>

This is an elegant and ingenious mode of blazoning the Scottish arms, which are a lion with a border or tressure, adorned with flower de luces. We should remember, that heraldry was now a science of high importance and esteem. Nature, lifting up his *clavis cleir* or shining claws, and suffering him to rest on her knee, crowns him with a radiant diadem of precious stones, and creates him the king of beasts : at the same time she enjoins him to exercise justice with mercy, and not to suffer his subjects of the smallest size or degree to be oppressed by those of superior strength and dignity. This part of Nature's charge to the lion is closed with the following beautiful stroke, which indicates the moral tendernefs of the poet's heart :

<sup>1</sup> St. ix.

<sup>2</sup> bold.

<sup>3</sup> read *Scho u-ris*.

<sup>4</sup> should [affright.]

<sup>5</sup> St. x.

<sup>6</sup> The yarrow is *Achillea* or *Millefolium*, commonly called *Sneefwort*. There is no reason for selecting this plant to go on a message to the flowers ; but that its name has been supposed to be derived from *Arrow*, being held a remedy for healing wounds inflicted by that weapon. The poet, to apologise for his boldness in personifying a plant, has added, "full craftely conjurit scho." St. xii.

<sup>7</sup> fierce.

<sup>8</sup> encircled.

<sup>9</sup> St. xiv.

And lat no bowghe with his busteous<sup>1</sup> hornis  
 The meik pluch-ox<sup>2</sup> oppres for all his pryde,  
 Bot in the yok go peciable him besyd.<sup>3</sup>

She next crowns the eagle king of fowls: and sharpening his talons like darts of steel, orders him to govern great and small, the wren or the peacock, with an uniform and equal impartiality. I need not point out to my reader the political lessons couched under these commands. Nature now calls the flowers; and observing the thistle to be surrounded with a bush of spears, and therefore qualified for war, gives him a crown of rubies, and says, "In field go forth and fend the laif."<sup>4</sup> The poet continues elegantly to picture other parts of the royal arms; in ordering the thistle, who is now king of vegetables, to prefer all herbs or flowers of rare virtue and rich odour: nor ever to permit the nettle to associate with the fleur de lis, nor any ignoble weed to be ranked in competition with the lily. In the next stanza, where Nature directs the thistle to honour the rose above all other flowers, exclusively of the heraldic meaning our author with much address insinuates to King James IV. an exhortation to conjugal fidelity, drawn from the high birth, beauty, and amiable accomplishments of the royal bride, the Princess Margaret. Among the pageants exhibited at Edinburgh in honour of the nuptials, she was complimented with the following curious mixture of classical and scriptural history. "Ny to that crois was a scarfawft [scaffold] made, where was represented Paris and the three Deesses, with Mercure that gaff hym the apyll of gold for to gyffe to the most fayre of the Thre, which he gave to Venus. In the scarfawft was also represented the Salutation of Gabriell to the Virgyne in saying *Ave gratia*, and fens after [next,] the sollempnizacion of the very maryage betwix the said Vierge and Joseph."<sup>5</sup>

Nor hald non udir flour in sic denty<sup>6</sup>  
 As the fresche Rois, of cullour reid and quhyt;  
 For gifte thow dois,<sup>7</sup> hurt is thyne honesty,  
 Considdering that no flour is so perfyte,  
 So full of vertew, plesans, and delyt,  
 So ful of blisful angeillike bewty,  
 Imperiall birth, honour, and dignite.<sup>8</sup>

Nature then addresses the rose whom she calls, "O lusty daughter most benyng," and whose lineage she exalts above that of the lily. This was a preference of Tudor to Valois. She crowns the rose with *clarified* gems, the lustre of which illumines all the land. The rose is hailed queen by the flowers. Last, her praises are sung by the universal chorus of birds, the sound of which awakens the poet from his delightful dream. The fairy scene has vanished, and he calls to the muse to perpetuate in verse the wonders of the splendid vision.

Although much fine invention and sublime fabling are displayed in

<sup>1</sup> boisterous, strong.

<sup>2</sup> plough-ox.

<sup>3</sup> St. xvi.

<sup>4</sup> defend the rest.

<sup>5</sup> Leland, *Coll.* iii. Append. p. 289, *ut supr.* Not to mention the great impropriety, which they did not perceive, of applying such a part of scripture.

<sup>6</sup> *dainty*, price.

<sup>7</sup> if thou doest.

<sup>8</sup> St. xxi.

the allegorical visions of our old poets, yet this mode of composition, by dealing only in imaginary personages, and by excluding real characters and human actions, necessarily fails in that chief source of entertainment which we seek in ancient poetry, the representation of ancient manners.

Another general observation, immediately resulting from the subject of this poem, may be here added, which illustrates the present and future state of the Scottish poetry. The marriage of a princess of England with a king of Scotland, from the new communication and intercourse opened between the two courts and kingdoms by such a connection, must have greatly contributed to polish the rude manners, and to improve the language, literature, and arts, of Scotland.

The design of Dunbar's *Golden Targe* is to shew the gradual and imperceptible influence of love, when too far indulged, over reason. The discerning reader will observe, that the cast of this poem is tinged with the morality and imagery of [Chaucer's] *Romaunt of the Rose*, and the [poem called the *Flower and the Leaf*.]<sup>1</sup>

The poet walks forth at the dawn of a bright day. The effects of the rising sun on a vernal landscape, with its accompaniments, are thus delineated in the manner of Lydgate, yet with more strength, distinctness, and exuberance of ornament :

Bryght as the stern of day begouth to schyne,  
 Quhen gone to bed war Vesper and Lucyne,  
 I raise, and by a roser<sup>2</sup> did me rest :  
 Up sprang the goldyn candill matutyne,  
 With cleir depurit<sup>3</sup> bemes cristallyne,  
 Glading the mery foulis in thair nest :  
 Or Phebus wes in purpur cape<sup>4</sup> revest,  
 Up raise the lark, the hevenis menstrale syne,<sup>5</sup>  
 In May in till a morow myrthfullest.

Full angellike thir birdis sang thair houris,  
 Within their courtyns<sup>6</sup> grene, in to thair bouris  
 Apparalit quhite and reyd wyth blomes suete :  
 Anamalit wes the feyld wyth all colouris,  
 The perly droppis schuke in silvir schouris,<sup>7</sup>  
 Quhill all in balme did branch and levis flete  
 To part fra Phebus, did Aurora grete,



<sup>1</sup> ["*The Golden Targe* is moral, and so are many of his smaller pieces; but humour, description, allegory, great poetical genius, and a vast wealth of words, all unite to form the complexion of Dunbar's poetry."—*Pinkerton*. "Mr. Warton, who has bestowed great commendations on Dunbar, observes that his genius is 'peculiarly of a moral and didactic cast;' and it is certainly in such pieces that he is most confessedly superior to all who preceded, and to nearly all who have followed him; but his fables, his allegorical and descriptive poetry, and his tales, are all admirable, and full of fancy and originality."—*G. Ellis*.]

<sup>2</sup> rose-tree.

<sup>3</sup> purified.

<sup>4</sup> cape. Ere Phebus was dressed in his purple robe.

<sup>5</sup> then. [The printed copies read *syne*, instead of *syne*, as originally given by Warton.—*Price*.]

<sup>6</sup> curtains.

<sup>7</sup> The pearled drops fell from the trees like silver showers.

Hir cristfall teiris I saw hyng on the flouris,  
 Quhilk he for lufe all drank up with his hete.  
 For mirth of May, wyth skippis and wyth hoppis,  
 The birdis fang upon the tender croppis,<sup>1</sup>  
 With curious notis, as Venus chapell clerkis :  
 The rofis yong, new spreding of thair knoppis,<sup>2</sup>  
 War ponderit<sup>3</sup> brycht with hevinly berial droppis,  
 Throu bemes reid, birnyng as ruby sperkis ;  
 The skyes rang for schoutyng of the larkis,  
 The purpur hevin oure skailit in silvir floppis<sup>4</sup>  
 Ouregilt the treis, branchis, levis and barkis.  
 Down throu the ryce<sup>5</sup> a rivyr ran wyth stremys  
 So lustily agayn the lykand<sup>6</sup> lemys,  
 That all the lake as lamp did leme of licht,  
 Quhilk schadoutit all about wyth twynkling gleimis ;<sup>7</sup>  
 The bewis<sup>8</sup> baithit war in secund bemis,  
 Throu the reflex of Phebus visage brycht  
 On every side the hegeis raise on hicht :<sup>9</sup>  
 The bank was grene, the broke wes ful of bremys,  
 The stanneris cleir as sternis in frosty nycht.  
 The cristfall air, the sapher firmament,  
 The ruby skyes of the orient,  
 Kest<sup>10</sup> berial bemes on emerant bewis grene,  
 The rosy garth,<sup>11</sup> depaynt and redolent,  
 With purpur, azure, gold, and goulis<sup>12</sup> gent,  
 Arayed wes by dame Flora the quene,  
 So nobily, that joy wes for to sene :  
 The roch,<sup>13</sup> agayn the ryvir resplendent,  
 As low enlumynit all the leves schene.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> branches.<sup>2</sup> knobs ; buds.<sup>3</sup> besprinkled. An heraldic term. See *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, ii. p. 158, *seq.*<sup>4</sup> covered with streaks, *slips*, of silver.<sup>5</sup> through the bushes, the trees. Rice, or *Ris*, is properly a long branch. This word is still used in the west of England. Chaucer, *Miller's Tale*, v. 137 :

"And therupon he had a gay surplys,  
 As whyt as is the blofme upon the rys."

So Alexander Scot:

"Welcumoure rubent rois vpoun þe ryce."

[A. Scot's poems, edit. Laing, p. 5.] So also Lydgate, in his poem called *London Lickpenny* (MSS. Harl. 367) :

"Hot pefcode own [one] began to crye,  
 Straberys rype, and cherries in the ryse."

That is, as he passed through London streets, they cried, hot peas, ripe strawberries, and cherries on a bough or twig.

<sup>6</sup> pleasant.<sup>7</sup> The water blazed like a lamp, and threw about it shadowy gleams of twinkling light.<sup>8</sup> boughs.<sup>9</sup> the high-raised edges, or bank.<sup>10</sup> cast.<sup>11</sup> garden.<sup>12</sup> gules. The heraldic term for red.<sup>13</sup> The rock, glittering with the reflection of the river, illuminated as with fire all the bright leaves. *Low* is flame.<sup>14</sup> Compare Chaucer's Morning in the *Knight's Tale*, v. 633 (edit. Morris) :

"The busy larke, messenger of day,  
 Salueth in hire song the morwe gray ;

Our author, lulled by the music of the birds and the murmuring of the water, falls asleep on the flowers, which he calls "Flora's mantill." In a vision, he sees a ship approach, whose sails are like the "blossom upon the spray," and whose masts are of gold bright as the "star of day."<sup>1</sup> She glides swiftly through a crystal bay; and lands in the blooming meadows, among the green rushes and reeds, an hundred ladies clad in rich but loose attire. They are clothed in green kirtles; their golden tresses, tied only with glittering threads, flow to the ground; and their snowy bosoms are unveiled:

Als fresche as flouris that in May up spredis  
In kirtillis grene, withoutyn kell<sup>2</sup> or bandis:  
Thair brycht hairis hang gletering on the strandis  
In tressis clere, wyppit<sup>3</sup> with goldyn thredis;  
With pappis<sup>4</sup> quhite, and mydlis small as wandis.<sup>5</sup>

In this brilliant assembly, the poet sees Nature, dame Venus quene, the fresche Aurora, May, "lady Flora schene," Juno, Latona, Proserpine, Diana "goddeffs of the chafe and woodis grene," lady Clio, Minerva, Fortune, and Lucina. These "michty quenes" are crowned with diadems, glittering like the morning-star. They enter a garden. May, the queen of mirthful months, is supported between her sisters April and June: as she walks up and down the garden, the birds begin to sing, and Nature gives her a gorgeous robe adorned with every colour under heaven:

Thare saw I Nature present hir<sup>6</sup> a gown  
Rich to behald, and nobil of renoun,  
Off evry hew undir the hevin that bene  
Depaynt, and braid<sup>7</sup> be gude proporcoun.<sup>8</sup>

The vegetable tribes then do their obeisance to Nature in these polished and elegant verses:

And evry blome on branch, and eke on bonk,  
Opnyt, and spred thair balmy levis donk,

And fyry Phebus ryseth up so bright,  
That al the orient laugheth of the light,  
And with his stremes dryeth in the greves  
The silver dropes, hongyng on the leeves."<sup>9</sup>

It is seldom that we find Chaucer indulging his genius to an absurd excess in florid descriptions. The same cannot be said of Lydgate.

<sup>1</sup> In our old poetry and the romances, we frequently read of ships superbly decorated. This was taken from real life. [In the description of the Venetian ships which conveyed the crusaders to Constantinople in 1202 we meet with similar particulars.] Froissart, speaking of the French fleet in 1387, prepared for the invasion of England under the reign of Richard II. says, that the ships were painted with the arms of the commanders, and gilt, with banners, pennons, and standards of silk: and that the masts were painted from top to bottom, glittering with gold. The ship of Lord Guy of Tremoyll was so sumptuously garnished, that the painting and colours cost 2000 French franks, more than 222 pounds of English currency at that time. See Grafton's *Chron.* p. 364. At his second expedition into France, in 1417, Henry V. was in a ship, whose sails were of purple silk most richly embroidered with gold. Speed's *Chron.* B. ix, p. 636, edit. 1611. Many other instances might be brought from ancient miniatures and illuminations.

<sup>2</sup> caul.

<sup>3</sup> bound.

<sup>4</sup> paps.

<sup>5</sup> St. vii.

<sup>6</sup> to her.

<sup>7</sup> broad.

<sup>8</sup> St. x.

Full low enclynyng to thair Quene so clere,  
Quham of thair nobill noriſing thay thonk.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately another court, or group, appears. Here Cupid the king preſides :

—wyth bow in hand ybent,  
And dredefull arowis grundyn ſcharp and ſquare.  
Thare ſaw I Mars the god armypotent  
Aufull and ſterne, ſtrong and corpolent.  
Thare ſaw I crabbit<sup>2</sup> Saturn, ald and haire,<sup>3</sup>  
His luke wes lyk for to perturb the air.  
Thair wes Mercurius, wiſe and eloquent,  
Of rethorike that fand<sup>4</sup> the ſtouris faire.<sup>5</sup>

Theſe are attended by other pagan divinities, Janus, Priapus, Eolus, Bacchus the “glader of the table,” and Pluto. They are all arrayed in green; and, ſinging amorous ditties to the harp and lute, invite the ladies to dance. The poet quits his ambuſh under the trees, and preſſing forward to gain a more perfect view of this tempting ſpectacle, is eſpied by Venus. She bids her “keen archers” arreſt the intruder. Her attendants, a group of fair ladies, inſtantly drop their green mantles, and each diſcovers a huge bow. They form themſelves in battle-array, and advance againſt the poet :

And firſt of all, with bow in hand ybent,  
Come dame Beautee, rycht as ſcho wald me ſchent;  
Syne folowit all hir damofells yfere,  
With mony diverſe aufull instrument.<sup>6</sup>  
Unto the pres Fair Having<sup>7</sup> wyth her went;  
Fyne<sup>8</sup> Portrature, Pleſance, and luſty Chere.  
Than come Refoun, with ſchelde of gold ſo clere,  
In plate and maille, as Mars armypotent,  
Defendit me this noble<sup>9</sup> chevallere.<sup>10</sup>

Beauty is aſſiſted by tender Youth with her “virgins ying,” green Innocence, Modeſty, and Obedience: but their reſiſtance was but feeble againſt the golden target of Reaſon. Womanhood then leads on Patience, Diſcretion, Steadfaſtneſs, Benign Look, Mild Cheer, and Honeſt Buſineſs :

Bot Refon bure the Targe with ſik conſtance,  
Thair ſcharp aſſayes might do no dures<sup>11</sup>  
To me for all thair aufull ordynance.<sup>12</sup>

The attack is renewed by Dignity, Renown, Riches, Nobility, and Honour. Theſe, after diſplaying their high banner, and ſhooting a cloud of arrows, are ſoon obliged to retreat. Venus, perceiving the rout, orders Diſſemblance to make an attempt to pierce the golden ſhield. Diſſemblance or Diſſimulation chooſes for her archers, Prefence, Fair Calling, and Cherifhing. Theſe bring back Beauty to the charge. A new and obſtinate conſli& enfues :

Thik was the ſchote of grundyn dartis kene,  
But Refoun, with the Scheld of Gold ſo ſchene,

<sup>1</sup> St. xi.      <sup>2</sup> crabbed.

<sup>6</sup> formidable weapons.

<sup>10</sup> St. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> hoar.

<sup>7</sup> behaviour.

<sup>11</sup> injury.

<sup>4</sup> found.

<sup>8</sup> [after.]

<sup>12</sup> weapons. St. xix.

<sup>5</sup> St. xiii.

<sup>9</sup> warrior.

Warly<sup>1</sup> defendit quho so evir affayit :  
The auffle flour he manly did sustene.<sup>2</sup>

At length Prefence, by whom the poet understands that irresistible incentive accruing to the passion of love by society, by being often admitted to the company of the beloved object, throws a magical powder into the eyes of Reason ; who is suddenly deprived of all his powers, and reels like a drunken man. Immediately the poet receives a deadly wound, and is taken prisoner by Beauty ; who now assumes a more engaging air, as the clear eye of Reason is growing dim by intoxication. Diffimulation then tries all her arts on the poet : Fair Calling smiles upon him : Cherishing soothes him with soft speeches : New Acquaintance embraces him awhile, but soon takes her leave, and is never seen afterwards. At last Danger delivers him to the custody of Grief.

By this time, "God Eolus his bugle blew." The leaves are torn with the blast : in a moment the pageant disappears, and nothing remains but the forest, the birds, the banks, and the brook.<sup>3</sup> In the twinkling of an eye, they return to the ship : and unfurling the sails, and stemming the sea with a rapid course, celebrate their triumph with a discharge of ordnance. This was now a new topic for poetical description. The smoke rises to the firmament, and the roar is re-echoed by the rocks, with a sound as if the rainbow had been broken :

And as I did awake of my sueving,<sup>4</sup>  
The joyfull birdis merily did syng  
For myrth of Phebus tendir bemes schene.  
Suete war the vapouris, soft the morowing,  
Halefum the vale<sup>5</sup> depaynt wyth flouris ying,  
The air attemperit sobir and amene :  
In quhite and reid was all the field besene,  
Throu Naturis nobil fresch anamalyng  
In mirthfull Maye of eviry moneth Quene.<sup>6</sup>

Our author then breaks out into a laboured encomium on Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. This I choose to recite at large, as it shews the peculiar distinction anciently paid to those fathers of verse, and the high ideas which now prevailed, even in Scotland, of the improvements introduced by their writings into the British poetry, language, and literature :<sup>7</sup>

O reverend Chaucere, rose of rethoris all,  
As in oure tong ane flour imperial<sup>8</sup>  
That raise in Britane evir, quho reidis rycht,<sup>9</sup>  
Thou beris of Makaris<sup>10</sup> the tryumph ryall,  
Thy fresch anamilit termes celicall :  
This matir coud illumynit have full brycht,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> warily.<sup>2</sup> St. xxiii.<sup>3</sup> St. xxvi.<sup>4</sup> dream.<sup>5</sup> vale.<sup>6</sup> St. xxviii.<sup>7</sup> Other instances occur in the elder Scottish poets.<sup>8</sup> one flower.<sup>9</sup> Ever rose, or sprung, in Britain, who so reads right.<sup>10</sup> Thou bearest of poets.<sup>11</sup> This subject would have appeared to some advantage, had not, &c.

Was thou noucht of our Ingliſch all the lycht,  
 Surmounting eviry tong terreſtriall  
 Alls fer as Mayes morow dois mydnycht.  
 O morall Gower, and Lydgate laureate,  
 Your ſugarit<sup>1</sup> lippis,<sup>2</sup> and tongis aureate,  
 Bene to oure eiris<sup>3</sup> cauſe of grete delyte,  
 Your angel mouthis moſt mellifuate  
 Our rude langage hes clere illumynate,  
 And faire oure-gilt our ſpeche, that imperfyte  
 Stude, or your goldyn pennis ſchupe to write,<sup>4</sup>  
 This Ile befoir wes bare and defolate<sup>5</sup>  
 Of rethorike, or luſty freſch endyte.<sup>6</sup>

This panegyric, and the poem, is cloſed with an apology, couched in elegant metaphors, for his own comparative humility of ſtyle. He addreſſes the poem, which he calls a "litill quair :"

I know quhat thou of rethorike hes ſpent ;  
 Off all hir luſty roſis redolent  
 Is nane in to thy gerland ſett on hicht ;<sup>7</sup>  
 Eſchame<sup>8</sup> thar of, and draw the out of ſicht !  
 Rude is thy wede<sup>9</sup> diſteynit, bare, and rent,  
 Wele aucht thou be aſerit of the licht !<sup>10</sup>

Dunbar's *Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins* has very great merit in the comic ſtyle of painting. It exhibits a group of figures touched with the capricious but ſpirited pencil of Callot.<sup>11</sup> On the eve of Lent, a general day of confeſſion, the poet in a dream ſees a diſplay of heaven and hell. Mahomet,<sup>12</sup> or the devil, commands a dance to be performed by a ſelect party of fiends ; particularly by thoſe, who in the other world had never made confeſſion to the prieſt, and had conſequently never received abſolution. Immediately the ſeven deadly ſins appear, and preſent a maſk or mummery with the neweſt gambols juſt imported from France.<sup>13</sup> The firſt is Pride, who properly takes place of all the reſt, as by that ſin fell the angels. He is deſcribed in the fashionable and gallant dreſs of thoſe times : in a bonnet and gown, his hair thrown back, his cap awry, and his gown affectedly flowing to his feet in large folds :

<sup>1</sup> ſugared.

<sup>2</sup> lips.

<sup>3</sup> to our ears.

<sup>4</sup> Ere your golden pens were ſhaped to write.

<sup>5</sup> bare and defolate.

<sup>6</sup> elegant compoſition. St. xxx.

<sup>7</sup> No freſh and fragrant roſes of rhetoric are placed on high in thy garland.

<sup>8</sup> be aſhamed.

<sup>9</sup> weed, dreſs.

<sup>10</sup> St. xxxi.

<sup>11</sup> [Warton ſeems here to have adopted the opinion of Dalrymple. "I do not recollect ever to have ſeen the *Seven Deadly Sins* painted by a more maſterly pencil than that of Dunbar. His deſigns certainly excel the explanatory peacocks and ſerpents of Callot."—*Lord Hailes* (Dalrymple), 1770.]

<sup>12</sup> Mahon. Sometimes written Mahoun or Mahound. See Matt. Paris, p. 289. ad ann. 1236 ; and Du Cange, *Lat. Gloſs.* v. *Mahum*. The Chriſtians in the cruſades were accuſtomed to hear the Saracens ſwear by their prophet Mahomet : which thence became in Europe another name for the devil.

<sup>13</sup> The original is *garmountis*. In the memoir, cited above, concerning the progreſs of the Princeſs Margaret into Scotland, we have the following paſſage. "The lord of Northumberland made his *devoir*, at the departyng, of *gambades* and *lepps*, [leaps,] as did likewiſe the Lord Scrop the father, and many others that returned agayne, in *takyng their congie*."

Lat se, quoth he,<sup>1</sup> now quha begynnis.  
 With that the fowll Sewin Deidly Synnis  
 Begowth to leip at anis.<sup>2</sup>  
 And first of all in Dance was Pryd,  
 With hair wyld bak, and bonet on fyd,  
 Lyk to mak vaistie wanis;  
 And round abowt him as a quheill,<sup>3</sup>  
 Hang all in rumpillis<sup>4</sup> to the heill,  
 His kethat<sup>5</sup> for the nanis.<sup>6</sup>  
 Mony proud trumpour<sup>7</sup> with him trippit,  
 Throw skaldand<sup>8</sup> fyre ay as thay skippit  
 They girnd with hyddoufs<sup>9</sup> granis.<sup>10</sup>

Several holy harlots [had been previously introduced], attended by monks, who made great sport for the devils:<sup>11</sup>

Heilie Harlottis in hawtane wyifs,<sup>12</sup>  
 Come in with mony sindrie gyifs,<sup>13</sup>  
 Bot yit luche nevir<sup>14</sup> Mahoun:  
 Quhill priestis come in with bair schevin<sup>15</sup> nekkis,  
 Than all the Feyndis lewche<sup>16</sup> and maid gekkis,<sup>17</sup>  
 Blak-belly and Bawfy-Brown.

*Black-belly* and *Bawfy-brown* are the names of popular spirits in Scotland. The latter is perhaps our *Robin Goodfellow*, known in Scotland by the name of *Brownie*. ["In Bannatyne's MS." observes Dalrymple, "among other spirits there occurs,

Brownie als that can play kow  
 Behind the claith with mony mow."]

Anger is drawn with great force, and his accompaniments are boldly feigned. His hand is always upon his knife, and he is followed in pairs by boasters, threateners, and quarrelsome persons, all armed for battle, and perpetually wounding one another:<sup>18</sup>

Then Yre come in with sturt<sup>19</sup> and stryfe;  
 His hand wes ay upoun his knyfe,  
 He brandeist lyk a beir:  
 Bostaris, braggaris, and barganaris,  
 Eftir hym passit into pairis,  
 All bodin in feir of weir:<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mahomet.

<sup>2</sup> began to dance at once.

<sup>3</sup> wheel.

<sup>4</sup> rumples.

<sup>4</sup> calaque, callock.

<sup>6</sup> nonce, designedly.

<sup>7</sup> Deceivers. [Mr. Laing, after citing the opinions of Dalrymple and Tyrwhitt, both of whom certainly seem to have mistaken the sense here, observes: "The word, however, no doubt means *deceiver*; and in this sense it occurs in the poem on Discretion in Giving (p. 169 [of Mr. L.'s ed.]):

"Sum gevis to trumpouris and to schrewis."

<sup>8</sup> scalding.

<sup>9</sup> they grinned hideously.

<sup>10</sup> St. ii.

<sup>11</sup> St. iii.

<sup>12</sup> haughty guise.

<sup>13</sup> [a mask.]

<sup>14</sup> never laughed.

<sup>15</sup> while priests came with bare-shaven.

<sup>16</sup> laughed.

<sup>17</sup> signs of derision.

<sup>18</sup> St. iv.

<sup>19</sup> disturbance; affray.

<sup>20</sup> Literally, "All arrayed in feature of war." *Bodin*, and *feir of war*, are in the [Scotish] statute book. Sir David Lindsay thus speaks of the state of Scotland during the minority of James V. *Complaynt of the Papyngo*, signat. B iii, edit. at inf.:

"Oppressioun did fa loud his bougill blaw,  
 That none durst ride but into *feir of weir*."

That is, *without being armed for battle*.

In jakkis and scryppis, and bonettis of steill,<sup>1</sup>  
 Thair leggis wer cheyneit to the heill,<sup>2</sup>  
 Frawart wes thair affeir;<sup>3</sup>  
 Sum upoun uder with brandis beft,<sup>4</sup>  
 Sum jagit utheris to the heft<sup>5</sup>  
 With knyvis that scherp coud scheir.<sup>6</sup>

Envy is equal to the rest. Under this Sin our author takes occasion to lament with an honest indignation, that the courts of princes should still give admittance and encouragement to the whisperers of idle and injurious reports :<sup>7</sup>

Nixt in the dance followit Invy,  
 Fild full of feid<sup>8</sup> and felony,  
 Hid malyce and dispyte;  
 For pryvie hatreut<sup>9</sup> that tratour trymlit;<sup>10</sup>  
 Him followit mony freik disflymlit,<sup>11</sup>  
 With feyneit wordis quhyte :

And flattereris in to menis facis,  
 And back-byttaris<sup>12</sup> in secreit placis,  
 To ley<sup>13</sup> that had delyte.  
 With rownaris<sup>14</sup> of fals lesingis;<sup>15</sup>  
 Allace ! that courtis of noble kingis  
 Of thame can nevyr be quyte !<sup>16</sup>

Avarice is ushered in by a troop of extortioners and other miscreants, patronised by the magician Warloch,<sup>17</sup> or the demon of the covetous ; who vomit on each other torrents of melted gold, blazing like wild-fire ; and as they are emptied at every discharge, the devils replenish their throats with fresh supplies of the same liquefied metal.<sup>18</sup>

Sloth does not join the dance till he is called twice : and his companions are so slow of motion, that they cannot keep up with the rest, unless they are roused from their lethargy by being sometimes warmed with a glimpse of hell-fire :<sup>19</sup>

Syne Sweirnes, at the secound bidding,  
 Come lyk a sow out of a midding,<sup>20</sup>  
 Full slepy wes his grunye.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In short jackets, plates or slips, and bonnets of steel. Short coats of mail and helmets.

<sup>2</sup> Their legs armed with iron, perhaps iron network, down to the heel.

<sup>3</sup> Their look was *froward*, fierce. *Feir* is feature.

<sup>4</sup> Some struck others, their companions, with swords.

<sup>5</sup> Wounded others to the haft.

<sup>6</sup> cut sharp.

<sup>7</sup> St. v.

<sup>8</sup> enmity.

<sup>9</sup> hatred.

<sup>10</sup> trembled.

<sup>11</sup> dissembling gallant.

<sup>12</sup> backbiters.

<sup>13</sup> lye

<sup>14</sup> Rounders, whisperers. To *round in the ear*, or simply to *round*, was to whisper in the ear.

<sup>15</sup> falsities.

<sup>16</sup> free.

<sup>17</sup> [The original reads :

“ Next him in Dans come Cuvatyce—

Catyvis, wrechis, and ockeraris,—

All with that *warlo* went.”

Where *warlo* means a wicked person. A.-S. *wær-loga*, *iniquus*.—*Price*.]

<sup>18</sup> St. vi.

<sup>19</sup> St. vii.

<sup>20</sup> dunghill.

<sup>21</sup> [grunt.]

Mony sweir bumbard belly-huddroun,<sup>1</sup>  
 Mony slute daw and slepy duddroun,<sup>2</sup>  
 Him servit ay with sounyie<sup>3</sup>  
 He drew thame furth in till a chenye,<sup>4</sup>  
 And Belliall, with a brydill reynie,<sup>5</sup>  
 Evir lascht thame on the lunyie.<sup>6</sup>  
 In Dance thay war so slaw of feit  
 They gaif thame in the fyre a heit  
 And maid them quicker of counyie.<sup>7</sup>

Lust enters, neighing like a horse,<sup>8</sup> and is led by Idleness. When his associates mingle in the dance, their viſages burn red like the turquoife-stone.<sup>9</sup> The remainder of the stanza, although highly characteristical, is too obscene to be transcribed. But this gave no offence. Their manners were too indelicate to be shocked at any indecency. I do not mean that these manners had lost their delicacy, but that they had not yet acquired the sensibility arising from civilization. In one of the Scottish interludes of this age, written by a fashionable court-poet, among other ridiculous obscenities, the trying on of a Spanish padlock in public makes a part of theatrical representation.

Gluttony brings up the rear; whose insatiable rout are incessantly calling out for meat and drink; and although they are drenched by the devils with draughts of melted lead, they still ask for more:

Than the fowll monstir Gluttony,  
 Off wame<sup>10</sup> unsatiable and gredy,  
 To Dance he did him dress:  
 Him followit mony fowll drunckart,  
 With can and collep, cop<sup>11</sup> and quart,  
 In surffet and excess.  
 Full mony a waifless wally-drag<sup>12</sup>  
 With wamis<sup>13</sup> unweildable did furth wag,  
 In creische<sup>14</sup> that did increfs:  
 Drink ay thay cryit with mony a gaip;<sup>15</sup>  
 The Feyndis gaif thame hait leid to laip,<sup>16</sup>  
 Their leweray<sup>17</sup> wes na lefs.<sup>18</sup>

At this infernal dance no minstrels played. No gleeman or minstrel ever went to hell; except one who committed murder, and was admitted to an inheritance in hell "by brief of richt," that is, *per breve de recto*.<sup>19</sup> This circumstance seems an allusion to some real fact.

The concluding stanza is entirely a satire on the Highlanders. Dunbar, as I have already observed, was born in Lothian, a county of the Saxons.<sup>20</sup> The mutual antipathy between the Scottish Saxons and the Highlanders was excessive, and is not yet quite eradicated. Mahoun or Mahomet, having a desire to see a highland pageant, a

<sup>1</sup> glutton.      <sup>2</sup> sluggard.

<sup>4</sup> into a chain.

<sup>6</sup> lashed them on the loins.

<sup>8</sup> "Berand like a bagit horse." The French *baguette* need not be explained.

<sup>9</sup> St. viii.      <sup>10</sup> belly.

<sup>13</sup> bellies.

<sup>17</sup> desire, appetite.

[<sup>20</sup> This is little more than a paraphrase of what Dalrymple says. See Mr. Laing's *Dunbar*, ii. 263.]

<sup>3</sup> attended on him with care.

<sup>5</sup> a bridle rein; a thong of leather.

<sup>7</sup> apprehension.

<sup>11</sup> cup.      <sup>12</sup> sot.

<sup>15</sup> gape.

<sup>18</sup> St. ix.

<sup>19</sup> St. x.

<sup>20</sup> St. x.

fiend is commissioned to fetch Macfadyan; an unmeaning name, chosen for its harshness. As soon as the infernal messenger begins to publish his summons, he gathers about him a prodigious crowd of "Ersche men;" who soon took up great room in hell. These loquacious termagants began to chatter like rooks and ravens, in their own barbarous language: and the devil is so stunned with their horrid yell, that he throws them down to his deepest abyss, and smothers them with smoke:

Than cryd Mahoun for a Heleand Padyane,  
 Syne ran a Feynd to feche Makfadyane  
 Far northwart in a nuke:<sup>1</sup>  
 Be he the Correnoth had done schout,<sup>2</sup>  
 Ersche men so gadderit him abowt,  
 In Hell grit roume thay tuke:  
 Thae tarmegantis<sup>3</sup> with tag and tatter  
 Full lowd in Ersche begowth to clatter,  
 And rowp lyk revin and ruke.<sup>4</sup>  
 The Devil sa devit<sup>5</sup> wes with thair yell  
 That in the depest pot of hell  
 He smorit thame with smoke.<sup>6</sup>

I have been prolix in my citations and explanations of this poem, because I am of opinion, that the imagination of Dunbar is not less suited to satirical than to sublime allegory; and that he is the first poet who has appeared with any degree of spirit in this way of writing since Langland. His *Thistle and Rose* and *Golden Targe* are generally and justly mentioned as his capital works: but the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic cast. The measure of this poem is partly that of *Sir Thopas* in Chaucer: and hence we may gather, by the way, that *Sir Thopas* was anciently viewed in the light of a ludicrous composition. It is certain that the pageants and interludes of Dunbar's age must have quickened his invention to form those grotesque groups. The exhibition of moralities was now in high vogue among the Scots. [Two pageants, *The Salutation of Gabriel* and *The Marriage of the Virgin* were exhibited at Edinburgh] at the marriage of James IV. and the princess Margaret.<sup>7</sup> Mummeries, which they call *Gysarts*, and which are composed of moral personifications, are still known in Scotland: and even till the beginning of [the last] century, especially among the festivities of Christmas, itinerant maskers were admitted into the houses of the Scottish nobility.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> nook.

<sup>2</sup> ["As soon as he had made the cry of distress, or what in old French is called *a l'aide*. So in the ballad of the battle of Harlaw: 'Cryand the *Corymoch* on hie.' The glossary subjoined to the *Evergreen* says, that it means a Highland *tune*: that is, it may be either a strain of victory, or a dirge."—*Hailes* (or *Dabrymple*.)]

<sup>3</sup> [I suspect that Dunbar meant another word than termagant, or "heathenish crew." There is a species of wild fowl well known in the Highlands of Scotland, which our statute-book calls *termigant*. Dunbar may have likened the Highlanders to a flock of their country birds.—*Laing*. Termagant, a devil or Pagan god, as Mahomed was.—*F*. *Termigant* may be another form of *ptarmigan*.]

<sup>4</sup> chattered hoarsely.

<sup>5</sup> deafened.

<sup>6</sup> St. xi.

<sup>7</sup> *Memoir*, ut supra, p. 300, [and *supra*. ii. 224, Note.]

<sup>8</sup> [An account of all the printed editions of Dunbar's works will be found in the

## SECTION XXX.



ANOTHER of the distinguished luminaries, that marked the restoration of letters in Scotland at the commencement of the sixteenth century, not only by a general eminence in elegant erudition, but by a cultivation of the vernacular poetry of his country, is Gawen Douglas. He was descended from a noble family, and born in the year 1475.<sup>1</sup> According to the practice of that age, especially in Scotland, his education perhaps commenced in a grammar-school of one of the monasteries: there is undoubted proof, that it was finished at the University of Paris. It is probable, as he was intended for the sacred function, that he was sent to Paris for the purpose of studying the canon law: in consequence of a decree promulgated by James I., which tended in some degree to reform the illiteracy of the clergy, as it enjoined that no ecclesiastic of Scotland should be preferred to a prebend of any value without a competent skill in that science.<sup>2</sup> Among other high promotions in the church, which his very singular accomplishments obtained, he was provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, abbot of the opulent convent of Abberbrothrock, and Bishop of Dunkeld. He appears also to have been nominated by the Queen Regent to the archbishopric, either of Glasgow or of St. Andrew's: but the appointment was repudiated by the pope.<sup>3</sup> In 1513, to avoid the persecutions of the Duke of Albany, he fled from Scotland into England, and was most graciously received by Henry VIII. who, in consideration of his literary merit, allowed him a liberal pension.<sup>4</sup> In England he contracted a friendship with Polydore Vergil, one of the classical scholars of Henry's court.<sup>5</sup> He died of the plague in London, and was buried in the Savoy church, in the year 1521.<sup>6</sup>

In his early years he translated Ovid's *Art of Love* (the favourite Latin system of the science of gallantry) into Scottish metre: which is now lost.<sup>7</sup> In the year 1513, and in the space of sixteen months,<sup>8</sup>

*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* in voce; of the MSS. Mr. Laing furnishes a list. There can be no doubt that Chepman and Millar, the proto-typographers of Scotland, published other pieces by Dunbar, not now known to exist. It is most singular that between 1508 and the appearance of Ramsay's *Evergreen* nothing of his should have been printed.]

<sup>1</sup> Hume, *Hist. Dougl.* p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Lessl. *De Reb. Geff. Scot.* lib. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Thynne, *Continuat. Hist. Scot.* 455.

<sup>4</sup> Holinsh. *Scot.* 307.—iii. 872.

<sup>5</sup> Bale, xiv. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Weever, *Fun. Mon.* p. 446, and Stillingfl. *Orig. Brit.* p. 54.

<sup>7</sup> See edit. 1710, p. 483, *Epistle or Epilogue* to Lord Sinclair. The editor's name is [Thomas Ruddiman] a Scotchman. This translation was first printed at London, 1553. 4to. [But the best text is that of Edinb. 1839, 2 vols. 4to., taken from Gale's MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge. With that the extracts made by Warton have been collated. This MS. includes, at the end, an imperfect comment by the translator, not found elsewhere.]

<sup>8</sup> Lessl. *De Reb. Geff. Scot.* lib. ix. p. 379. Rom. 1675.

he translated into Scottish heroics the *Eneid* of Virgil, with the additional thirteenth book by Mapheus Vegius, at the request of his noble patron Henry Earl of Sinclair.<sup>1</sup> But it was projected so early as the year 1501. For, in one of his poems written that year,<sup>2</sup> he promises to Venus a translation of Virgil, in atonement for a ballad he had published against her court: and when the work was finished, he tells Lord Sinclair that he had now made his peace with Venus, by translating the poem which celebrated the actions of her son Eneas.<sup>3</sup> No metrical version of a classic had yet appeared in English; [for even that] of Boethius, who scarcely deserves the appellation, [was not executed till a later date]. Virgil was hitherto commonly known only by Caxton's romance on the subject of the *Eneid* which, our author says, no more resembles Virgil, than the devil is like Saint Austin.<sup>4</sup>

This translation is executed with equal spirit and fidelity, and is a proof that the Lowland Scottish and English languages were now nearly the same. I mean the style of composition; more especially in the glaring affectation of anglicising Latin words. The several books are introduced with metrical prologues, which are often poetical, and show that Douglas's proper walk was original poetry. In the prologue to the sixth book, he wishes for the Sibyl's golden bough, to enable him to follow his master Virgil through the dark and dangerous labyrinth of the infernal regions.<sup>5</sup> But the most conspicuous of these prologues is a description of May [which occurs in that to the twelfth book,] and the greater part of which I will insert:<sup>6</sup>

As fresch Aurore, to myghty Tithone spows,  
Ischit<sup>7</sup> of hir safron bed, and evir<sup>8</sup> hous,  
In crammysyn<sup>9</sup> cled and granyt violat,  
With sangwyne cape, the selvage<sup>10</sup> purpurat,  
Onschet<sup>11</sup> the wyndoys of hir large hall,  
Spred all with rofys, and full of balm ryall.  
And eik the hevynly portis cristallyne  
Vpwarpis braid, the warld to illumyn.  
The twynklyng stremowris<sup>12</sup> of the orient  
Sched purpours sprangis with gold and asure ment.<sup>13</sup>  
Pessaud the sabill barmkyn nocturnall,  
Bet down the skyis cloudy mantill wall:  
Eous the steid, with ruby hamys red,  
Abuf the sey lyftis furth hys hed

<sup>1</sup> *Epil.* ut supr.

<sup>2</sup> *The Palace of Honour*, ad calcem.

<sup>3</sup> *Epil.* ut supr.

<sup>4</sup> *Prologue to the Translation*, p. 5. The manuscript notes written in the margin of a copy of the old quarto edition of this translation by Patrick Junius, which Bishop Nicolson (*Hist. Libr.* p. 99) declares to be excellent, are of no consequence, Bibl. Bodl. *Archiv. Seld.* B. 54, 4to. The same may be said of Junius's Index of obsolete words in this translation, Cod. MSS. Jun. 114. (5225.) See also *Diverse Scotch words*, &c. *MS. Ashm.* 846. 13.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Prologue* to the eighth book, the alliterative manner of Langland is adopted.

<sup>6</sup> Pag. 400.

<sup>7</sup> issued.

<sup>8</sup> ivory.

<sup>9</sup> crimfon.

<sup>10</sup> edge.

<sup>11</sup> unshut, *i. e.* opened.

<sup>12</sup> streamers.

<sup>13</sup> streaks, mingled with, &c.

Of cullour foyr, and fum deill brovn as berry,  
 Forto alichtyn and glaid our emyspery,  
 The flambe owtbraityng at his noys thyrlis;  
 Quhill schortly, with the blefand<sup>1</sup> torch of day,  
 Abilzeit<sup>2</sup> in hys lemand<sup>3</sup> fresch array,  
 Furth of hys palyce ryall ischit Phebus,  
 With goldyn crowne and vissage gloryus,  
 Crysp haris,<sup>4</sup> brycht as chrisolite or topace;  
 For quhais hew<sup>5</sup> mycht nane behald hys face:  
 The fyry sparkis braityng from hys eyn,  
 To purge the ayr, and gylt the tendyr greyn.  
 The aureat fanis<sup>6</sup> of his trone fouerane  
 With glytrand glans ourspred the occiane;<sup>7</sup>  
 The large fludis, lemand all of lycht,  
 Bot with a blenk<sup>8</sup> of hys supernale sycht,  
 Forto behald, it was a glori to se  
 The stablit<sup>9</sup> wyndis, and the cawmyt see,  
 The soft sessom,<sup>10</sup> the firmament sereyn;  
 The lowne illumynat ayr,<sup>11</sup> and fyrrh<sup>12</sup> ameyn:  
 The siluer scalyt fyfchis on the greit,<sup>13</sup>  
 Ourthwort<sup>14</sup> cleir stremys sprynkland<sup>15</sup> for the heyt,  
 With fynnyis schynand brovn as synopar,<sup>16</sup>  
 And chyffell talys,<sup>17</sup> stowrand heir and thar:<sup>18</sup>  
 The new cullour alychtnyng<sup>19</sup> all the landis,  
 Forgane the stannyris schane,<sup>20</sup> the beriall strandis:  
 Qubil the reflex of the diurnal bemys  
 The beyne bonkis<sup>21</sup> keft ful of variant glemys:  
 And lusty Flora dyd hyr blomys spreid  
 Vnder the feit of Phebus fulgart<sup>22</sup> steid,  
 The swardit soyll enbrovd with selcouth hewys,<sup>23</sup>  
 Wod and forest obumbrat with thar bewys,<sup>24</sup>  
 Quhois blisfull branschis, porturat<sup>25</sup> on the grund,  
 With schaddoys schene schew rockis rubicund:  
 Towris, turettis, kyrnellis,<sup>26</sup> pynnaclys hie,  
 Of kyrkis, castellis, and ilke fair cite,  
 Stude payntit, euery fyall,<sup>27</sup> fayn, and stage,<sup>28</sup>  
 Apon the plane grund by thar awyn vmbrage.<sup>29</sup>  
 Of Eolus north blastis havand<sup>30</sup> no dreid  
 The sulze spred hir braid bosum on breid.<sup>31</sup>  
 The cornys croppis, and the beris newbreid,<sup>32</sup>  
 With glaidsum garmont revestyng the erd.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>1</sup> blazing.<sup>2</sup> Fr. *habillé*; clothed.<sup>3</sup> luminous.<sup>4</sup> curled locks.<sup>5</sup> whose excessive brightness.<sup>6</sup> vanes of gold.<sup>7</sup> ocean.<sup>8</sup> only with one glance.<sup>9</sup> settled, calmed.<sup>10</sup> season.<sup>11</sup> air without wind, &c.<sup>12</sup> frith.<sup>13</sup> sand, gravel.<sup>14</sup> athwart, across, through.<sup>15</sup> gliding swiftly, with a tremulous motion, or vibration of their tails.<sup>16</sup> cinnabar.<sup>17</sup> tails shaped like chissels.<sup>18</sup> swimming swiftly, darting hastily.<sup>19</sup> illuminating.<sup>20</sup> over, upon, over-against, the bright gravel, or small stones, thrown out on the banks of rivers. Hence the strands were all of beryl.<sup>21</sup> pleasant banks.<sup>22</sup> brilliant, glittering.<sup>23</sup> Bladed with grass, and embroidered with strange colours.<sup>24</sup> boughs.<sup>25</sup> portrayed, painted, reflected.<sup>26</sup> battlements.<sup>27</sup> round tower.<sup>28</sup> fiery.<sup>29</sup> their own shadow.<sup>30</sup> having.<sup>31</sup> The soil, the country, spread abroad her expansive bosoms.<sup>32</sup> new-sprung barley.<sup>33</sup> earth.

The variand vestur of the venust vail  
 Schrowdis the scherald fur,<sup>1</sup> and euery fail<sup>2</sup>  
 Ourfret<sup>3</sup> with fulzeis<sup>4</sup> and figuris ful diuers,  
 The pray<sup>5</sup> bysprent with spryngand sprowtis dispers,  
 For callour humour on the dewy nyht,  
 Rendryng sum place the gers pilis thar hycht,  
 Als far as catal the lang symmyris day  
 Had in thar pastur eyt and knyp away:  
 And blisfull blossummys in the blomyt jard  
 Submittis thar hedys in the yong sonnys salfgard:  
 Iue levis<sup>6</sup> rank ourspred the barmkyn<sup>7</sup> wall,  
 The blomyt hauthorn cled hys pykis all,  
 Furth of fresch burgionys<sup>8</sup> the wyne grapis<sup>9</sup> ying  
 Endlang the treilzeis<sup>10</sup> dyd on twytis hyng,  
 The loukit<sup>11</sup> buttouns on the gemyf treis  
 Ourspredand leyuis of naturis tapestreis.  
 Soft gresfy verdour estir balmy schowris,  
 On curland stalkis smylyng to thar flowris:  
 Behaldand thame sa mony diuers hew  
 Sum pers,<sup>12</sup> sum paill, sum burnet, and sum blew,  
 Sum greyce, sum gowlys, sum purpour, sum sangwane,  
 Blanchit or brovne, fawch yallow mony ane,  
 Sum heuynly culloryt in celestially gre,  
 Sum watry<sup>13</sup> hewit as the haw wally<sup>14</sup> see  
 And sum depart in freklys red and quhite,  
 Sum brycht as gold with aureat leuys lyte.  
 The dasy dyd on breid<sup>15</sup> hir crownell smail,  
 And euery flour onlappit in the daill,  
 In battill gyrs<sup>16</sup> burgionys, the banwart wild,  
 The claur, catcluke, and the cammamyl;  
 The flour delys furthspred hys heuynly hew,  
 Floure dammes, and columby blauk and blew,  
 Seir downys smail on dent de lyon<sup>17</sup> sprang,  
 The yung greyn<sup>18</sup> blomyt strabery levis amang,  
 Gyp gerrafouris<sup>19</sup> thar royn leuis onschet,  
 Fresch prymros, and the purpour violet,  
 The roys knoppys, tutand furth thar hed,  
 Gan chyp, and kyth thar vermel lyppis red,  
 Crysp scarlet leuis sum scheddand baith atanis,  
 Kest<sup>21</sup> fragrant smell amynd from goldyn granys,<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> furrow.<sup>2</sup> turf.

<sup>3</sup> It is evident our author intends to describe two distinct things, viz. corn-fields and meadows or pasture lands: the former in the three first lines; *the varyant vesture*, &c. is plainly arable, and the *fulzeis and figuris ful diuers*, are the various leaves and flowers of the weeds growing among the corn, and making a piece of embroidery. And here the description of corn-fields ends: and that of pasture-lands begins at, *The pray bysprent*, &c. *Pray* [in the edition of 1839, corruptly] *spray*, is formed, through the French, from the Lat. *Pratum*, and *Spryngand Sproutis*, rising springs, from the Ital. *spruzzare*, *spruzzolare*, *aspergere*.

<sup>4</sup> leaves.<sup>5</sup> mead.<sup>6</sup> ivy-leaves.<sup>7</sup> rampart.<sup>8</sup> sprigs.<sup>9</sup> young.<sup>10</sup> trellises; espaliers for vines.<sup>11</sup> locked, enclosed, gemmed.<sup>12</sup> red.<sup>13</sup> watchet.<sup>14</sup> blue and wavy.<sup>15</sup> unbraid.<sup>16</sup> grafs embattelled.<sup>17</sup> dandelion.<sup>18</sup> young weeds.

<sup>19</sup> Gilliflowers. *Gariophilum*, Lat. *Καρυφύλλον*, Gr. The Scottish word is nearer the original. Probably the poet wrote *thar awin*. See ver. 72, *thare awin umbrage*.

<sup>20</sup> seeds.

<sup>21</sup> It is observable, that our Poet never once mentions the scent of flowers till he

Heuynly lylleis, with lokrand toppys quhyte,  
 Oppynnit and schew thar creiftis redymyte,<sup>1</sup>  
 The balmy vapour from thar filkyn croppys  
 Difilland hailsum fugarat hunny droppys,  
 And syluer schakaris<sup>2</sup> gan fra leuys hing,  
 With crystal sprayngis on the verdour zing :  
 The plane pulderit with semyl settis sovnd,  
 Bedyit full of dewy peirlys rovnd ;  
 So that ilk burgiou, syon, herb, or flour,  
 Wolx all embalmyt of the fresch liquor,  
 And bathit hait dyd in dulce humouris fleyt,  
 Quharof the byis wrocht thar hunny sweit.  
 Swannys<sup>3</sup> swouchis throw owt the ryfp<sup>4</sup> and redis,  
 Our al thir lowys<sup>5</sup> and the fludis gray,  
 Seirland by kynd a place quhar thai suld lay ;  
 Phebus red fowle hys corale creift can steir,  
 Oft strekyng furth hys hekill crawand cleir  
 Amyd the wortis, and the rutys gent,  
 Pykland hys meyt in alleis quhar he went,  
 Hys wifis Toppa and Partolet hym by,  
 As byrd al tyme that hantis bigamy ;  
 The pantyt povn<sup>6</sup> pafand with plomys gym,  
 Kest vp his taill a provd plesand quheil rym,<sup>7</sup>  
 Yschrowdyt in hys fedramme brycht and scheyn,  
 Schapand the prent of Argus hundreth eyn ;  
 Amang the bronys<sup>8</sup> of the olyue twiftis,  
 Seir smail fowlys, wirkand crafty nestis,  
 Endlang the heggeis thyk, and on rank akis<sup>9</sup>  
 Ilk byrd reiofyng with thar myrthfull makis :  
 In corneris and cleir fenyftaris of glas  
 Full bissely Aragne weuand was,  
 To knyt hir nettis and hir wobbys sle,  
 Tharwith to caught the myghe<sup>10</sup> or litill fle :  
 Vnder the bewyis beyir in lufy valys,

comes to the rose, and never at all the scent of any particular flower, except the rose, not even of the lily; for I take it, the words, *from thar filkyn croppys*, are meant to describe the flowers in general; and *the balmy vapour* to be the same with the *fresch liquor*, and *the dulce humouris quharof the bis wrocht thar hunny sweit*, an exhalation distinct from that which causes the scent. Afterwards *redolent odour*, is general; for he certainly means to close his description of the vegetable world by one universal cloud of fragrance from all nature.

<sup>1</sup> [Encircled, bound,] from *Redimitus*, Lat.

<sup>2</sup> shakers.

<sup>3</sup> That Milton had his eye upon this passage is plain, from his describing the swan, the cock, and peacock, in this order, and with several of the attributes that our author has given them. See *Parad. L. vii. 438, seq.*

"The Swan with arched neck  
 Between her white wings, mantling proudly, rows  
 Her state with oary feet; yet oft they quit  
 The dank, and, rising on stiff pennons, tower  
 The mid aerial sky: others on ground  
 Walk'd firm: the crested Cock, whose clarion sounds  
 The silent hours, and th' Other, whose gay train  
 Adorns him, color'd with the florid hue  
 Of rainbows and starry eyes."

<sup>4</sup> rustling.  
<sup>5</sup> branches.

<sup>6</sup> lakes.  
<sup>7</sup> oaks.

<sup>8</sup> peacock.  
<sup>10</sup> gnat.

<sup>7</sup> wheel-rim.

Within fermans and parkis cloyis of palyis,  
 The buftuus bukkis rakis furth on raw,  
 Heyrdis of hertis throw the thyk wod ſchaw,  
 The ſong fownys followand the dun days,<sup>1</sup>  
 Kyddis ſkippan throw ronnyis eftir rays,<sup>2</sup>  
 In yffouris<sup>3</sup> and on leys litill lammys  
 Full tait and tryg ſocht bletand to thar dammys.  
 On ſalt ſtremys wolx Doryda and Thetis,  
 By rynnand ſtrandis, Nymphis and Naedes,  
 Sîk as we clepe wensſchis and damyſellis,  
 In greſy grauy wandrand by ſpyng wellis,  
 Of bloomyt branchis and flowris quhite and red  
 Plettand thar luſty chaplettis for thar hed :  
 Sum ſang ring ſangis, danſys, ledis, and rowndis,  
 With vocis ſchill, quhill all the daill reſovndis.  
 Dame naturis menſtralis on that other part,  
 Thar blisfull bay entonyng euery art,  
 To beyt thir amorus of thar nychtis baill,  
 The merly, the mauys, and the nychtyngeale,  
 With mery notis myrthfully furth breſt,  
 Enforcing thame quha mycht do clynk it beſt :  
 The cowſchet<sup>4</sup> crowdis and pyrkis on the rys,  
 The ſtyrlyng changis diuers ſteuynnys nys,<sup>5</sup>  
 The ſparrow chyrmys in the wallis clyft,  
 Goldſpynk and lintquhyte fordynnand the lyft,<sup>6</sup>  
 The gukgo galys,<sup>7</sup> and ſo quytteris the quaiill  
 Quhill ryveris rerdit,<sup>8</sup> ſchawis, and euery vaill,  
 And tender twyſtis trymlyt on the treis,  
 For byrdis ſang, and bemyng of the beyis,  
 In wrablis dulce of heuynly armonyis,  
 The larkis, lowd releſchand<sup>9</sup> in the ſkyis,  
 Louys thar lege<sup>10</sup> with tonys curius ;  
 Baith to dame Natur, and the freſch Venus,  
 Rendryng hie lawdis in thare obſeruance,  
 Quhais ſuguryt throtis<sup>11</sup> maid glaid hartis dans,  
 And al ſmail fowlis ſyngis on the ſpray ;  
 Welcum the lord of lycht, and lamp of day,  
 Welcum foſtyr of tendir herbys grene,  
 Welcum quyknar of fluryſt flowris ſcheyn,  
 Welcum ſupport of euery rute and vayn,  
 Welcum confort of alkynd fruyt and grayn,

<sup>1</sup> does.<sup>2</sup> roes.<sup>3</sup> leafowes.<sup>4</sup> dove.<sup>5</sup> fine tunes.<sup>6</sup> firmament.<sup>7</sup> Cries. So Chaucer of the nightingale. *Court of Love*, v. 1356."But *domine labia* gan he crie and gale."So the Friar is ſaid to gale, *Wife of B. Prol.* v. 832. In Chaucer's *Cuckow and Nightingale*, the latter is ſaid to grede, v. 135.

"And grede for that ſkille, ocy ocy, I grede."

That is, *I cry*. Ital. *Gridare*. The word is uſed with more propriety in [the] *Geſt of Alexander*, written in 1312, fol. 55, col. 2. [See *ſupr.* ii. 205, *et ſeq.*]

"Averil is meory, and longith the day,  
 Ladies loven ſolas and play,  
 Swaynes juſtis, knyztis turnay,  
 Syngith the nyſtyngale, *gredeth* the Jay."

<sup>8</sup> reſounded.<sup>9</sup> mounting.<sup>10</sup> praïſed their Lady Nature.<sup>11</sup> ſugared throats.

Welcum the byrdis beild<sup>1</sup> apou the hrer,  
 Welcum mayfter and rewar of the 3er,  
 Welcum wailfar of husbandis at the plewys,<sup>2</sup>  
 Welcum reparar of woddis, treis, and bewys,  
 Welcum depayntar of the blomyt medis,  
 Welcum the lyfe of euery thyng that spredis,  
 Welcum flouour<sup>3</sup> of alkynd bestiall,  
 Welcum be thy brycht bemys gladyng all.<sup>4</sup>

The poetical beauties of this specimen will be relished by every reader who is fond of lively touches of fancy and rural imagery. In the [*Life of Alexander*, just quoted,] Autumn is touched with these circumstances :<sup>5</sup>

In tyme of heruest merry it is ynou3,  
 Peres and apples hongeth on bou3,  
 The hayward bloweth his home,  
 In everych felde ripe is corne,  
 The grapes hongon on the vyne,  
 Swete is trewe love and fyne;  
 King Alifaunder a morowe arift,  
 The sonne dryveth away the mist,  
 Forth he went farre into Ynde  
 Moo mervayles for to fynde.

But the verses of Douglas will have another merit with those critics who love to contemplate the progress of composition, and to mark the original workings of genuine nature ; as they are the effusion of a mind not overlaid by the descriptions of other poets, but operating by its own force and bias in the delineation of a vernal landscape, on such objects as really occurred. On this account, they deserve to be better understood : and I have therefore translated them into plain modern English prose. In the meantime, this experiment will serve to prove their native excellence. Divested of poetic numbers and expression, they still retain their poetry ; and (to use the comparison of an elegant writer on a like occasion) appear like Ulysses still a king and conqueror, although disguised like a peasant, and lodged in the cottage of the herdsman Eumæus.

"Fresh Aurora, the wife of Tithonus, issued from her saffron bed, and ivory house. She was clothed in a robe of crimson and violet-colour ; the cape vermilion, and the border purple : she opened the windows of her ample hall, overspread with roses, and filled with balm, or nard. At the same time, the crystal gates of heaven were thrown open, to illumine the world. The glittering streamers of the orient diffused purple streaks mingled with gold and azure. The steeds of the sun, in red harness of rubies, of colour brown as the berry, lifted their heads above the sea, to glad our hemisphere : the flames burst from their nostrils : while shortly, apparelled in his luminous array, Phebus, bearing the blazing torch of day, issued from his royal palace ; with a golden crown, glorious visage, curled

<sup>1</sup> who build.

<sup>2</sup> ploughs.

<sup>3</sup> restorer.

<sup>4</sup> [*Prologue to the Twelfth Book*, edit. 1839. This is a very superior text to that furnished in all the preceding editions of Warton.]

<sup>5</sup> Fol. 95, col. 2.

locks bright as the chrysolite or topaz, and with a radiance intolerable. The fiery sparks, bursting from his eyes, purged the air, and gilded the new verdure. The golden vanes of his throne covered the ocean with a glittering glance, and the broad waters were all in a blaze, at the first glimpse of his appearance. It was glorious to see the winds appeased, the sea becalmed, the soft season, the serene firmament, the still air, and the beauty of the watery scene. The silver-scaled fishes, on the gravel, gliding hastily, as it were from the heat or sun, through clear streams, with fins shining brown as cinabar, and chiffel-tails, darted here and there. The new lustre, enlightening all the land, beamed on the small pebbles on the sides of rivers, and on the strands, which looked like beryl: while the reflection of the rays played on the banks in variegated gleams; and Flora threw forth her blooms under the feet of the sun's brilliant horses. The bladed soil was embroidered with various hues. Both wood and forest were darkened with boughs; which, reflected from the ground, gave a shadowy lustre to the red rocks. Towers, turrets, battlements, and high pinnacles, of churches, castles, and every fair city, seemed to be painted; and, together with every bastion and story, expressed their own shape on the plains. The glebe, fearless of the northern blasts, spread her broad bosom. The corn-crops, and the new-sprung barley, reclothed the earth with a glad some garment. The variegated vesture of the valley covered the cloven furrow; and the barley-lands were diversified with flowery weeds. The meadow was besprinkled with rivulets: and the fresh moisture of the dewy night restored the herbage which the cattle had cropped in the day. The blossoms in the blowing garden trusted their heads to the protection of the young sun. Rank ivy-leaves overspread the wall of the rampart. The blooming hawthorn clothed all his thorns in flowers. The budding clusters of the tender grapes hung end-long, by their tendrils, from the trellises. The gems of the trees unlooming, expanded themselves into the foliage of Nature's tapestry. There was a soft verdure after balmy showers. The flowers smiled in various colours on the bending stalks. Some red, &c. Others, watchet, like the blue and wavy sea; speckled with red and white; or, bright as gold. The daisy unbraid her little coronet. The grass stood embattelled, with banewort, &c. The seeded down flew from the dandelion. Young weeds appeared among the leaves of the strawberries. Gay gilliflowers, &c. The rose buds, putting forth, offered their 'red vernal lips' to be kissed; and diffused fragrance from the crisp scarlet that surrounded their golden seeds. Lilies, with white curling tops, shewed their crests open. The odorous vapour moistened the silver webs that hung from the leaves. The plain was powdered with round dewy pearls. From every bud, scyon, herb, and flower, bathed in liquid fragrance, the bee sucked sweet honey. The swans clamoured amid the rustling reeds; and searched all the lakes and gray rivers where to build their nests. The red bird of the sun lifted his coral crest, crowing clear among the plants and 'rutis gent,' picking his food from every path, and attended by his wives

Toppa and Tartlet. The painted peacock with gaudy plumes, unfolded his tail like a bright wheel, inshrouded in his shining feathers, resembling the marks of the hundred eyes of Argus. Among the boughs of the twisted olive, the small birds framed their artful nests, or along the thick hedges or rejoiced with their merry mates on the tall oaks. In the secret nook, or in the clear windows of glass, the spider full busily wove her fly net, to ensnare the little gnat or fly. Under the boughs that screen the valley, or within the pale-inclosed park, the nimble deer trooped in ranks, the harts wandered through the thick woody shaws, and the young fawns followed the dappled does. Kids skipped through the briers after the roes; and in the pastures and leas, the lambs, 'full tight and trig,' bleated to their dams. Doris and Thetis walked on the salt ocean; and Nymphs and Naiads, wandering by spring-wells in the grassy groves, plaited lusty chaplets for their hair, of blooming branches, or of flowers red and white. They sung, and danced, &c. Meantime, Dame Nature's minstrels raise their amorous notes, the ring-dove coos and pitches on the tall copse, the starling whistles her varied descant, the sparrow chirps in the clefted wall; the goldfinch and linnet filled the skies, the cuckow cried, the quail twittered; while rivers, shaws, and every dale resounded; and the tender branches trembled on the trees, at the song of the birds, and the buzzing of the bees," &c.

This landscape may be finely contrasted with the description of *Winter* from the Prologue to the seventh book,<sup>1</sup> a part of which I will give in literal prose:

"The fern withered on the miry fallows: the brown moors assumed a barren mossy hue: banks, sides of the hills, and bottoms, grew white and bare: the cattle looked hoary from the dank weather: the wind made the red weed waver on the dike: From crags and the foreheads of the yellow rocks hung great icicles, in length like a spear: the soil was dusky and grey, bereft of flowers, herbs, and grass: in every holt and forest, the woods were stripped of their array. Boreas blew his bugle horn so loud, that the solitary deer withdrew to the dales: the small birds flocked to the thick briers, shunning the tempestuous blast, and changing their loud notes to chirping: the cataracts roared, and every linden-tree whistled and brayed to the sounding of the wind. The poor labourers 'went wet and weary, dragged in the fen.' The sheep and shepherds lurked under the hanging banks, or wild broom. Warm from the chimney-side, and refreshed with generous cheer, I stole to my bed, and laid down to sleep; when I saw the moon shed through the windows her twinkling glances, and watery light: I heard the horned bird, the night-owl, shrieking horribly with crooked bill from her cavern: I heard the wild-geese, with screaming cries, fly over the city through the silent night. I was soon lulled asleep; till the cock clapping his wings crowed thrice, and the day peeped. I waked and saw the moon disappear, and heard the jack-daws cackle on the

<sup>1</sup> P. 200, edit. 1710.

roof of the house. The cranes, prognosticating tempests, in a firm phalanx, pierced the air with voices sounding like a trumpet. The kite, perched on an old tree, fast by my chamber, cried lamentably, a sign of the dawning day. I rose, and half-opening my window, perceived the morning, livid, wan, and hoary; the air overwhelmed with vapour and cloud; the ground stiff, grey, and rough; the branches rattling; the sides of the hills looking black and hard with the driving blasts; the dew-drops congealed on the stubble and rind of trees; the sharp hailstones, deadly-cold, 'hopping' on the thatch and the neighbouring causeway," &c.

Bale, whose titles of English books are often obscured by being put into Latin, recites among Gawin Douglas's poetical works his *Narrationes aureæ* and *Comædiæ aliquot sacræ*.<sup>1</sup> Of his *Narrationes aureæ* our author seems to speak in the *Epilogue to Virgil*, addressed to his patron Lord Sinclair:<sup>2</sup>

I have also a strange command [comment] compyl'd,  
To expone strange hystories and termes wild.

Perhaps these tales were the fictions of ancient mythology. Whether the *Comædiæ* were sacred interludes or Mysteries for the stage, or only sacred narratives, I cannot determine. [One] of his original poems is the *Palace of Honour*, a moral vision, written in the year 1501, planned on the design of the Table of Cebes, and imitated in the elegant Latin dialogue *De Tranquillitate Animi* of his countryman Florence Wilson (or Florentius Volufenus).<sup>3</sup> It was first printed at London in 1553, [with his version of the *Æneid*, but at present is rarely found bound up with the latter. The printer of the later edition of 1579, at Edinburgh, speaks of the book as having been published in Scotland before, and there is a strong presumption that the London edition of 1553 is merely a reprint of one of these lost Scottish impressions. The earlier quarto (of 1553) is valuable as containing marginal notes, which were omitted in that of 1579.]<sup>4</sup> The object of this allegory is to show the instability and insufficiency of worldly pomp, and to prove that a constant and undeviating habit of virtue is the only way to true Honour and Happiness, who reside in a magnificent palace situated on the summit of a high and inaccessible mountain. The allegory is illustrated by a variety of examples of illustrious personages: not only of those who, by a regular perseverance in honourable deeds, gained admittance into this splendid habitation, but of those who were excluded from it by debasing the

<sup>1</sup> xiv. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Ut supr.* p. 423.

<sup>3</sup> Lugd. 1543, 4to.

<sup>4</sup> Again, Edinb. 1579, 4to., "When pale Aurora with face lamentable." [Mr. Pinkerton has since published another allegorical poem by Douglas, called *King Hart*. Vide *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 1786.—*Price*. See also a Dialogue concerning a theological subject to be debated between *duos famatos viros*, G. Douglas, Provost of St. Giles, and master David Crankoun, bachelor of divinity, prefixed to John Major's *Commentarii in prim. Sentent.* Paris, 1519. [The *Palace of Honour* has been reprinted for the Bannatyne Club, 1827, from a collation of the quartos of 1553 and 1579.]

dignity of their eminent stations with a vicious and unmanly behaviour. It is addressed, as an apologue for the conduct of a king, to James IV. is adorned with many pleasing incidents and adventures, and abounds with genius and learning.

## SECTION XXXI.



WITH Dunbar and Douglas I join Sir David Lyndsfay, although perhaps in strictness he should not be placed so early as the close of the fifteenth century. He appears to have been employed in several offices about the person of James V., from the infancy of that monarch, by whom he was much beloved; and at length, on account of his singular skill in heraldry, a science then in high estimation and among the most polite accomplishments, he was knighted and appointed Lion King-at-arms of the kingdom of Scotland. Notwithstanding these situations, he was an excellent scholar.<sup>1</sup>

Lyndsfay's principal performances are *The Dream* and *The Monarch*. In the address to James V, prefixed to the *Dream*, he thus, with much tenderness and elegance, speaks of the attention he paid to his majesty, when a child:

Quhen thou wes young, I bure the in myne arme  
Full tenderlyc, till thow begouth to gang;<sup>2</sup>  
And in thy bed oft happit the full warme,  
With lute in hand syne<sup>3</sup> softlye to the sang.

He adds that he often entertained the young prince with various dances and gesticulations, and by dressing himself in feigned characters, as in an interlude.<sup>4</sup> A new proof that theatrical diversions were now common in Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> [The 4to edit. of 1568 may be considered as the *editio princeps* of the *Works* of Lyndsfay. Copies are at Mostyn and Britwell. But for a tolerably copious account of all the impressions, both anterior to 1568 and subsequent to it, see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* in v. The last edition is by Mr. G. Chalmers, 3 vols. 8vo., London, 1806, by which the present text has been corrected.—*Price*. But the Early English Text Society has now issued a reprint of the *Monarchie*, called in the old printed copies *A Dialogue between Experience and a Courtier*, and of the *Minor Poems*, from the second edition by John Skot, and Mr. Laing's long-promised edition of the whole Works is believed to be in a very forward state. This was written in 1869; but the said edition is not yet forthcoming (1871).]

<sup>2</sup> began to walk.

<sup>3</sup> then.

<sup>4</sup> So also his *Complaynt to the Kingis Grace*. Signat. E iii:

“As ane chapman beris his pack,  
I bure thy grace upon my back;  
And sumtymes stridlingis on my nek,  
Danfand with mony bend and bek.  
And ay quhen thow come fra the scule,  
Than I behuffit to play the fule.  
I wat thou luffit me better than  
Nor now sum wyfe dois hir gude man.”

Sumtyme in danſing feirelie I ſlang,  
And ſumtyme playand farſis<sup>1</sup> on the ſture,—

And ſumtyme lyke ane feind<sup>2</sup> transfigure,  
And ſumtyme lyke the griffie gait of Gy,<sup>3</sup>  
In divers formis oftymes diſfigure,  
And ſumtyme diſgyſt full pleſandlye.<sup>4</sup>

He adds :

So ſen thy birth I have continuallye  
Bene occupyit, and ay to thy pleſour,  
And ſumtyme Sewar, Coppar, and Carvour.

That is, ſewer, and cupper or butler. He then calls himſelf the king's "ſecreit Theſaurar" and "chief Cubicular." Afterwards he enumerates ſome of his own Works :

I have at lenth the ſtores done diſcryve  
Of Hector, Arthur, and gentill Julius,  
Of Alexander and worthy Pompeius.  
Of Jaſon and Medea, al at lenth,  
Of Hercules the actis honorabill,  
And of Sampſon the ſupernaturall ſtrength,  
And of leill luſſaris [lovers] ſtoris amiabill :  
And oftymes have I ſeinzeit mony fabill,  
Of Troylus the ſorrow and the joy,  
And ſeiges all of Tyre, Thebes, and Troy.  
The prophecyis of Rymour, Beid, and Marling,  
And of mony uther pleſand ſtoyre,  
Of the reid Etin and the gyir carling.<sup>5</sup>

In the Prologue to the *Dream* our author diſcovers ſtrong talents for high deſcription and rich imagery. In a morning of the month of January the poet quits the copſe and the bank, now deſtitute of verdure and flowers, and walks towards the ſea-beach. The dawn of day is expreſſed by a beautiful and brilliant metaphor :

<sup>1</sup> playing farces, frolics.

<sup>2</sup> in the ſhape of a fiend.

<sup>3</sup> [The gholt of Guy of Aloft. It will be perhaps ſufficient to refer the reader to Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. 185.]

<sup>4</sup> Diſguiſed, masked, to make ſport. Signat. D i.

<sup>5</sup> As to the prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer, venerable Bede, and Merlin, [ſee *ſupr.* vol. ii. 87, and MSS. Ashm. 337, 6.] Thomas the Rhymer, or Thomas Leirmouth of Erceuldoun, ſeems to have written a poem on Sir Triftram, [of which the original caſt has not come down to us; at leaſt no copy is at preſent known.] Rob. de Brunne ſays this ſtory would exceed all others :

"If men yt ſayd as made Thomas."

That is, "If men recited it according to the original compoſition of Thomas Erceuldoun, or the Rhymer." See Langtoft's *Chron. Append. Pref.* p. 100, vol. i. edit. 1725. He flouriſhed about 1280. [The "taylor" of the red Etin is mentioned in *The Complaynt of Scotland*, as a popular ſtory of a giant with three heads.—*Chalmers*. The Gyir-carling is Hecate, or the mother-witch of the Scotiſh peaſants.—*Dr. Jamieson*.] Many of Lyndſay's Interludes are among Lord Hyndford's MSS. of Scotiſh poetry, and are exceedingly obſcene. One of Lyndſay's *Moralities*, called *Ane Satyre of the three Eſtates in commendation of vertew and vntuſuperation of vyce*, was printed at Edinburgh, 1602. This piece, which is entirely in rhyme, and conſiſts of a variety of meaſures, muſt have taken up four hours in the representation. [Whether ſo or not, it was performed at Linlithgow in 1540. See Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 3rd S. iii. 280.]

Be this fair Titan with his lemis licht  
Over all the land had spred his baner bricht.

In his walk, musing on the desolations of the winter and the distance of spring, he meets Flora disguised in a sable robe :<sup>1</sup>

I met dame Flora in dule weid disgyfit,<sup>2</sup>  
Quhilk into May was dulce and delectabill,  
With stalwart<sup>3</sup> stormis hir sweetnes wes suppryt,  
Hir hevinly hewis war turnit into sabill,  
Quhilkis umquhyle<sup>4</sup> war to luffaris amiabill.  
Fled from the frost the tender flouris I saw  
Under dame Naturis mantill lurkyng law.<sup>5</sup>

The birds are then represented, flocking round Nature, complaining of the severity of the season, and calling for the genial warmth of summer. The expostulation of the lark with Aurora, the sun, and the months, is conceived and conducted in the true spirit of poetry :

Allace, Aurore, the fillie lark can cry,  
Quhare hes thow left thy balmy liquour sweet,  
That us rejosit, we mounting in the sky ?  
Thy silver droppis ar turnit into sleit !  
O fair Phebus, quhare is thy hailsum heit ?

Quhare art thow, May, with June thy sifter schene,  
Weill bordourit with dasyis of delyte ?  
And gentill Julie, with thy mantill grene  
Enamilit with rosis reid and whyte ?

The poet ascends the cliffs on the sea-shore, and entering a cavern, "high in the crags," sits down to "register in rhyme some mery mater of antiquitie." He compares the fluctuation of the sea with the instability of human affairs ; and at length, being comfortably shrouded from the falling fleet by the closeness of his cavern, is lulled asleep by the whistling of the winds among the rocks, and the beating of the tide. He then has the following vision.

He sees a lady of great beauty and benignity of aspect ; who says, she comes to sooth his melancholy by showing him some new spectacles. Her name is Remembrance. Instantaneously she carries him into the centre of the earth. Hell is here laid open ;<sup>6</sup> which is filled with popes, cardinals, abbots, archbishops, in their pontifical attire, and ecclesiastics of every degree. In explaining the causes of their punishments, a long satire on the clergy ensues. With these are joined bishop Caiphas, bishop Annas, the traitor Judas, Ma-

<sup>1</sup> [Edit. 1806, i. 191-2.]

<sup>2</sup> violent.

<sup>3</sup> formerly.

<sup>4</sup> disguised in a [sad] garment.

<sup>5</sup> low.

<sup>6</sup> It was a part of the old mundane system, that hell was placed in the centre of the earth. So a fragment, cited by Hearne, *Glossary* [to Peter Langtoft,] ii, 583 :

"Ryght so is hell-pitt, as clerkes telles,  
Amyde the erthe and no where elles."

So also an old French tract, *L'Image du Monde, or Image of the world*.—"Saches que en la terre est enfer, car enfer ne pourrait estre en si noble lieu comme est l'air," &c. ch. viii.

homet, Chorah, Dathan, and Abiram. Among the tyrants, or unjust kings, are Nero, Pharaoh, and Herod. Pontius Pilate is hung up by the heels. He sees also many duchesses and countesses, who suffer for pride and adultery. She then gives the poet a view of purgatory :<sup>1</sup>

A lytell above that dolorous dungeoun,  
We enterit in ane cuntre full of cair;  
Quhare that we saw mony ane legioun  
Greitand and gowland with mony ruthfull rair.<sup>2</sup>  
Quhat place is this, quod I, of blis fa bair?  
Scho answereit and said, Purgatorie,  
Quhiik purgis faulis, or thay cum to glorie.<sup>3</sup>

After some theological reasonings on the absurdity of this intermediate state, and having viewed the dungeon of unbaptized babes, and the limbus of the souls of men who died before Christ, which is placed in a vault above the region of torment, they reascend through the bowels of the earth. In passing, they survey the secret riches of the earth, mines of gold, silver, and precious stones. They mount through the ocean, which is supposed to environ the earth: then travel through the air, and next through the fire. Having passed the three elements, they bend towards heaven, but first visit the seven planets.<sup>4</sup> They enter the sphere of the moon, which is elegantly styled

<sup>1</sup> I have [already] mentioned a Vision of Hell under the title of *Oweyne Miles*. One Gilbertus Ludensis, a monk sent by King Stephen into Ireland, where he founded a monastery, with an Irish knight called Oen, wrote *De Oeni Visione in Purgatorio*. See Wendover, *apud* Mat. Paris, *sub ann.* 1153. Reg. Stephan. According to Ware, Gilbertus flourished in the year 1152. *Scriptor. Hibern.* p. 111. [There is a printed tract called *Le Voyage du Chevalier Owen au purgatoire de S. Patrix*; it is in double columns, in a rude Gothic type, and consists of very few leaves. "Sir Owain" is one of the *fabliaux*. See a Note, *supr.* p. 157.] Among the MSS. of Magdalene College, Oxford, are the *Visiones of Tundale*, a knight of Ireland, "Cum anima mea corpus exueret." MSS. Coll. Magd. 53. It is printed in Tinmouth's *Sanctilogium*, and in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, lib. xxvii. cap. 88, [and there are several other editions printed separately. See Mr. Turnbull's *Visions of Tundale*, &c. 1843, 8vo. Introd.] He is called Fundalus in a MS. of this piece, Bibl. Bodl. NE. B. 3. 16. He lived in the year 1149. Ware, *ut supra*, p. 55. I believe this piece is in the Cotton Library under the name of *Tundale*, MS. Calig. A. 12. f. 17.

There is a MS. of a knight, called Sir Oweyn, visiting St. Patrick's Purgatory, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. 550; MSS. Cott. Nero. A. vii. 4. This piece was written by Henry, a Cistercian monk of Saltry, in Huntingdonshire. See T. Messingham, *Florileg.* p. 86, *seq.* In the catalogue of the Library of Sion Monastery which contained fourteen hundred volumes, in Bennet Library, it is falsely attributed to Hugo de Salterea, MSS. C.C.C.C. xli. The French have an ancient spiritual romance on this favourite expedition, so fertile of wonders, entitled: *Le Voyage du Puy saint patrix auquel lieu on voit les peines du Purgatoire et aussi les joyes de paradis*. Lyon, 1506. 4to. [See Brunet, *last edit.* v. 1377.]

<sup>2</sup> roar.

<sup>3</sup> Signat. D iii.

<sup>4</sup> The planetary system was thus divided. i. The Primum Mobile, or first motion. ii. The crystalline heaven, in which were placed the fixed stars. iii. The twelve signs of the zodiac. iv. The spheres or circles of the planets in this order: viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, and lastly the moon, which they placed in the centre of universal nature. Again, they supposed the earth to be surrounded by three elementary spheres, fire, air, and water. Milton, in his *Elegy*

Quene of the fey, and bewtie of the night.

The sun is then described with great force :

Than past we to the spheir of Phebus bricht,  
That lustye lamp and lanterne of the hevin ;  
And glaidir of the steris with his licht ;  
And principal of all the planetis sevin :  
And set in middis of thame all full evin :  
As roy<sup>1</sup> royall rolling in his spheir  
Full plefandlye into his goldin chair.  
For to discryve his diademe royall,  
Bordourit with precious stanis schyning bricht,  
His goldin cart, or throne imperiall,  
The foure steidis that drawith it full richt, &c.\*

They now arrive at that part of heaven which is called the *Chrystalline*,<sup>3</sup> and are admitted to the *Empyrean*, or heaven of heavens. Here they view the throne of God, surrounded by the nine orders of angels, singing with ineffable harmony.<sup>4</sup> Next the throne is the Virgin

on the *Death of a fair Infant*, makes a very poetical use of the notion of a *primum mobile*, where he supposes that the soul of the child hovers

“ — Above that high first moving sphere,  
Or in th' Elysian fields,” &c.

St. vi. v. 39. See *Parad. L.* iii. 483 :

<sup>1</sup> to be pronounced diffusilabically.

<sup>2</sup> [Edit. 1806, i. 210.]

<sup>3</sup> Most of this philosophy is immediately borrowed from the first chapters of the Nuremberg Chronicle, a celebrated book when Lyndsay wrote, printed in the year 1493. It is there said, that of the waters above the firmament which were frozen like crystal, God made the crystalline heaven, &c. fol. iv. This idea is taken from Genesis, i. 4. See also St. Paul, ii. Epist. Cor. xii. 2. The same system is in Tasso, where the archangel Michael descends from heaven, *Gier. Lib. C. ix. st. 60, seq.* And in Milton, *Parad. L.* iii. 481 :

“ They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed,  
And that crystalline sphere,” &c.

<sup>4</sup> Because the scriptures have mentioned several degrees of angels, Dionysius the Areopagite and others have divided them into nine orders, and those they have reduced into three hierarchies. This was a tempting subject for the refining genius of the school-divines : and accordingly we find in Thomas Aquinas a disquisition, *De ordinatione Angelorum secundum Hierarchias et Ordines*. Quæst. cviii. The system, which perhaps makes a better figure in poetry than in philosophy, has been adopted by many poets who did not outlive the influence of the old scholastic sophistry. See Dante, *Parad. C. xxviii.* Tasso mentions, among *La grande offe del ciel*,

“ Tre folte squadre, et ogni squadra instrutta  
In tre ordini gira,” &c.

*Gier. Lib. xviii. 96.* And Spenser speaks of the angels singing in their “trinal triplicities.” *Fair. Qu. i. xii. 39.* And again, in his *Hymn of Heavenly Love*. See also Sannazarius, *De Part. Virgin.* iii. 241. Milton perhaps is the last poet who has used this popular theory. *Parad. L. v. 748.*

“ Regions they pass'd, and mighty regencies  
Of Seraphim, and Potentates, and Thrones,  
In their triple degrees.”

And it gives great dignity to his arrangement of the celestial army. See *ibid. supr. 583.*

“ — Th' empyreal host  
Of angels, by imperial summons call'd,

Mary, the queen of queens, "well cumpanyit with ladyis of de-lyte." An exterior circle is formed by patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, apostles, conquerors in the three battles of the world, of the flesh, and of the devil, martyrs, confessors, and "doctours in divinitie," under the command of St. Peter, who is represented as their lieutenant-general.

Milton, who feigns the same visionary route with very different ideas, has these admirable verses, written in his nineteenth year, yet marked with that characteristic great manner which distinguishes the poetry of his maturer age. He is addressing his native language:

Yet I had rather, if I were to chuse,  
Thy service in some graver subject use;  
Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,  
Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound:  
Such, where the deep-transported mind may soar  
Above the wheeling poles; and at Heaven's door  
Look in, and see each blissfull deitie  
How he before the thunderous throne doth lie,  
Lifting to what unhorn Apollo fings  
To th' touch of golden wires, while Hebe brings  
Immortal nectar to her kingly fire.  
Then passing through the spears of watchfull fire,  
And mistie regions of wide air next under,  
And hills of snow, and lofts of piled thunder,  
May tell at length how green-eyed Neptune raves,  
In heaven's defiance multering all his waves.<sup>1</sup>

*Remembrance* and the poet, leaving heaven, now contemplate the earth, which is divided into three parts. To have mentioned America, recently discovered, would have been heresy in the science of cosmography; as that quarter of the globe did not occur in Pliny and Ptolemy.<sup>2</sup> The most famous cities are here enumerated. The

---

Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne,  
Forthwith from all the ends of heaven appear'd,  
Under their Hierarchies in Orders bright.  
Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd,  
Standards and gonfalons, twixt van and rear  
Stream in the air, and for distinction serve  
Of Hierarchies, of Orders, and Degrees."

Such splendid and sublime imagery has Milton's genius raised on the problems of Thomas Aquinas. See also *ibid.* 600. Hence a passage in his *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity* is to be illustrated. St. xiii. vi. 131:

"And with your ninefold harmony  
Make up full concert to the angelike symphony."

That is, the symphony of the nine orders of angels was to be answered by the nine-fold music of the spheres. Thomas Heywood, a most voluminous dramatic poet in the reign of James I., wrote a long poem with large notes on this subject, called *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels*, 1635. See also Jonson's *Elegie on my Muse*, in the Underwoods.

<sup>1</sup> *At a Vacation Exercise*, &c. Newton's *Milt.* ii. p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> For the benefit of those who are making researches in ancient cosmography, I observe that the map of England, mentioned by Harrison and Hearne, and belonging to Merton college library, appears to have existed at least so early as the year 1512. For in that year it was lent to the dean of Wells, William Cosyn, with a caution of forty shillings. *Registr. Vet. Coll. Mert.* fol. 218, b. See its restitution, *ibid.* fol. 219, b.

poet next desires a view of Paradise; that glorious "garth," or garden, of every flower. It is represented as elevated in the middle region of the air, in a climate of perpetual serenity.<sup>1</sup> From a fair fountain, springing in the midst of this ambrosial garden, descend four rivers, which water all the east. It is inclosed with walls of fire, and guarded by an angel:

The cuntrie cloist is about full richt  
With wallis hie of hote and birnyng fyre,  
And straitly keipit be ane angell bricht.<sup>2</sup>

From Paradise a very rapid transition is made to Scotland. Here the poet takes occasion to lament, that in a country so fertile, and filled with inhabitants so ingenious and active, universal poverty and every national disorder should abound. It is very probable, that the poem was written solely with a view of introducing this complaint. After an enquiry into the causes of these infelicities, which are referred to political mismanagement, and the defective administration of justice, the *Commonwealth of Scotland* appears, whose figure is thus delineated:

We saw a bousteous berne<sup>3</sup> cum ovir the bent,<sup>4</sup>  
But<sup>5</sup> hors on fute, als fast as he micht go;  
Quhose rayment wes all raggit, revin,<sup>6</sup> and rent,  
With visage lene, as he had fastit Lent:  
And fordwart fast his wayis he did advance,  
With ane malicious countenance:  
With scrip on hip and pykstaff in his hand,  
As he had purposit to pas fra hame.  
Quod I, Gude man, I wald fane understand,  
Gif ye pleisit,<sup>7</sup> to wit quhat is your name?<sup>8</sup>  
Quod he, My sone, of that I think greit schame.  
Bot sen thow wald of my name have ane feill,  
Forfutte thay call me Jhone<sup>9</sup> the Common-weill.<sup>10</sup>

The reply of *Sir Commonwealth* to our poet's question is a long and general satire on the corrupt state of Scotland. The spiritual prelates, he says, have sent away Devotion to the mendicant friars: and are more fond of describing the dishes at a feast than of explaining the nature of their own establishment:

Sensual Pleasure hes banecit Chaistitie.

Liberality, Loyalty, and Knightly Valour, are fled:

And Cowardice, with lordis is laureate.

From this sketch of Scotland (here given by Lyndsay), under the reign of James V., who acted as a viceroy to France, a Scottish historian might collect many striking features of the state of his country, during that interesting period, drawn from the life.

<sup>1</sup> "Paradisus tantæ est altitudinis, quo est inaccessibleis secundum Bedam; et tam altus, quod etheream regionem pertingat," &c. *Chron. Nur.* ut supr. f. viii. b.

<sup>2</sup> [Edit. 1806, i. 229.]

<sup>3</sup> [strong, powerful.]

<sup>4</sup> coarse grass, [also, an open field, or plain.]

<sup>5</sup> without.

<sup>6</sup> riven.

<sup>7</sup> if you please.

<sup>8</sup> know.

<sup>9</sup> John, for what reason I know not, is a name of ridicule and contempt in most modern languages.

<sup>10</sup> [Edit. 1806, i. 237-8.]

The poet then supposes, that *Remembrance* conducts him back to the cave on the sea-shore, in which he falls asleep. He is awakened by a ship firing a broadside.<sup>1</sup> He returns home and, entering his oratory, commits his vision to verse. To this is added an exhortation of ten stanzas to James V. in which he gives his majesty advice, and censures his numerous instances of misconduct with incredible boldness and asperity. Most of the addresses to James V. by the Scottish poets are satires instead of panegyrics.

I have not at present either leisure or inclination to enter into a minute enquiry how far our author is indebted in his *Dream* to Tully's *Dream of Scipio*, and the *Hell, Purgatory and Heaven* of Dante.<sup>2</sup>

Lyndsay's poem, called *The Monarch*, is an account of the most famous monarchies that have flourished in the world: but, like all the Gothic prose-histories or chronicles on the same favourite subject, it begins with the creation of the world, and ends with the day of judgment.<sup>3</sup> There is much learning in this poem. It is a Dialogue between Experience and a Courtier. This mode of conducting a narrative, by means of an imaginary myttagogue, is adopted from Boethius. A descriptive prologue which consists of octave stanzas, and in which the poet enters a delightful park, opens the poem.<sup>4</sup> The fun clad in his embroidered mantle, brighter than gold or

<sup>1</sup> "Thay sparjt nocht the poulder nor the *flanis*."

A proof that stones were now used instead of leaden bullets. At first they shot darts, or carreaux, *i. e.* quarrels, from great guns. Afterwards stones, which they called gun-stones. In the *Brut d'Angleterre*, it is said, that when Henry V., before Harflete, received a taunting message from the Dauphin of France and a ton of tennis-balls by way of contempt, "he anoone lette make tenes balles for the *Dolfin* [Henry's ship] in all the haste that they myght, and they were great gonnestones for the *Dolfin* to playe with alle." But this game at tennis was too rough for the besieged, when Henry "playede at the tenes with his harde gonnestones," &c. See Strutt's *Customs and Manners of the English*, 1775, vol. ii. p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> In the Medicean library at Florence and the Ambrosian at Milan, there is a long manuscript Italian poem, in three books, divided into one hundred chapters, written by Matteo Palmeri, a learned Florentine, about the year 1450. It is in imitation of Dante, in the "terza rima," and entitled [*Citta di Vita*.] The subject is, the peregrination of the soul, freed from the shackles of the body, through various ideal places and situations, till at length it arrives in the city of heaven. This poem was publicly burnt at Cortona, because the author adopted Origen's heresy concerning a third class of angels who for their sins were destined to animate human bodies. See Trithem. c. 797, Julius Niger, *Scriptor. Florent.* p. 404, [and Muratori (*Rer. Ital. Script.* xiii. xix. and *Suppl.* i. This Palmeri (1405-75) must not be confounded with his namesake of Pisa, who continued his chronicle *De Temporibus*. See Brunet, last edit. in v. for a notice of a work by Palmeri the Florentine, distinct from his *Citta di Vita*, and entitled *Libro della Vita Civile*.]

<sup>3</sup> It was printed Hafn. 1552. 4to.

<sup>4</sup> A park is a favourite scene of action in our old poets. See Chaucer's *Compl. Bl. Kn.* v. 39, [edit. Morris:]

"Toward a park enclosed with a wall," &c.

And in other places. Parks were anciently the constant appendage of almost every considerable manorial house. The old patent-rolls are full of licences for imparcations which do not now exist.

precious stones, extinguishes the horned queen of night, who hides her visage in a misty veil. Immediately Flora began to expand :<sup>1</sup>

hir tapistrie  
Wrocht de dame Nature quent and curiouselie,  
Depaynt with mony hundreth heuinlie bewis.

Meanwhile, Eolus and Neptune restrain their fury, that no rude sounds might mar the melody of the birds which echoed among the rocks.<sup>2</sup>

In the park our poet, under the character of a Courtier, meets Experience, reposing under the shade of a holly. This portrait is touched with uncommon elegance and expression :

Into that Park I sawe appeir  
Ane ageit man, quhilk drew me neir,  
Quhose beird was weil thre quarter lang ;  
His hair doun ouer his schulders hang,  
The quhilk as ony snaw was quhyte ;  
Quhome to behald I thocht delyte ;  
His habitt Angellyke of hew,  
Of couloure lyke the Sapheir blew.  
Onder ane Hollyng he reposit.  
To sitt down he requesit me  
Onder the schaddow of that tre,  
To saif me frome the Sonnis heit,  
Amangis the flowris soft and sweit ;—<sup>3</sup>

In the midst of an edifying conversation concerning the fall of man and the origin of human misery, our author, before he proceeds to his main subject, thinks it necessary to deliver a formal apology for writing in the vulgar tongue. He declares that his intention is to instruct and to be understood, and that he writes to the people.<sup>4</sup> Moses, he says, did not give the Judaic law on mount Sinai in Greek or Latin. Aristotle and Plato did not communicate their philosophy

<sup>1</sup> [The ensuing extracts have been collated with the Early English Text Society's edit. of the *Monarchie* (from the 2nd edit. printed by John Scot, circa 1560).]

<sup>2</sup> Instead of Parnassus he chooses Mount Calvary, and his Helicon is the stream which flowed from our Saviour's side on the cross, when he was wounded by Longinus, that is Longias. This is a fictitious personage in the Gospel of Nicodemus. I have mentioned him before. Being blind, he was restored to sight by wiping his eyes with his hands which were bloody. See more of him in Chaucer's *Lamentat. Mary Magd.* v. 176. In the Gothic pictures of the Crucifixion, he is represented on horseback, piercing our Saviour's side : and in Xavier's Perfic History of Christ, he is called a horseman. This notion arose from his using a spear, or lance : and that weapon, λωγχι, undoubtedly gave rise to his ideal name of Longias, or Longinus. He is afterwards supposed to have been a bishop of Cesarea, and to have suffered martyrdom. See Tillemont, *Memor. Hist. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. pp. 81, 251, and Fabric. *Apoc. Nov. Testam.* tom. i. p. 261. In the old Greek tragedy of *Christ suffering*, the converted Centurion is expressly mentioned, but not by this name. Almost all that relates to this person, who could not escape the fictions of the monks, has been collected by Wolfius, *Car. Philol. et Crit. in S. Evangel.* tom. i. p. 414, ii. 984, edit. Basil. 1741. See also Hoffman, *Lexic. Universal. Continuat.* in v. tom. i. p. 1036, col. 2, Basil. 1683.

<sup>3</sup> Signat. B ii.

<sup>4</sup> "Quharefore to Colyearis, Cairtaris, and to Cukis,  
To Iok and Thome, my Ryme sal be dirahtit."

in Dutch or Italian. Virgil and Cicero did not write in Chaldee or Hebrew. Saint Jerom, it is true, translated the Bible into Latin, his own natural language; but had Saint Jerom been born in Argyleshire, he would have translated it into Erse. King David wrote the psalter in Hebrew, because he was a Jew. Hence he very sensibly takes occasion to recommend the propriety and necessity of publishing the Scriptures and the missal, and of composing all books intended for common use, in the respective vernacular language of every country. This objection being answered, which shows the ideas of the times, our author thus describes the creation of the world and of Adam :

Quhen God had maid y<sup>e</sup> heuinis brycht,  
 The Sone, & Mone, for to geue lycht,  
 The ferry heuin & Christellyne,  
 And, be his Sapience diuynne,  
 The planetis, in yair circlis round  
 Quhirling about w[ith] merie sound,  
 He cled the erth with herbis and treis;  
 All kynd of fysches in the seis,  
 All kynd of best he did prepair,  
 With fowlis fleying in the air.  
 Quhen heuin and erth, and thare contentis,  
 Wer endit, with thare Ornamentis,  
 Than, last of all, the Lord began  
 Off most vyle erth to mak the man:  
 Nocht of the Lille nor the Rose,  
 Nor Syper tre, as I suppose,  
 Nother of gold, nor precious stonis,  
 Off erth he mad flesche, blude, and bonis.  
 To that intent God maid hym thus,  
 That man sulde nocht be glorious,  
 Nor in hym self no thyng suld se  
 Bot matere of humylite.<sup>1</sup>

Some of these nervous, terse, and polished lines need only to be reduced to modern and English orthography, to please a reader accustomed solely to relish the tone of our present versification.

To these may be added the destruction of Jerusalem and Solomon's temple :

Prince Tytus with his Chewalrye  
 With sound of trompe Tryumphandlye  
 He enterrit in that gret citie, &c.  
 Thare wes nocht ellis bot tak and slay;  
 For thare mycht na man wyn away.<sup>2</sup>  
 The strandis of blude ran throuth the stretis,  
 Off deid folk trampit vnder fetis;  
 Auld Wedowis in the preis wer smorit,<sup>3</sup>  
 Young Virginis shamefully deflorit;  
 The gret Tempyll of Salamone,  
 With mony A curyous caruit stone,  
 With perfyte pinnakles on hycht,  
 Quhilkis wer rycht bewtyfull and wycht,<sup>4</sup>  
 Quhare in ryche Iowell[s] did abound,  
 Thay ruscheit<sup>5</sup> rudlie to the ground,

<sup>1</sup> Signat. C iii.<sup>2</sup> escape.<sup>3</sup> smothered.<sup>4</sup> [fair or comely.]<sup>5</sup> f. rased [or dashed].

And fett in tyll thare furious yre,<sup>1</sup>  
 Sancta Sanctorum in to fyre.<sup>2</sup>

The appearance of Christ coming to judgment is poetically painted, and in a style of correctness and harmony, of which few specimens were now seen :

As fyreflaucht haiftely glansing,<sup>3</sup>  
 Discend fall the maist heuinly kyng ;  
 As Phebus in the Orient  
 Lychtnis<sup>4</sup> in haift, the Occident,  
 Sa plefandlye he fall appeir  
 Among the heuinlye cluddis cleir.  
 The Angelli[s] of the Ordoris Nyne  
 Inueron fall that throne Diuine.  
 In his presen[s] thare salbe borne  
 The signis<sup>5</sup> of Cros, and Crown of thorne,  
 Pillar, Nalis, Scurgis, and Speir,  
 With euerilk thyng that did hym deir,<sup>6</sup>  
 The tyme of his grym Passioun :  
 And for our consolatioun  
 Appeir fall, in his handis and feit,  
 And in his syde, the prent compleit  
 Off his fyue Woundis Precious,  
 Schynand lyke Rubeis Radious.

When Christ is seated at the tribunal, judging the world, he adds,

There fall ane Angell blawe a blast  
 Quhilk fall mak all the world agast.<sup>7</sup>

Among the monarchies, our author describes the papal see : whose innovations, impostures and errors he attacks with much good sense, solid argument, and satirical humour ; and whose imperceptible increase, from simple and humble beginnings to an enormity of spiritual tyranny, he traces through a gradation of various corruptions and abuses with great penetration and knowledge of history.<sup>8</sup>

Among ancient peculiar customs now lost, he mentions a superstitious idol annually carried about the streets of Edinburgh :

Of Edinburgh the gret Idolatrye  
 And manifest abominatioun  
 On thare feist day all creature may se :  
 Thay beir ane auld stock Image through y<sup>e</sup> toun  
 With talbrone,<sup>9</sup> troumpet, schalme and Clarioun,  
 Quhilk hes bene vñt mony one ȝeir bigone,  
 With priestis and freris in to processioun,  
 Siclyke<sup>10</sup> as Bell wes borne through Babilone.<sup>11</sup>

He also speaks of the people flocking to be cured of various infirmities to the "auld rude" (or cros) of Kerrail.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> in their rage.

<sup>2</sup> Signat. L iii.

<sup>3</sup> [lightning.]

<sup>4</sup> lightens.

<sup>5</sup> representations.

<sup>6</sup> [hurt].

<sup>7</sup> Signat. P iii.

<sup>8</sup> Signat. M iii.

<sup>9</sup> tabor.

<sup>10</sup> so as.

<sup>11</sup> [The "auld stock-image" which is here reprobated by Lyndsay was the image of St. Giles, the patron saint of Edinburgh, and which was yearly, on the 1st of September, carried through the town in grand procession.—*Chalmers*.]

<sup>12</sup> For allusions of this kind the following stanza may be cited, [satirizing the licentiousness which had crept into an old religious usage:]

Our poet's principal vouchers and authorities in the *Monarch* are Livy, Valerius Maximus, Josephus, Diodorus Siculus, Avicen (the Arabic physician), Orosius, Saint Jerom, Polydore Vergil, Cario the chronicler, the *Fasciculus temporum*, and the *Chronica Cronicarum*. The *Fasciculus temporum* is a Latin chronicle, written at the clofe of the fifteenth century by Wernerus Rolewinck, a Westphalian and a Carthusian monk of Cologne, and is a most venerable volume.<sup>1</sup> The [*Chronicorum Liber*, usually known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*,] written by Hartmannus Schedelius, a physician at Nuremberg, and from which our author evidently took his philosophy in his *Dream*, was printed at Nuremberg in 1493.<sup>2</sup> This was a most popular compilation, and is at present a great curiosity to those who are fond of history in the Gothic style, consisting of wonders conveyed in the black letter and wooden cuts. Cario's chronicle is a much more rational and elegant work: it was originally composed about the beginning of the sixteenth century by [Johannes] Cario, an eminent mathematician, and [revised, at the author's request,] by Melancthon. [It was first published in German at Wittenberg in 1532, and its popularity was so great that it saw eight-and-twenty editions. It possesses, however, little merit, and is now completely forgotten. There is an early English translation.] Of Orosius, a wretched but admired Christian historian, who compiled in Latin a series of universal annals from the creation to the fifth century, he cites a translation:

The translatour of Orosius  
Intill his cronicle wryttis thus.<sup>3</sup>

I know of no English translation of Orosius, unless the Anglo-Saxon version by King Alfred, which would perhaps have been much more difficult to Lyndsay than the Latin original, may be called such: yet Orosius was early translated into French<sup>4</sup> and Italian.<sup>5</sup> For the

"This wes the practick of sum pilgramage,  
Quhen fillokis into Fyfe began to fon  
With Joke and Thom than tuke thai thair vayage  
In Angus till the feild chapell of Dron:  
Than kittock thare als caidgie as ane con,  
Without regarde outhir to sin or schame,  
Gave Lawrie leif at laiser to loup on,  
Far better had bene till have biddin at hame."

[A *fillok* is a wanton girl; literally *a mare*.] I will here take occasion to explain two lines, Signat I iii:

"Nor yit the fair maydin of France  
Danter of Inglis ordinance."

That is, Joan of Arc, who so often daunted or defeated the English army. To this heroine, and to Penthesilea, he compares Semiramis.

<sup>1</sup> [First printed in 1474. See Brunet in v.] See it also among *Scriptor. German.* per J. Pistorium, tom. i. p. 580.

<sup>2</sup> Again 1497, fol.

<sup>3</sup> Signat. F ii.

<sup>4</sup> By [Antoine Verard, 1491, fol. See Brunet, last edit. in v. for a notice of this and later editions. Brunet omits to mention the Italian version indicated by Warton below.]

<sup>5</sup> By Benaccivoli, Ven. 1528, 4to.

story of Alexander the Great, our author seems to refer to [the] poem on that subject written in the reign of Edward II.:<sup>1</sup> a work which I never remember to have seen cited before, and of which, although deserving to be printed, only two manuscripts now remain, the one in the library of Lincoln's Inn and the other in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Alexander the conquerour,  
Gif thou at lenth wald reid his ring,<sup>2</sup>  
And of his crewell conqueffing  
In Inglis tounge in his greit buke,  
At lenth his lyfe thare thou may luke.<sup>3</sup>

He acquaints us, yet not from his own knowledge, but on the testimony of other writers, that Homer and Hesiod were the inventors in Greece of poetry, medicine, music, and astronomy.<sup>4</sup>

Experience departs from the poet, and the dialogue is ended, at the approach of the evening, which is described with these circumstances:

Behald, quhow Phebus dounwart dois discend,  
Toward his palyce in the Occident.  
The dew now dounkis<sup>5</sup> the rossis redolent:  
The Mareguldiss, that all day wer reioist  
Of Phebus heit, now craftelly ar cloist.<sup>6</sup>  
The Cornecraik in the croft, I heir hir cry;  
The bak, the Howlat,<sup>7</sup> febyll of thare eis,  
For thare pastyme now in the ewinnyng fleis.  
The Nyctyngaill with myrthfull melody  
Hir naturall notis persith throw the sky.<sup>8</sup>

Many other passages in Lyndsay's poems deserve attention. Magdalene of France, married to James V. of Scotland,<sup>9</sup> did not live to see the magnificent preparations made for her public entry into Edinburgh. In a poem, called the *Deith of quene Magdalene*, our author, by a most striking and lively prosopopeia, an expostulation with Death, describes the whole order of the procession. I will give a few of the stanzas:

Theif, saw thou nocht the greit preparatyvis  
Of Edinburgh, the nobill famous toun?  
Thou saw the pepill lauboring for thair lyvis,  
To mak tryumphe with trump and clarioun!

<sup>1</sup> See *supr.* vol. ii. p. [205, *et seq.*]    <sup>2</sup> If thou at length would read his reign.

<sup>3</sup> Signat. K. iii. He also cites Lucan for Alexander, Signat. L. i. For an account of the riches of Pope John, he quotes Palmerius, Signat. N. i. This must have been [Matteo Palmeri of Florence, or rather his namesake and continuator. See above. The former] wrote a general chronicle from the fifth century to his own times, entitled *De Temporibus*, and, I believe, first printed at Milan, 1475, fol.; afterwards reprinted with improvements and continuations; particularly at Venice, 1483, by Grynzas at the end of Eusebius, 1570, [and by Muratori, *ut supr.*]

<sup>4</sup> Signat. K. iii.

<sup>5</sup> moistens.

<sup>6</sup> are closed.

<sup>7</sup> owl, owl.

<sup>8</sup> Signat. R.

<sup>9</sup> Not inelegantly, he compares James making frequent and dangerous voyages into France to address the princess, to Leander swimming through the Hellespont to Hero.

Thow saw makand<sup>1</sup> richt coftlie scaffalding,  
 Depaintit weill with gold and afure fyne,  
 Reddye prepairit for the upfetting,  
 With fontanis flowing water cleir and wyne:  
 Disgyſit<sup>2</sup> folkis, lyke creaturis divyne,  
 On ilk ſcaffold to play ane fundrie ſtorie:<sup>3</sup>  
 Bot all in greiting<sup>4</sup> turnit thow that glorie.

Thow ſaw mony ane luſtie freſche galland  
 Weill ordourit for reſaiving of thair quene,  
 Ilk craftiſman with bent bow in his hand,  
 Ful galyearthlie in ſhort clething of grene, &c.

Syne nyxt in ordour paſſing throw the toun,  
 Thow ſuld haif hard the din of instrumentis,  
 Of tabrone, trumpet, ſchalme, and clarioun,  
 With reird<sup>5</sup> redoundand throw the elementis;  
 The heraldis with thair awful veſtimentis,  
 With maſeris<sup>6</sup> upon ather of thair handis,  
 To rewle the preis, with burneiſt ſilver wandis, &c.

Thow ſulde haif hard<sup>7</sup> the ornate oratouris,  
 Makand hir hynes ſalutacioun,  
 Baith of the clergy town and counſalouris,  
 With mony notabill narratioun.  
 Thow ſuld haif ſene hir coronatioun  
 In the fair abbay of the baly rude,  
 In preſence of ane myrthfull multitude.

Sic banketting, ſic awfull tornamentis  
 On hors and fute, that tyme quihilk ſuld haif bene,  
 Sic chapell royall with ſic instrumentis,  
 And craftie muſick, &c.<sup>8</sup>

Excluſively of this artificial and very poetical mode of introducing a deſcription of theſe ſplendid ſpectacles, inſtead of ſaying plainly that the queen's death prevented the ſuperb ceremonies which would have attended her coronation, theſe ſtanſas have another merit, that of tranſmitting the ideas of the times in the exhibition of a royal entertainment.<sup>9</sup>

Our author's *Complaint* contains a curious picture, like that in his *Dream*, of the miſerable policy by which Scotland was governed under James V. But he diversifies and enlivens the ſubject, by ſuppoſing the public felicity which would take place, if all corrupt miniſters and evil counſellors were removed from the throne. This is deſcribed by ſtriking and pictureſque perſonifications:

For Juſtice haldiſ hir ſweird on hie  
 With hir ballance of Equitie.  
 Dame Prudence heſ the be the heid,  
 And temperance doiſ thy brydill leid.

<sup>1</sup> making.

<sup>2</sup> men, actors diſguiſed.

<sup>3</sup> plays and pageants acted on moveable ſcaffolds.

<sup>4</sup> to grief.

<sup>5</sup> found.

<sup>6</sup> maces.

<sup>7</sup> heard.

<sup>8</sup> [Edit. 1806, ii. 183-4.]

<sup>9</sup> The curious reader may compare "The ordynauce of the entre of Quene Iſabell into the towne of Paris," in Froiſſart. Berners's *Transl.* tom. ii. c. clvii. f. 172, b.

I se dame Force mak affistance,  
 Berand thy Targe of assurance:  
 And lusty lady Chastitie  
 Hes baneist Sensualitie.  
 Dame Ryches takis on the sic cure,  
 I pray God that scho lang indure,  
 That Pouertie dar nocht be sene  
 In to thy hous, for baith hir Ene,  
 Bot fra thy grace fled mony mylis  
 Amangis the Hountaris in the Ylis.<sup>1</sup>

I know not whether it be worth observing, that playing at cards is mentioned in this poem among the diversions or games of the court:

Thare was na play, bot cartis and dyce.<sup>2</sup>

And it is mentioned as an accomplishment in the character of a bishop:

Bot gif thay can play at the cartis.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, in 1503, James IV. of Scotland, at an interview with the Princess Margaret in the Castle of Newbattle, finds her playing at cards:—"The kyng came prively to the said castell, and entred within the chammer [chamber] with a small cumpany, whar he founde the queene *playing at the Cardes*."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Signat. G i. I here take occasion to explain the two following lines:

"Als Jhone Makrery, the kingis fule,  
 Gat dowbill garmentis agane the yule."

That is, "The king's fool got two suits of apparel, or garments doubly thick, to wear at Christmas." Signat. G i. So James I. in his declaration at an assembly of the Scottish Kirk at Edinburgh, in 1590, "The church of Geneva keep Pasche and Yule," that is, Easter and Christmas. Calderwood's *Hist. Ch. Scot.* p. 256. Our author, in the *Complaynt of the Papyngo*, says that his bird sang well enough to be a minstrel at Christmas. Signat. A iii.

"Scho nicht have bene ane menstrall at the gule."

Thus Robert of Brunne, in his chronicle, speaking of King Arthur keeping Christmas at York:

"On gole day mad he fest  
 With many barons of his geste."

See Hearne's *Rob. Glouc.* vol. ii. p. 678. And Leland's *Itin.* vol. ii. p. 116. In the north of England, Christmas to this day is called *ule*, *yule*, or *youle*. Blount says, "in the northern parts they have an old custom, after sermon or service on Christmas-day; the people will, even in the churches, cry *ule*, *ule*, as a token of rejoicing, and the common sort run about the streets singing:

"Ule, Ule, Ule,  
 Three puddings in a pule,  
 Crack nuts, and cry Ule."

*Diction. voc. Ule.* In Saxon the word is *gehul*, *gehul*, or *geol*. In the Welch rubric every saint's day is the *Wyl* or *Gwl* of that saint: either from a British word signifying *watching*, or from the Latin *Vigilia*, Vigil, taken in a more extended sense. In Wales *wyliau* or *gwyliau* hadolig signifies the *Christmas* holidays, where *wyla* or *gwyliau* is the plural of *wyl* or *gwyl*.

I also take this opportunity of observing, that the court of the Roman pontiff was exhilarated by a fool. The pope's fool was in England in 1230, and received forty shillings of Henry III. *de dono regis*. MSS. James, xxviii. p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Signat. F. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Signat. G i.

<sup>4</sup> Leland. *Coll. Append.* iii. p. 284, *ut supr.*

In our author's *Tragedie of Cardinal Betoun*, a soliloquy spoken by the cardinal, he is made to declare, that he played with the king for three thousand crowns of gold in one night, at *cartis* and dice.<sup>1</sup>

Halking, hunting, and swift horſe rynnning,  
Are changit all in wrangus wyunning;  
Thar is no play bot *cartis* and dyce.

Where, by the way, horſe-racing is conſidered among the liberal ſports, ſuch as hawking and hunting, and not as a ſpecies of gaming.<sup>2</sup>

Cards are mentioned in a ſtatute of Henry VII.<sup>3</sup> Du Cange cites two Greek writers, who mention card-playing as one of the games of modern Greece, at leaſt before the year 1498.<sup>4</sup> It ſeems highly probable, that the Arabians, ſo famous for their ingenuity, more eſpecially in whatever related to numbers and calculation, were the inventors of cards, which they communicated to the Conſtantinopolitan Greeks. Carpentier ſays that cards, or *folia luſoria*, are prohibited.<sup>5</sup> But the age of theſe ſtatutes has not occurred to me.<sup>6</sup>

Benedictus Abbas has preſerved a very curious ediſt, which ſhews the ſtate of gaming in the Chriſtian army, commanded by Richard I. king of England and Philip of France, during the cruſade in the year 1190. No perſon in the army is permitted to play at any fort of game for money, except knights and clergymen; who in one whole day and night ſhall not each loſe more than twenty ſhillings: on pain of forfeiting one hundred ſhillings to the archbiſhops of the army. The two kings may play for what they pleaſe: but their attendants, not for more than twenty ſhillings. Otherwiſe, they are to be whipped naked through the army for three days,<sup>7</sup> &c.

Prophecies of apparent impoſſibilities were common in Scotland: ſuch as the removal of one place to another. Under this popular prophetic formulary may be ranked the prediction in Shakeſpeare's *Macbeth*, where the *Apparition* ſays, that Birnam-wood ſhall go to Dunſinane. In the ſame ſtrain, peculiar to his country, ſays our author:

Quhen the Bas and the iſle of May  
Beis ſet upon the mont Sinay,  
Quhen the Lowmound beſyde Falkland  
Beis liſtit to Northumberland.

But he happily avails himſelf of the form, to introduce a ſtroke of ſatire:

Quhen Kirkman yairnis<sup>8</sup> na dignite,  
Nor wyffis na ſoveranite.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Signat. I ii. They are alſo mentioned in an old anonymous Scotiſh poem *Of Corvetice. Anc. Sc. P.* ut ſupr. p. 168, ft. iii.

<sup>2</sup> See alſo *ibid.* p. 146, ft. v.

<sup>3</sup> xi. Hen. VII. cap. ii. That is, in 1496.

<sup>4</sup> *Gloſs. Gr.* tom. i. v. Xaptia. p. 1734.

<sup>5</sup> *Statuta Crimin. Saome.* cap. xxx. p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Supplem. Lat. Gloſs.* Du Cange, v. *Cartæ*, tom. i. p. 342.

<sup>7</sup> *Vit. Ric. I.* p. 610, edit. Hearn, tom. ii. King Richard is deſcribed playing at cheſs in this expedition. MSS. Harl. 4690:

“And kyng Rychard ſtode and playe  
Att the cheſſe in his galleye.”

<sup>8</sup> earn, gain.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Signat. H i.

The minority of James V. was dissipated in pleasures, and his education most industriously neglected. He was flattered, not instructed by his preceptors. His unguarded youth was artfully exposed to the most alluring temptations. Even his governors and preceptors threw these temptations in his way; a circumstance touched with some humour by our author:

Thare was few of that garnisoun  
That lernit hym ane gude lessoun.  
Quod ane, The devill stik me with ane knife,  
Bot, Schir, I know ane maide in Fyfe,  
Ane of the lustiest wantoun lassie!  
Hald thy toung brother, quod ane uther,  
I know ane fairer be fyftene futher.  
Schir, when ye pleis to Linlithquow pas,  
Thare sall ye se ane lustie las.  
Now *tritill tratill trow low*,  
Quod the third man, thow dois bot mow;  
Quhen his grace cummis to fair Stirling  
Thare sal he se ane dayis darling.  
Schir quod the fourt, tak my counsell,  
And go all to the hie bordell,  
Thare may we loup at liberte  
Withoutin any gravite,<sup>1</sup> &c.

It was in this reign that the nobility of Scotland began to frequent the court, which soon became the theatre of all those idle amusements which were calculated to solicit the attention of a young king. All these abuses are painted in this poem with an honest unreserved indignation. It must not in the mean time be forgotten, that James possessed eminent abilities, and a love of literature; nor is it beside our present purpose to observe, that he was [probably] the author of the celebrated ballad called *Christ's Kirk on the Green*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Complaint of the Papingo* is a piece of the like tendency. In the Prologue, there is a curious and critical catalogue of the Scottish poets who flourished about the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. As the names and works of many of them seem to be totally forgotten, and as it may contribute to throw some new lights on the neglected history of the Scottish poetry, I shall not scruple to give the passage at large, with a few illustrations. Our author declares, that the poets of his own age dare not aspire to the praise of the three English poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. He then, under the same idea, makes a transition to the most distinguished poets, who formerly flourished in Scotland:

Or quho can now the workis cuntrafait?<sup>3</sup>  
Off Kennedie,<sup>4</sup> with termes aureait?

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* Signat. G. Compare Buchanan, *Hist.* lib. xiv. *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> Printed at Oxford, by Edm. Gibbon, 1691, 4to. with Notes. [But there is an edition printed as a broadside in 1663, in the Chetham Library.] He died in 1452.

<sup>3</sup> imitate.

<sup>4</sup> [Walter Kennedy. All his known poems are inserted in Mr. Laing's edition of Dunbar. Mr. Laing says, that he was born in Ayrshire before the year 1460, and that he was the third son of Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy.] Kennedy wrote a

Or of Dunbar, quhilk language had at large,  
 As maye be sene in tyll his Goldin Targe?  
 Quintyng,<sup>1</sup> Merfar,<sup>2</sup> Rowle,<sup>3</sup> Henderson,<sup>4</sup> Hay<sup>5</sup> & Holland.<sup>6</sup>  
 Thocht thay be ded, yar libells bene leua[n]d,<sup>7</sup>  
 Quhilkis to reheirs makeith redaris to reioſe.  
 Allace for one quhilk lampe was of this land,  
 Of Eloquence the flowand balmy ſtrand,<sup>8</sup>  
 And in our Inglis rethorick the roſe,  
 As of Rubeis the Charbuncle bene choſe!  
 And as Phebus dois Synthia preſell;  
 So Gawane Dowglas, Byſchope of Dunkell,  
 Had, quhen he wes in to this lande on lyue,  
 Abuse vulgare Poetis prerogatyue,  
 Boith in pratick and ſpeculatioun.  
 I ſaye no mare: gude redaris may diſcryue  
 His worthy workis, in nowmer mo than fyue.  
 And ſpeciallye the trew Translatioun

poem in Scotiſh metre on the *Paſſion of Chriſt*. MSS. Coll. Greſham. 286. Some of Kennedy's poems are in MSS. Hyndford. The *Flying* between Dunbar and Kennedy is in the *Evergreen*. He exceeds his contemporary Dunbar in ſmoothneſs of verification.

<sup>1</sup> He flouriſhed about the year 1320. He was driven from Scotland under the deſtations of Edward I., and took refuge at Paris. He wrote a poem, called the *Complaint of the Miſeries of his Country*, printed at Paris, 1511. [Quintyne Schaw is the author of a poem called *Advyce to a Courtier*, printed in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottiſh Poetry*, vol. i. p. 348. He is mentioned by Dunbar in his *Lament for the Makaris* by the name of Quintyne, (as in the text) without any addition.—*Price*.]

<sup>2</sup> [So little is known regarding his perſonal hiſtory, that we cannot aſcertain the Chriſtian name of a poet, who was thought worthy of commemoration by Lyndſay, as well as by Dunbar. In the treaſurer's accounts, we find a Peter Merfar, who received articles of drefſ, "quhen he paſſit in Denmark," in November, 1494; a James Merfar, whoſe name occurs as receiving ſometimes the ſum of £10 from the king, between 1494 and 1497; and a Wille or William Merfar, who was one of the royal houſehold, and apparently a favourite attendant upon the king from 1500 to 1503. Which (if any) of theſe perſons was the poet muſt be left to conjecture. There was alſo an Andro Merfar, from 1503 to 1508, who was one of the grooms of the prince's chamber.—*Laing*.]

<sup>3</sup> Dunbar mentions Rowll of Aberdeen and Rowll of Coſtorphine, "twa bettir fallowis did no man ſie." *Ibid.* p. 77. [It is very uncertain which is here meant, or who was the real author of *Rowlls Curſing*, printed by Mr. Laing (from the Hyndford MS.) in *Rem. of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 1822. Mr. L. mentions that there is another copy, ſupplying ſome deficiencies in this text, in Maitland's MS.] There is an alluſion in the piece to Pope Alexander VI., who preſided from 1492 to 1503.

<sup>4</sup> [Robert Henryſon, ſchoolmaſter at Dumfermling. As full an account of him and his writings as we can perhaps ever expect, is given in Mr. Laing's edition of his *Poems and Fables*, Edin. 1865, 8vo.]

<sup>5</sup> Sir Gilbert Hay was chamberlain to Charles VII. of France, and, in 1456, tranſlated from French into Scotiſh the book of Bonet, prior of Salon, upon battles. From the teſtimony of Dunbar, it appears that Sir Gilbert alſo wrote poems, but his ſubſcription does not occur in any of the ancient collections.—*Sibbald*. [Hay's *Buke of the Order of Knighthood* has been printed by the Abbotsford Club, 1847.]

<sup>6</sup> ["This poet flouriſhed about the middle of the fifteenth century. His poem of the *Howlat* is preſerved in Lord Hyndford's MS. and in the Auchinleck MS."—*Laing*. The *Howlat* has been printed two or three times. It is in Sibbald's collection. The beſt edition is that printed for the Bannatyne Club, 1823, 4to., from a collation of the Aſſoane and Bannatyne MSS.

<sup>7</sup> living.

<sup>8</sup> ſtream.

Off Virgill, quhilk bene consolatioun  
 To cunning men, to know his gret Ingyne,  
 Als weill in Naturall Science as Deuyne.  
 And in the courte bene present in thir dayis,  
 That ballatis breuis lustellie and layis,  
 Quhilk tyll our Prince daylie thay do present.  
 Quho can say more than schir James Inglis sayis  
 In ballatis, farfes, and in plesand playis?<sup>1</sup>  
 Bot Culrose hes his pen maid Impotent,  
 Kyde in cunningg<sup>2</sup> and prattick rycht prudent.  
 And Stewarte, quhilk difyrith one faintly style,  
 Full Ornate werkis daylie dois compyle.  
 Stewart of Lorne wyll carpe rycht curioslie,<sup>3</sup>  
 Galbreith, Kynlouch,<sup>4</sup> quhe[n] thay lyft tham applie  
 In to that art, ar craffie of Ingyne.  
 Bot now of lait is starte vpe haistellie  
 One cunningg Clerk, quhilk wrytith craftellie,  
 One plant of Poetis callit Ballentyne;<sup>5</sup>  
 Quhose ornat workis my wytt can nocht defyne:  
 Gett he in to the courte auctoritie,  
 He wyll prefell Quintyng and Kennetie.

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Laing in his Notes to Dunbar, speaking of *A General Satire*, says: "This poem is preserved in the manuscripts of Bannatyne and Maitland. In the first of these it is attributed to Dunbar; in the other, and probably more correctly, to Sir James Inglis." An account of Inglis follows, and it appears that there were two persons of this name about the same time. To the second, who was living in 1550, should perhaps be ascribed *The Complaynt of Scotland*, printed at St. Andrew's about 1548. See Mr. L.'s remarks (Dunbar, ii. 396).]

<sup>2</sup> [Proved or practised in knowledge.—*Price*.]

<sup>3</sup> See some of his satirical poetry, *Anc. Sc. P.* p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> These two poets are converted into one, under the name of *Gabriell Kinlych*, in an edition of some of Lyndsay's works "first turned and made perfect Englishe," printed [in 1566.] This edition often omits whole stanzas; and has the most arbitrary and licentious misrepresentations of the text, always for the worse. The editor (or translator) did not understand the Scottish language, and is, besides, a wretched writer of English. But the attempt sufficiently exposes itself. [It may be suspected that the Anglicizer of Lyndsay was the same person who performed a similar operation on Henryson's *Moral Fables* in 1577. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, art. *Æsop*.]

<sup>5</sup> I presume this is John Balantyn or Ballenden, archdeacon of Murray, canon of Ross, and clerk of the register in the minority of James V. and his successor. He was a doctor of the Sorbonne at Paris. (*Concours de duplici statu religionis apud Scotos*, [1628,] lib. ii. p. 167.) At the command of James V. he translated the seventeen books of Hector Boece's *History of Scotland*. Edinb. by T. Davidson [(1536), repr. 1821.] The preface is in verse, "Thow marceyal buke pas to the nobyll prince." Prefixed is the *Cosmography* of Boece's History, which Mackenzie calls *A Description of Albany*, ii. 596. Before it is a Prologue, a vision in verse, in which Virtue and Pleasure address the king, after the manner of a dialogue. He wrote an addition of one hundred years to Boece, but this does not appear in the Edinburgh edition; also *Epistles to James the Fifth*, and *On the Life of Pythagoras*. Many of his poems are extant. The author of the article *Ballenden* in the *Biographia Britannica*, written [about 1747,] says that, "in the large collection of Scottish poems, made by Mr. Carmichael, there were some of our author's on various subjects; and Mr. Laurence Dundas had several, whether in manuscript or printed, I cannot say," vol. i. p. 461, [edit. 1747-66.] His style has many gallicisms. He seems to have been a young man when this compliment was paid him by Lyndsay. He died at Rome, 1550. Dempst. ii. 197. Bale, xiv. 65. Mackenz. ii. 595, seq.

The Scots, from that philosophical and speculative cast which characterizes their national genius, were more zealous and early friends to a reformation of religion than their neighbours in England. The pomp and elegance of the Catholic worship made no impression on a people whose devotion sought only for solid edification, and who had no notion that the interposition of the senses could with any propriety be admitted to co-operate in an exercise of such a nature as appealed to reason alone, and seemed to exclude all aids of the imagination. It was natural that such a people, in their system of spiritual refinement, should warmly prefer the severe and rigid plan of Calvin; and it is from this principle that we find most of their writers, at the restoration of learning, taking all occasions of censuring the absurdities of popery with an unusual degree of abhorrence and asperity.

In the course of the poem before us, an allegory on the corruptions of the church is introduced, not destitute of invention, humour and elegance; but founded on one of the weak theories of Wickliffe who, not considering religion as reduced to a civil establishment, and because Christ and his Apostles were poor, imagined that secular possessions were inconsistent with the simplicity of the Gospel.

In the primitive and pure ages of Christianity, the poet supposes that the Church married Poverty, whose children were Chastity and Devotion. The Emperor Constantine soon afterwards divorced this sober and decent couple; and, without obtaining or asking a dispensation, married the Church with great solemnity to Property. Pope Silvester ratified the marriage: and Devotion retired to a hermitage. They had two daughters, Riches and Sensuality, who were very beautiful, and soon attracted such great and universal regard that they acquired the chief ascendancy in all spiritual affairs. Such was the influence of Sensuality in particular, that Chastity, the daughter of the Church by Poverty, was exiled; she tried, but in vain, to gain protection in Italy and France. Her success was equally bad in England. She strove to take refuge in the court of Scotland, but they drove her from the court to the clergy. The bishops were alarmed at her appearance, and protested they would harbour no rebel to the See of Rome. They sent her to the nuns, who received her in form with processions and other honours. But news being immediately dispatched to Sensuality and Riches of her friendly reception among the nuns, she was again compelled to turn fugitive. She next fled to the mendicant friars, who declared they could not take charge of ladies. At last she was found secreted in the nunnery of the Burrowmoor, near Edinburgh, where she had met her mother Poverty and her sister Devotion. Sensuality attempts to besiege this religious house, but without effect. The pious sisters were armed at all points, and kept an irresistible piece of artillery, called *Domine custodi nos*:

Within quhoſe ſchote thare dar no Enemeis  
Approche thare place for dreid of dyntis doure;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> hard dints.

Boith nycht and daye thay wyrk lyke besye beis,<sup>1</sup>  
 For thare defence reddye to stand in flour;  
 And hes sic watcheis on thare vtter toure,  
 That dame Sensual with seage dar not assailye,  
 Nor cum within the schote of thare artailye.<sup>3</sup>

I know not whether this chaste sisterhood had the delicacy to observe strictly the injunctions prescribed to a society of nuns in England who, to preserve a cool habit, were ordered to be regularly blooded three times every year, but not by a secular person; and the priests who performed the operation were never suffered to be strangers.<sup>3</sup>

I must not dismiss this poem without pointing out a beautiful valediction to the royal palace of Snowdon; which is not only highly sentimental and expressive of poetical feelings, but strongly impresses on the mind an image of the romantic magnificence of ancient times, so remote from the state of modern manners:

Adew, fair Snawdoun, with thy touris hie,  
 Thy Chapell royall, Park, and tabyll rounde!<sup>4</sup>  
 May, Iune, and Iuly, walde I dwell in the,  
 War I one man to heir the birdis sound,  
 Quhilk doth agane thy royall roche redounde!<sup>5</sup>

Our author's poem, *To the Kingis grace in contemptioun of syde taillis*, that is, a censure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, has more humour than decency.<sup>6</sup> He allows a tail to the queen, but thinks it an affront to the royal dignity and prerogative that

Every lady of the land  
 Suld have hir taill so syde trailland.<sup>7</sup>  
 Quhare ever thay go, it may be sene  
 How kirk and callay<sup>8</sup> thay foup clene.  
 Kittok that clekkit was yestrene,<sup>9</sup>  
 The morne wyll counterfute the quene.  
 Ane mureland<sup>10</sup> Mag that milkid the yowis  
 Claggit<sup>11</sup> with clay above the howis,  
 In barn nor byir scho will nocht byde  
 Without hir kirtill taill besyde.  
 Thay waist mair claith [cloth] within few yeiris  
 Nor wald cleith fyftie score of freiris.<sup>12</sup>

In a statute of James II. of Scotland<sup>13</sup> about the year 1460, it was ordered that no woman should come to church or to market with her face "muffled," that is muzzled<sup>14</sup> or covered. Notwithstanding

<sup>1</sup> busy bees.

<sup>2</sup> artillery. Signat. C ii.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. James, xxvi. p. 32. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

<sup>4</sup> round table, tournaments.

<sup>5</sup> Signat. B iii.

<sup>6</sup> Compare a MS. poem of Occleve, *Of Pride and wast clothing of Lordis men which is agens her astate*. MSS. Laud, K. 78, f. 67, b. Bibl. Bodl. His chief complaint is against pendent sleeves sweeping the ground, which with their fur amount to more than twenty pounds.

<sup>7</sup> Signat. L ii.

<sup>8</sup> caufey, street, path.

<sup>9</sup> Kitty that was born yesterday.

<sup>10</sup> moor-land.

<sup>11</sup> clogged.

<sup>12</sup> [Edit. 1806, ii. 201-3.] He commends the ladies of Italy for their decency in this article.

<sup>13</sup> ch. 70.

<sup>14</sup> [Muffler appears to have been the term used in England for the same half-

this seasonable interposition of the legislature, the ladies of Scotland continued "muzzled" during three reigns.<sup>1</sup> The enormous excrescence of female tails was prohibited in the same statute, "That na woman wear tails unfit in length." The legitimate length of these tails is not, however, determined in this statute; a circumstance which we may collect from a mandate issued by a papal legate in Germany, in the fourteenth century. "It is decreed, that the apparel of women, which ought to be consistent with modesty, but now, through their foolishness, is degenerated into wantonness and extravagance, more particularly the immoderate length of their petticoats, with which they sweep the ground, be restrained to a moderate fashion, agreeably to the decency of the sex, under pain of the sentence of excommunication."<sup>2</sup> The orthodoxy of petticoats is not precisely ascertained in this salutary edict: but as it excommunicates those female tails which, in our author's phrase, "keep the kirk and causery clean," and allows such a moderate standard to the petticoat as is compatible with female delicacy, it may be concluded, that the ladies who covered their feet were looked upon as very laudable conformists; an inch or two less would have been avowed immodesty; an inch or two more an affectation bordering upon heresy.<sup>3</sup> What good effects followed from this ecclesiastical censure, I do not find: it is, however, evident that the Scottish act of parliament against "long tails" was as little observed as that against "muzzling." Probably the force of the poet's satire effected a more speedy reformation of such abuses than the menaces of the church or the laws of the land. But these capricious vanities were not confined to Scotland alone. In England, as we are informed by several antiquaries, the women of quality first wore trains in the reign of Richard II.: a novelty which induced a well-meaning divine of those times to write a tract *Contra caudas dominarum*, against the tails of the ladies.<sup>4</sup> Whether or no this remonstrance operated so

---

masked article of dress, which was a thin piece of linen that covered the lips and chin.—*Park*.]

<sup>1</sup> As appears from a passage in the poem before us:

"Bot in the kirk and market placis  
I think thay suld nocht hide thair facis."

He therefore advises the king to issue a proclamation:

"Baith throw the land and borrowstounis,  
To schaw thair face, and cut thair gounis."

He adds that this is quite contrary to the mode of the French ladies:

"Hail ane France lady quhen ye pleis,  
Scho wil discover mouth and neis."

<sup>2</sup> "Velamina etiam mulierum, quæ ad verecundiam designandam eis sunt concessa, sed nunc, per insipientiam earum, in lasciviam et luxuriam excreverunt, et immoderata longitudo superpelliceorum quibus pulverem trahunt, ad moderatum usum, sicut decet verecundiam sexus, per excommunicationis sententiam cohibeantur." Ludewig, *Reliq. Diplom.* tom. ii. p. 441.

<sup>3</sup> See Notes to *Anc. Sc. Poems*, ut supr. p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> See *Collectanea Historica*, ex *Diction. MS.* Thomæ Gascoign. apud Hearne's *W. Hemingford*, p. 512.

far as to occasion the contrary extreme, and even to have been the distant cause of producing the short petticoats of the present age, I cannot say. As an apology, however, for the English ladies in adopting this fashion, we should in justice remember, as was the case of the Scots, that it was countenanced by Anne, Richard's queen: a lady not less enterprising than successful in her attacks on established forms; and whose authority and example were so powerful, as to abolish, even in defiance of France, the safe, commodious, and natural mode of riding on horseback hitherto practised by the women of England, and to introduce side-saddles.<sup>1</sup>

An anonymous Scottish poem has been communicated to me, belonging to this period: of which, as it was never printed, and as it contains capital touches of satirical humour, not inferior to those of Dunbar and Lyndsay, I am tempted to transcribe a few stanzas.<sup>2</sup> It appears to have been written soon after the death of James V.<sup>3</sup> The poet mentions the death of James IV., who was killed in the battle of Flodden-field, fought in the year 1513.<sup>4</sup> It is entitled *Duncane Laidir, or Macgregor's Testament*.<sup>5</sup> The Scottish poets were fond of conveying invective, under the form of an assumed character writing a will.<sup>6</sup> In the poem before us, the writer exposes the ruinous policy and the general corruption of public manners prevailing in Scotland, under the personage of the *Strong Man*,<sup>7</sup> that is, tyranny or oppression. Yet there are some circumstances which seem to point out a particular feudal lord, famous for his exactions and insolence, and who at length was outlawed. Our testator introduces himself to the reader's acquaintance, by describing his own character and way of life, in the following expressive allegories:

My maister household was heich <sup>a</sup> Oppressioun,  
 Reif <sup>b</sup> my steward, that cairit of na wrang; <sup>10</sup>  
 Murthure, Slauchtir, <sup>11</sup> aye of ane professioun,  
 My cubicularis <sup>12</sup> has bene thir yearis lang:  
 Recept, that oft tuik in mony ane fang, <sup>13</sup>  
 Was porter to the yettis, <sup>14</sup> to oppin wyde;  
 And Covatice was chamberlane at all tyde. <sup>15</sup>  
 Conspiracie, Invy, and Falsc Report,  
 Were my prime counsallouris, leve <sup>16</sup> and deare;

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer represents his *Wife of Bath* as riding with a pair of spurs. *Prol.* v. 475:

"And on her feete a paire of spurris sharpe."

<sup>2</sup> For the use of this MS. I am obliged to the ingenious Mr. Pennant, whose valuable publications are familiar to every reader of taste and science.

<sup>3</sup> v. 162.

<sup>4</sup> v. 78.

<sup>5</sup> "Copied," says my MS. "at Taymouth, in September, 1769, from a MS. in the library there, ending August 20th, 1490." The latter date certainly cannot refer to the time when this poem was written.

<sup>6</sup> See *The Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy* [Laing's *Dunbar*, i. 137.]

<sup>7</sup> viz. Laidir.

<sup>8</sup> named, *highi*.

<sup>9</sup> robbery.

<sup>10</sup> that scrupled to do no wrong.

<sup>11</sup> murder, slaughter.

<sup>12</sup> The pages of my bed-chamber; called, in Scotland, *chamber-lads*.

<sup>13</sup> took many a booty. <sup>14</sup> gates; *yates*, *yattis*. <sup>15</sup> all times. <sup>16</sup> beloved.

Then Robberie, the peepill to extort,  
 And common Thift<sup>1</sup> tuke on them sa the steir,<sup>2</sup>  
 That Treuth in my preefince durst not appeir,  
 For Falsheid had him ay at mortal feid,<sup>3</sup>  
 And Thift brocht Lautie finallie to deid.<sup>4</sup>  
 Oppressioun clikit Gude Reule<sup>5</sup> be the hair,  
 And suddainlie in ain preefoun him slang;<sup>6</sup>  
 And Crueltie cast Pitie our the stair,<sup>7</sup>  
 Qhuill Innocence was murthurit in the thrang.<sup>8</sup>  
 Then Falsheid said, he maid my hause richt strang,  
 And furnist weill with meikill wrangus geir,<sup>9</sup>  
 And bad me neither god nor man to feir.<sup>10</sup>

At length, in consequence of repeated enormities and violations of justice, Duncane supposes himself to be imprisoned, and about to suffer the extreme sentence of the law. He therefore very providently makes his last will, which contains the following witty bequests:

To my Curat Negligence I resigne,  
 Thairwith his parochinaris<sup>11</sup> to teche;  
 Ane ather gift I leif him als condigne,<sup>12</sup>  
 Slouth and Ignorance sendill<sup>13</sup> for to preche:  
 The faullis he committis for to bleiche<sup>14</sup>  
 In purgatorie, quhill thae be wafchin clene,<sup>15</sup>  
 Pure religion thairbie to sustene.  
 To the Vicar I leif Diligence and Care  
 To tak the upmost claith and the kirk kow,<sup>16</sup>  
 Mair nor<sup>17</sup> to put the corps in sepulture:  
 Have pourir wad six gryis and ane sow,<sup>18</sup>  
 He will have ane to fill his bellie fowe:<sup>19</sup>  
 His thocht is mair upon the pasche fynis,  
 Nor the faullis in purgatorie that pynis.<sup>20</sup>  
 Oppressioun the Persone I leif untill,<sup>21</sup>  
 Pour mens come to hald upon the rig,<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> theft.<sup>2</sup> steer, steerage; the management.<sup>3</sup> enmity, hatred.<sup>4</sup> brought loyalty to death.<sup>5</sup> caught Good Rule. Read *clekit*, cleecked. Cleik is crooked iron, *Uncus*.<sup>6</sup> threw him into prison. <sup>7</sup> over the stairs. <sup>8</sup> murdered in the croud.<sup>9</sup> furnished it well with much ill-gotten wealth.<sup>10</sup> v. 15, *seq.*<sup>11</sup> parishioners.<sup>12</sup> as good.<sup>13</sup> seldom.<sup>14</sup> to be bleached; whitened, or purified. <sup>15</sup> till they be washed clean.<sup>16</sup> Part of the pall, taken as a fee at funerals. [The *kirk-kow* is the Mortuary.—*Ritson*.]<sup>17</sup> more than.<sup>18</sup> If the poor have six pigs and one sow.<sup>19</sup> His belly full. Belly was not yet proscribed as a coarse indelicate word. It often occurs in our translation of the Bible: and is used, somewhat singularly, in a chapter-act of Westminster-abbey so late as the year 1628. The prebendaries vindicate themselves from the imputation of having reported that their dean, bishop Williams, repaired the abbey, "out of the diet and Bellies of the prebendaries, and revenues of our said church, and not out of his own revenues," &c. *Widmore's Westminster Abbey*, p. 213. Append. Num. xii. Lond. 1751. Here, as we now think, a periphrasis, at least another term, was obvious. How shocking, or rather ridiculous, would this expression appear in a modern instrument, signed by a body of clergy!<sup>20</sup> He thinks more of his Easter-offerings, than of the souls in purgatory. Pasche is *paschal*. Pais, Easter.<sup>21</sup> I leave Oppression to the Parson, the proprietor of the great, or rectorial tythes.<sup>22</sup> [The *rig* is the *ridge* of the open field, where the Parson is so oppressive as to

Quhill he get the teynd alhail at his will :<sup>1</sup>  
 Suppois the barins thair bread suld go thig,<sup>2</sup>  
 His purpois is na kirkis for to big ;  
 Sa fair an barne-tyme<sup>3</sup> god has him send'n,  
 This seven years the queir will ly unmendin.<sup>4</sup>

I leif unto the Dean Dignite, bot fail,<sup>5</sup>  
 With Greit Attendance quilk he fall not mis,  
 Fra adulteraris [to] tack the buttock-maill ;<sup>7</sup>  
 Gif ane man to ane madin gif ane kifs,<sup>8</sup>  
 Get he not geir, thai fall not come to blifs :<sup>9</sup>  
 His winnyng<sup>10</sup> is maist throw fornicatioun,  
 Spending it thur with siclike<sup>11</sup> occupatioun.

I leif unto the Prioure, for his part,  
 Gluttony, him and his monkis to feid,  
 With far better will to drink ane quart,<sup>12</sup>  
 Nor an the bible ane chaptoure<sup>13</sup> to reid ;  
 Yit ar thai wyis and subtile into deid,<sup>14</sup>  
 Fenzeis thame pour,<sup>15</sup> and has gret sufficence,  
 And takith wolph away with gret patience.

I lief the Abbot Pride and Arrogance,  
 With trappit mules in the court to ryde,<sup>16</sup>

detain the whole of the poor people's corn, till he thinks fit to draw his *tithe*.—  
*Ris[on].*

<sup>1</sup> Until he get the tythe all at his will.

<sup>2</sup> Suppose the children should beg their bread. *Barins*, or *Bearns*.

<sup>3</sup> To build no churches.

<sup>4</sup> So fair a harvest.

<sup>5</sup> The choir or chancel which, as the rector, he is obliged to keep in repair. The more tythe he receives, the less willing he is to return a due proportion of it to the church.

<sup>6</sup> without doubt.

<sup>7</sup> A fine for adultery. *Mailis* is duties, rents. *Maile-men*, *Mailleris*, persons who pay rent. *Male* is Saxon for tribute or tax. Whence *Maalman*, Saxon for one paying tribute. See *Spelman* and *Ducange*, in *vocibus*.

<sup>8</sup> If a man give a maid one kifs. Chaucer says of his *Sompnour* or *Apparitor*, *Prol. v.* 651.

"He would suffer for a quart of wine

A good fellow to have his concubine."

See the *Freeres Tale*, where these abuses are exposed with much humour.

<sup>9</sup> If he does not get his fine, they will not be faved. Geir is properly goods, chattels.

<sup>10</sup> his profits, in the spiritual court.

<sup>11</sup> surely in the same manner.

<sup>12</sup> an English gallon.

<sup>13</sup> to read one chapter.

<sup>14</sup> unto death.

<sup>15</sup> feign themselves poor.

<sup>16</sup> to ride on a mule with rich trappings. Cavendish says, that when Cardinal Wolsey went ambassador to France, he rode through London with more than twenty sumpter-mules. He adds, that Wolsey "rode very sumptuouslie like a cardinal, on a mule; with his spare-mule, and his spare-horse, covered with crimson velvett, and gilt stirrups," &c. *Mem. of Card. Wolsey*, edit. 1708, p. 57. When he meets the king of France near Amiens, he mounts another mule, more superbly caparisoned. *Ibid.* p. 69. See also p. 192. [See a MS. of this Life, MSS. *Laud.* i. 66. MSS. *Arch.* B. 44, Bibl. Bodl.] The same writer, one of the cardinal's domestics, says, that he constantly rode to Westminster-hall, "on a mule trapped in crimson velvett with a saddle of the same." *Ibid.* pp. 29, 30. In the *Computus* of Maxtoke Priory, in Warwickshire, for the year 1446, this article of expenditure occurs, "Pro pabulo duarum mularum cum harnesis domini Prioris hoc anno." Again, in the same year, "Pro freno deaurato, cum sella et panno blodii coloris, mule Prioris." *MS. penes me supr. citat.* Wickliffe describes a Worldly

Not in the clofter to make refidence;  
It is na honoure thair for him to byde,<sup>1</sup>  
But ever for ane bifchoprik provyde:<sup>2</sup>  
For weill ye wat ane pour benefice  
Of ten thouland markis<sup>3</sup> may not him fuffice.

To the Bifchop his Free will I allege,<sup>4</sup>  
Becauf thair [is] na man him [dare]s to blame;  
Fra fecular men he will him replege,<sup>5</sup>  
And weill ye wat the pape is fur fra hame:<sup>6</sup>  
To preich the gofpell he thinkis fchame,  
(Suppois fum tym it was his profeffioun,  
Rather nor for to fit upon the fessioun.<sup>7</sup>

I leif my Flatterie, and Fals Diffembling,  
Unto the Freris, thai fa weill can fleitche,<sup>8</sup>  
With mair profit throwe ane marriage-making  
Nor all the lentrane<sup>9</sup> in the kirk to preiche.<sup>10</sup>  
Thai glois<sup>11</sup> the fcripture, ever quhen thai teache,  
Moer in intent the auditouris to pleifs,  
Nor the trew worde of god for to appeis.<sup>12</sup>

Thir<sup>13</sup> gifts that dame Nature has me lent  
I have disponit<sup>14</sup> heir, as ye may fee:  
It nevir was, nor yit is, my intent,  
That trew kirkmen get acht belongis to me:<sup>15</sup>  
But that haulis<sup>16</sup> Huredome and Harlottrie,  
Gluttony, Invy, Covaticc, and Pryde,  
My executouris I mak tham at this tyde.

Adew all friends, quhill<sup>17</sup> after that we meit,  
I cannot tell yow quhair, nor in quhat place;  
But as the lord difpoufis for my fpreit,  
Quher is the well of mercie and of grace,  
That I may [ftand] befoirr his godlie face:

Priest, "with fair hors and jolly, and gay saddles and bridles ringing by the way, and himfelf in coftly clothes and pelure." *Lewis's Wicl.* p. 121.

<sup>1</sup> continue.

<sup>2</sup> look out for a bifchoprik.

<sup>3</sup> marcs.

<sup>4</sup> give, affign.

<sup>5</sup> He will order trial in his own court. It is therefore unfafe to attack him.

<sup>6</sup> You well know the pope is at a great diftance.

<sup>7</sup> He had rather fit in parliament.

<sup>8</sup> fawn.

<sup>9</sup> Or, Lentrone, Lent.

<sup>10</sup> Who get more by making one match than by preaching a whole Lent. The mendicants gained an eftablifhment in families, and were confulted and gave their advice in all cafes. *Chaucer's Friar*

"Hadde i-made many a fair mariage

Of yonge wymmen, &c.—*Prolog. C. T.* v. 212.

<sup>11</sup> expound.

<sup>12</sup> explain. The mendicants not only perverted the plainest texts of fcripture to cover their own fraudulent purpofes, but often amused their hearers with legends and religious romances. Wickliffe, the grand antagonist of thefe orders, fays that "Capped [graduated] friers that been cleped [called] mafters of divinitie, have their chamber and fervice as lords and kings, and fenden out idiots full of covetife to preche, not the gofpel, but chronicles, fables, and leſinges, to pleſe the people, and to robbe them." *Lewis's Life of Wicl.* p. 21, xiii.

<sup>13</sup> thefe.

<sup>14</sup> difpoſed, bequeathed.

<sup>15</sup> A true churchman, a chriſtian on the reformed plan, ſhall never get any thing belonging to me.

<sup>16</sup> whole.

<sup>17</sup> till.

Unto the devill I leif my synnis<sup>1</sup> all,  
Fra him thai came, to him agane thei fall.<sup>2</sup>

Some readers may perhaps be of opinion, that Macgregor was one of those Scottish lairds, who lived professedly by rapine and pillage: a practice greatly facilitated, and even supported, by the feudal system. Of this sort was Edom o'Gordon, whose attack on the castle of Dunfe is recorded by the Scot[is]h minstrels in a pathetic ballad [of questionable antiquity] which begins thus:

It fell about the Martinmas,  
Quhen the wild blew schril and could,  
Said Edom o'Gordon to his men,  
We maun draw till a hauld:  
And quhat a hauld fall we draw till,  
My mirry men and me?  
We wil gae to the house o' the Rodes,  
To see that fair ladie.<sup>3</sup>

Other parts of Europe, from the same situations in life, afford instances of the same practice. Froissart has left a long narrative of an eminent robber, one Amergot Marcel, who became at length so formidable and powerful, as to claim a place in the history of France. About the year 1380, he had occupied a strong castle for the space of ten years in the province of Auvergne, in which he lived with the splendour and dominion of a petty sovereign: having amassed, by pillaging the neighbouring country, one hundred thousand francs. His depredations brought in an annual revenue of twenty thousand florins. Afterwards he is tempted imprudently to sell his castle to one of the generals of the king for a considerable sum. Froissart introduces Marcel, after having sold his fortress, uttering the following lamentation, which strongly paints his system of depredation, the feudal anarchy, and the trade and travelling of those days: "What a joy was it when we rode forthe at adventure, and fomytyme found by the way a ryche priour, or marchaunt, or a route of mulettes, of Montpellyer, of Narbone, of Lymons, of Fongans, of Tholous, or of Carcassone, laden with clothe of Bruselles, or peltre ware comynge from the fayres, or laden with spycery from Bruges, from Damas, or from Alysaunder! Whatfoever we met, all was ours, or els raunfomed at our pleasures. Dayly we gate newe money; and the vyllaynes of Auvergne and of Lymosyn dayly provyded, and brought to our castell, whete mele, breed [bread] ready baken, otes for our horses and lytter, good wynes, beffes, and fatte mottions, pullayne, and wylde fowle. We were ever furnyshed, as though we had been kings. Whan we rode forthe, all the country trembled for feare. All was oures, goynge or comynge. Howe toke we Carlaste, I and the Bourge of Compayne! and I and Perot of Bernoys toke Caluset. How dyd we scale with lytell ayde the strong castell of Marquell pertayninge to the erle

<sup>1</sup> sins.<sup>2</sup> v. 309, *seq.*<sup>3</sup> [Percy's *Rel. ed.* 1812, i. 123, compared with Maidment's *Scottish Ballads and Songs*, 1868, i. 227.]

Dolphyn! I kept it not past fyve dayes, but I receyved for it, on a fayre table, fyve thousand frankes; and forgave one thousand, for the love of the erle Dolphyn's chyldren. By my faithe, this was a fayrie and goodlie life!" &c.<sup>1</sup>

But on the whole I am inclined to think, that our testator Macgregor, although a robber, was a personage of high rank, whose power and authority were such, as to require this indirect and artificial mode of abuse. For the same reason, I believe the name to be fictitious.

[To this period belongs the writer, who is only known to us as Blind Harry. No particulars of his life are known, except that, as Mr. Laing<sup>2</sup> has pointed out, "in the treasurer's accounts we find that small gratuities were occasionally given to 'Blind Harye' by James IV. between April, 1489, and January, 1492[-3]." Blind Harry's performance is a narrative in verse of the *Acts and Deeds of Sir William Wallace*, first printed, so far as can be now ascertained, by Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar at Edinburgh, about 1520, folio.]<sup>3</sup> This poem,<sup>4</sup> which consists of twelve books, is translated from the Latin of Robert Blare, or Blair, chaplain to Sir William Wallace. The [poem may be regarded as a valuable relic in its vernacular dress, inasmuch as it stands in the same relation to the Scottish poetical literature of the fifteenth century that the *Brus*, noticed in an earlier section, does to that of the fourteenth. There seems to be good ground to assume that the date supplied by Dempster, in which he has been hitherto too implicitly followed, is only wrong by a figure, and that his 1361 should be 1461.<sup>5</sup> We shall annex Blind Harry's version of his author's] description of the morning, and of Wallace arming himself in his tent:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See tom. ii. cap. 170, fol. 115, a. And tom. i. cap. 149, fol. 73. See also *ibid.* cap. 440, fol. 313, b. Berners's Translation.

<sup>2</sup> [Dunbar's Poems, ii. 358.]

<sup>3</sup> [The only known fragment of this edition is printed with Chepman and Myllar's peculiar types.]

<sup>4</sup> Tit. *Gesta Willielmi Wallas*. See Dempst. ii. 148. [Blair] flourished in 1800. He has left another Latin poem, *De liberata tyrannide Scotia*. Arnold Blair, mentioned in the title page in the text, probably Robert's brother, if not the same, was also chaplain to Wallace, and monk of Dumferling about the year 1327. *Relat.* ut sup. p. 1. But see pp. 9, 10. In the fifth book of the Scot[if]h poem we have this passage, p. 94, v. 533:

"Maister Jhone Blayr was oft in that message,  
A worthy clerk, bath wys and rycht sawage,  
Lewyt he was befor in Parys town, &c.  
He was the man that pryncipall wndirtuk,  
That fyrst compiled in dyt the Latyne buk,  
Off Wallace lyff, rycht famous of renowne,  
And Thomas Gray persone of Libertounne,  
With him thai war and put in story all  
Oftt ane or bath mekill of his travall," &c.

<sup>5</sup> [Mr. Skeat's inform. Mr. Skeat suggests that the error is a mere slip of the press in Dempster.]

<sup>6</sup> B. viii. v. 65. Dr. Jamieson's text [1822, 4to.] has been adopted for this

In till a waill be a small rywer fayr,  
 On athir sid quhar wyld der maid repayr,  
 Set wachis owt that wysly couth thaim kepe,  
 To fouppar went, and tymyly thai slepe,  
 Off meit and sleip thai cefs with fuffiance,  
 The nycht was myrk, ourdrayff the dyrkfull chance,  
 The mery day sprang fra the oryent,  
 With bemys brycht enlumynyt the occident,  
 Efter Titan, Phebus wp rysyt fayr,  
 Heich in the sper, the signes maid declayr.  
 Zepherus began his morow couris,  
 The swete wapour thus fra the ground resouris;  
 The humyll breyth doun fra the hewyn awaill  
 In every meide, bathe fyrth, forrest and daail.  
 The cler rede amang the rochis rang  
 Throuch greyn branchis quhar byrdis blythly fang,  
 With joyus woice in hewynly armony.  
 Than Wallace thocht it was no tyme to ly:  
 He croyffit him, syne sodeynli uprais,  
 To tak the ayr out off his palyon gais  
 Maister Jhon Blar was redy to raweis,  
 In gud entent syne bownyt to the meis.  
 Quhen it was done, Wallace can him aray,  
 In his armour, quhilk gudly was and gay;  
 His schenand schoyis that burnyft was full beyn,  
 His leg-harnes he clappyt on so clene,  
 Pullane greis he braiffit on full fast,  
 A clofs byrny with mony sekylr clasp,  
 Breyft-plait, brafaris, that worthy was in wer:  
 Besid him furth Jop couth his basnet ber;  
 His glytterand glowis grawin on aither sid,  
 He semyt weill in battaill till abid.  
 His gud gyrdyll, and syne his burly brand,  
 A staff off steyll he gryppyt in his hand.  
 The oft him blyft, &c.  
 Adam Wallaice and Boid furth with him yeid  
 By a revir, throu out a floryft meid.  
 And as thai walk atour the feyldys greyn,  
 Out off the south thai saw quhar at the queyn  
 Towart the oft come ridand sobyrlly,  
 And fyfty ladyes was in hyr cumpany, &c.

The four following lines on the spring are uncommonly terse and elegant:

Gentill Jupiter, with his myld ordinance,  
 Bath erb and tre revertis in plesance;  
 And fresch Flora hir floury mantill spreid,  
 In every waill bath hop, hycht, hill, and meide.<sup>1</sup>

A different season of the year is here strongly painted:

The dyrk regioun apperand wondyr fast,  
 In November quhen October was past,  
 The day faillit throu rycht couris worthit schort,  
 Till banyft men that is no gret comfort:

edition (1822, 4to).—*Price.* The edit. of 1570, printed by R. Lekprevik at Edinburgh, is the earliest impression at present known in an at all complete state, and the only copy of this discoverable appears to want something.]

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ix. v. 22, ch. i. p. 250.

With thair power in pethis worthis gang,  
 Hewy thai think quhen at the nycht is lang.  
 Thus Wallace saw the nychtis meffynger;  
 Phebus had loft his fyry bemys cler:  
 Out of the wood thai durft nocht turn that tyd  
 For aduerfours that in thair way wald byde.<sup>1</sup>

The battle of Black Ernside shows our author a master in another style of painting:

Kerlé beheld on to the bauld Heroun,  
 Upon Fawdoun as he was lukand doune,  
 A futeill straik wpwart him tuk that tide  
 Wndir the chokkeis the grounden fuerd gart glid,  
 By the gude mayle, bathe halfs and his crag-bayne  
 In sondyr straik; thus endyt that cheftayne,  
 To grounde he fell, feile folk about him thrang,  
 Trefloune, thai criyt, traytouris was thaim amang.  
 Kerlye, with that, fled out sone at a fide,  
 His falow Stewyn than thocht no tyme to bide.  
 The fray was gret, and fast away thai yeid,  
 Sawch towart Ern; thus chapyt thai of dreid.  
 Butler for woo off wepyng mycht nocht stynt.  
 Thus rakesly this gud knyght haiff thai tynt.  
 They demyt all that it was Wallace men,  
 Or ellis himself, thocht thai couth nocht him ken;  
 He is richt ner, we fall him haiff bot fail,  
 This febill woode may him littill awaill.  
 Fourtie thar past agayne to Sanct Jhonstoun,  
 With this dede coris, to beryng maid it boune.  
 Partyt thar men, syne divers wayis raid,  
 A gret power at Dipplyn still thar baid.  
 To Dalwryoch the Butler past bot let,  
 At syndry furdys the gait thai umbeset,  
 To kepe the wode quhill it was, day thai thocht.  
 As Wallace thus in the thik forrest socht,  
 For his twa men in mynd he had gret payne,  
 He wist nocht weill, gif thai war tayne or slayne,  
 Or chapyt haile be ony jeperte.  
 Threttene war left with him, no ma had he;  
 In the Gask-hall thair luyng haif thai tayne.  
 Fyr gat thai sone, bot meyt than had thai nane;  
 Twa scheipe thai tuk besid thaim of a fauld,  
 Ordanyt to soupe in to that seemly hauld:  
 Graithit in haiff sume fude for thaim to dycht:  
 So hard thai blaw rude hornys wpon hyecht.  
 Twa sende he furth to luk quhat it mycht be;  
 Thai baid rycht lang, and no tithingis herd he,  
 Bot boustous noys so brymly blewand fast;  
 So othir twa in to the woode furth past.  
 Nane come agayne, bot boustously can blaw,  
 In to gret ire he send thaim furth on raw.  
 Quhen he allayne Wallace was lewynt thar,  
 The awfull blast aboundyt mekill mayr;  
 Then trowit he weill thai had his ludgyng feyne;  
 His fuerd he drew of nobill mettall keyne,  
 Syn furth he went quhar at he hard the horne.  
 With out the dur Fawdoun was him beforne,

<sup>1</sup> Lib. v. ch. i. p. 78, v. 1.

As till his sycht, his awne hed in his hand ;  
 A croyfs he maid quhen he saw him so stand.  
 At Wallace in the hed he swaket thar,  
 And he in haift sone hynt it by the hair,  
 Syne out agayn at him he couth it cast,  
 In till his hart he was gretlye agast.  
 Rycht weill he trowit that was no spreit of man,  
 It was sum dewill, at sic malice began.  
 He wyft no wail thar langar for to bide.  
 Up through the hall thus wicht Wallace can glid,  
 Till a clois stair, the burdis raiff in twyne,  
 Fyftene fute large he lap out of that in.  
 Wp the wattir he fodeynelye couth fair,  
 Agayne he blent quhat perance he sawe thair,  
 Him thocht he saw Fawdoun, that hugly fyr,  
 That haill hall he had set in a fyr ;  
 A gret raftre he had intill his hand.  
 Wallace as than no langar walde he stand.  
 Off his gud men full gret mervail had he,  
 How thai war tynt through his feyle fantasie.  
 Traiftis rycht weill all this was suth in deide,  
 Suppos that it no poynt be of the creide.  
 Power thai had with Lucifer that fell,  
 The tyme quhen he partyt fra hewyn to hell.  
 Be sic myscheiff giff his men mycht be lost,  
 Drownyt or slayne amang the Inglis oft ;  
 Or quhat it was in liknels of Faudoun.  
 Quhilk brocht his men to suddand confusioun ;  
 Or gif the man endyt in ewill entent,  
 Sum wikkit spreit agayne for him present.  
 I can nocht spek of sic divinité,  
 To clerkis I will lat all sic matteris be :  
 Bot of Wallace, furth I will yow tell.  
 Quhen he was went of that perell fell,  
 Yeit glad wes he that he had chapyt swa,  
 Bot for his men gret murnyng can he ma.  
 Flayt by him self to the Maker off buffe  
 Quhy he sufferyt he suld sic paynys pruff.  
 He wyft nocht weill giff it wes Goddis will ;  
 Rycht or wrang his fortoun to fullfill,  
 Hade he pleid God, he trowit it mycht nocht be  
 He suld him thoill in sic perplexité.  
 Bot gret curage in his mynd evir draiff,  
 Off Inglis men thinkand amendis to haiff.  
 As he was thus walkand be him allayne  
 Apon Ern side, makand a pytuouis mayne,  
 Schyr Jhone Butler, to wache the furdis rycht,  
 Out fra his men of Wallace had a sycht ;  
 The myst wes went to the montanys agayne,  
 Till him he raid, quhar at he maid his mayne.  
 On loude he sperde, quhat art thow walkis that gait ?  
 A trew man, Schyr, thocht my wiagis be layt ;  
 Erandis I pass fra Doun to my lord,  
 Schir Jhon Sewart, the rycht for till record,  
 In Doune is now, new cummyn fra the king.  
 Than Butler said ; this is a selcouth thing,  
 Thou leid all out, thow has beyne with Wallace,  
 I sall the knaw, or thow cum of this place,  
 Till him he stert the courser wondyr wicht,  
 Drew out a fuerd, so maid him for to lycht.

Abown the kne gud Wallace has him tayne,  
 Throw the and brawn in sondyr fraik the bayne.  
 Derfly to dede the knycht fell on the land.  
 Wallace the hors sone sefyt in his hand,  
 Ane awkward fraik syne tuk him in the stede.  
 His crag in twa ; thus was the Butler dede.  
 Ane Ingliffman saw thair chiftayne wes slayn,  
 A sper in reyft he keft with all his mayne,  
 On Wallace draiff, fra the hors him to ber ;  
 Warly he wrocht, as worthi man in wer.  
 The sper he wan with outyn mor abaid,  
 On hors he lap, and throw a gret rout raid ;  
 To Dawryoch he knew the fors full weill :  
 Befor him come feyll stuffyt in fyne steill.  
 He fraik the fyrst, but baid, in the blasoune,  
 Quhill hors and man bathe flet the wattir doune.  
 Ane othir sone doune fra his hors he bar,  
 Stampyt to grounde, and drownyt with outyn mar.  
 The thrid he hyt in his harness of steyll  
 Throw-out the cost, the sper to brak sum deyll.  
 The gret power than efftir him can ryd.  
 He saw na waill no langar thar to byd.  
 His burnift brand braithly in hand he bar,  
 Quham he hytt rycht thair folowit him no mar.  
 To stuff the chais feyll frekis folowit fast,  
 Bot Wallace maid the gayast ay agast.  
 The mur he tuk, and throw thair power yeid,  
 The hors was gud, bot yeit he had gret dreid  
 For failyeing or he wan to a strenth,  
 The chais was gret, scalyt our breid and lenth,  
 Throw strang danger thair had him ay in sycht.  
 At the Blakfurd thar Wallace down can lycht,  
 His hors stuffyt, for the way was depe and lang,  
 A large gret myile wichtly on fute couth gang.  
 Or he was horst rydaris about him keft,  
 He saw full weyll lang swa he mycht nocht left.  
 Sad men in deid wpon him can renew,  
 With retornyng that nycht twenty he slew,  
 The forcast ay rudly rabutyt he,  
 Kepyt hys hors, and rycht wyfly can fle,  
 Quhill that he cum the myrckest mur amang.  
 His hors gaiff our, and wald no forthyr gang.<sup>1</sup>

I will clofe these specimens with an instance of our author's allegorical invention :

In that slummir cummand him thocht he saw,  
 Ane agit man fast towart him couth draw,  
 Sone be the hand he hynt him haiftele,  
 I am, he said, in wiage chargit with the.  
 A suerd him gaiff off burly burnift steill,  
 Gud sone, he said, this brand thou fall bruk weill.  
 Off topas stane him thocht the plumat was,  
 Baith hilt and hand all glitterand lik the glas.  
 Der sone, he said, we tary her to lang,  
 Thow fall go se quhar wrocht is mekill wrang ;  
 Than he him lad till a montane on hycht,  
 The world him thocht he mycht se with a sicht.

<sup>1</sup> p. 82.

He left him thar, syne sone fra him he went,  
 Tharof Wallace studiit in his entent,  
 Till se him mar he had still gret desyr,  
 Tharwith he saw begyne a fellounne fyr,  
 Quhilk braithly brynt on breid throu all the land,  
 Scotland atour, fra Ros to Sulway-sand.  
 Than sone till him thar descendyt a qweyne,  
 Inlumyt, lycht, schynand full brycht and scheyne;  
 In hyr prefens apperyt so mekill lycht,  
 At all the fyr scho put out off his sycht,  
 Gaiff him a wand off colour reid and greyne,  
 With a saffyr sanyt his face and eyne,  
 Welcum, scho said, I cheis the as my luff;  
 Thow art grantyt be the gret God abuff,  
 Till help pepill that sufferis mekill wrang,  
 With the as now I may nocht tary lang,  
 Thou fall return to thi awne oys agayne,  
 Thi derraft kyne ar her in mekill payne;  
 This rycht regioun thow mon redeme it all,  
 Thi last reward in erd fall be bot small;  
 Let nocht tharefor, tak redres off this mys,  
 To thi reward thou fall haiff lestand blyf.  
 Off hir rycht hand scho betaucht him a bok,  
 Humyly thus hyr leyff full sone scho tuk,  
 On to the cloud ascendyt off his sycht.  
 Wallace brak up the buk in all his myght.  
 In thre partis the buk weill writyn was,  
 The fyrst writyng was grof letteris off bras,  
 The secound gold, the thrid was silver scheyne.  
 Wallace merveld quhat this writyng suld meyne;  
 To rede the buk he besyete him so fast,  
 His spreit agayne to walkand mynd is past,  
 And wp he rais, syne sodandly furth went.  
 This clerk he fand, and tald him his entent  
 Off this wisoun, as I haiff said befor,  
 Completly throuch; Quhat nedis wordis mor.  
 Der sone, he said, my witt unabill is  
 To runsik sic, for dreid I say off mys;  
 Yit I fall deyme, thocht my cunnyng be small,  
 God grant na chargis efftir my wordis fall.  
 Saynt Androw was gaiff the that fuerd in hand,  
 Off sanctis he is the wowar off Scotland;  
 That montayne is quhar he the had on hycht,  
 Knowlage to haiff off wrang that thow mon rycht;  
 The fyr fall be fell tithingis, or ye part,  
 Quhilk will be tald in mony syndry art.  
 I can nocht witt quhat qweyn at it suld be,  
 Quethir Fortoun, or our Lady so fre,  
 Lykly it is, be the brychtnes scho brocht,  
 Modyr off him that all this warld has wrocht.  
 The pretty wand, I trow, be myn entent,  
 Assignes rewle and cruell jugement;  
 The red colour, quha graithly wndrestud,  
 Betaknes all to gret battaill and blud;  
 The greyn, curage, that thow art now amang,  
 In strowble wer thou fall conteyne full lang;  
 The saphyr stayne scho bliffit the with all,  
 Is lestand grace, will God, fall to the fall;  
 The thrynfald buk is bot this brokyn land,  
 Thou mon rademe be worthines off hand;

The bras lettris betakynns bot to this,  
 The gret oppres off wer and mekill mys,  
 The quhilk thow sall bryng to the rycht agayne,  
 Bot thou tharfore mon suffer mekil payne;  
 The gold takynnis honour and worthinas,  
 Wictour in armys, that thou sall haiff be grace;  
 The silver shawis cleyne lyff and hewynys blyis,  
 To thi reward that myrth thou sall nocht mys,  
 Dreid nocht tharfor, be out off all despayr.  
 Forthir as now heroff I can na mair.

[From Chepman and Myllar's (reputed) edition of 1520 or thereabouts, the episode of John of Lynn, the English reaver, and his discomfiture off the mouth of the Humber, is now taken as a specimen of the oldest printed text of the poem :<sup>1</sup>

With egir will he wald haue bene away  
 Bad wynd ye sail in all ye haift yai may  
 Bot fra ye scottis yan nicht yai nocht elkey  
 The schippis sa fair on athir side yai wey  
 Thai saw na thing yat nicht be to yame eis  
 Craufurd on loft yair sail brynt in ane bleis  
 Or Johne of lyn lchupe for to leif yat stede  
 Of his best men sixty war brocht to dede  
 Thair schip by ouris ane burde was mare of hicht  
 Wallace lap in amang yai revaris wicht  
 Ane man he straik our schip burd in ye see  
 On the our loft he slew sone vthir thre  
 Longaveill enterit and als ye maister blair  
 Thai gaif na grace to freik yat yai fand yair  
 Wallace him self with Johne of lyn was met  
 At his collair ane felloun straik he set  
 Baith helm and hede fra ye schulderis he draif  
 Blaiz our ye burd in ye sey kest ye laif  
 Of his body yan all ye remanand  
 Enterit and slew ye brigantis yat yai fand  
 The schip yai tuke grete gold and vthir gere  
 That yai revaris had gaderit lang in were  
 Bot maister blair spak na thing of him sell  
 In deid of armys quhat eventure yat befell  
 Schir thomas gray was yan preist to wallace  
 Put in ye buke how yame hapnit yis cace  
 That blair was in and mony wourthy deid  
 Of quhilk him self had na plesance to reid  
 Wallace gart reull ye schip with his avne men  
 And sailit furth ye richt cours for to ken  
 In ye sluice havyne quhill yai enterit be  
 The marchaindis weill he helpit in saufte  
 Of gold and gere he tuke part yat yai fand  
 Gaif yame ye schip syne passit to the land  
 Throw flandris raid vpone ane gudly wif  
 Enterit in france and socht to parise  
 The glad tithingis yat to ye king was brocht  
 Of wallace come it comfortit al yair thocht  
 Thai trowit be him to get reddres of wrang  
 The suthroun had in gyane wrocht sa lang  
 The peris of france war stil at yair parliament  
 The king command with trew and haill entent

[<sup>1</sup> *Golagrus and Garwane*, &c. 1827. Introd. 25-8.]

Thai fuld forfe a lordschip to wallace  
 The lordis all yan demyt off yis cace."  
 Wallace and his yan sone to harnes ȝeid  
 Quhen yai war graithit into yare wourthy weid  
 Him self and blare and ye knycht longaveill.  
 Thir thre has tane to keip ye mydschip weill  
 Before was aucht and sex be eft he kend.  
 Syne twa he chesit ye top for to defend.  
 [And gray he maid] yare steir man for to be  
 [The merchandis yan saw thaim sa manfulle]  
 Defend yame self becaus yai had no weid  
 Out of ye how yai tuke skynnis gude speid  
 Ay betuix twa stufit woll as yai nicht best  
 Agane ye straik yat yai nicht sum part left  
 Than Wallace leuch and commendit yame aw  
 Of sic harnes before he neuer saw  
 Be yat ye barge come on yame woundir fast  
 Sevin score hir in yat was na thing agast  
 Quhen Johne of lyn saw yame in armour bricht  
 He lewch and said yir haltane woundis on hicht.  
 Ȝone glaikit scottis can ws nocht undirstand  
 Fulis yai ar is new cūmyn of ye land.  
 He cryit strike bot nane ansuer yai maid  
 Blair with ane bow schot fast withoutin baid  
 Or yai clippit he schot bot arowis thre.  
 And at ilk schot he gart ane revar dee  
 The brigantis yan yai bikkerit woundir fast  
 Amang ye scottis with schot and gūmys cast  
 And yai agane with speris hedit weill  
 Fele woundis maid throw platis of fyne steill  
 Athir vthir festnit with clippis kene  
 Ane cruell countir yair was at schipburd sene  
 The derfschot drair als thik as hail schour  
 Contentit yair with neir ye space of ane hour  
 Quhen schot was gane ye Scottis grete comfort had  
 At hand strakis yai war sicker and sad  
 The marchaindis als with sir thing as yai mycht  
 Previt full weill in defence of yair richt  
 Wallace and his at neir strakis quhen yai se  
 With scharp swerdis yai gart fele brigantes dee  
 Thai in ye top sa wychtly wrocht with hand  
 In the south top yair nicht na revar stand  
 All ye mydschip of revaris was maid waist  
 That to gif our in poynt yai war almaist  
 Than Johne of lyn was richt gretly agast  
 He saw his folk about him failȝe fast.

John Major, the Scottish historian, who was born about the year 1470, remembered Blind Harry to have been living, and to have published a poem on the achievements of Sir William Wallace, when he was a boy. He adds that he cannot vouch for the credibility of those tales which the bards were accustomed to sing for hire in the castles of the nobility. I will give his own words.<sup>1</sup> That,

<sup>1</sup> "Integrum librum Gulielmi Wallacei Henricus, a nativitate luminibus captus, meæ infantie tempore cudit: et quæ vulgo dicebantur carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit. Ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem imperior; quippe qui historiarum recitatione coram principibus victum et vestitum, quo dignus erat, nactus est."—*Hist. Magn. Britan.* L. iv. c. xv. f. 74, 2, edit. 1521. Compare Holinsh. *Scot.* ii. p. 414; Mack. tom. i. 423; Dempst. lib. viii. p. 349.

in this poem, Blind Harry has intermixed much fable with true history, will appear from some proofs collected by Sir David Dalrymple in his judicious and accurate annals of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Henryson, the contemporary of Dunbar, was, according to the received account, a member of the family of Henderfon or Henryson of Fordell, Co. Fife. Mr. Laing supposes that he may have been born about 1425; at any rate, he received a liberal education; and there seems to be little reason to doubt that he is the same person who is described as being admitted a member of the University of Glasgow on the 10th September, 1462. He was at that time by no means a young man, if the identification should be correct, for he is mentioned as the "Venerable Master Robert Henrysone, Licenciate in Arts, and Bachelor in Decrees." The reader who desires to be possessed of such few particulars of the poet's history as it has been possible with the utmost diligence to collect together, must be referred to Mr. Laing's Introduction. Henryson is generally known to have been a schoolmaster at Dunfermling, and this was his occupation, probably, during all the latter part of his life. Mr. Laing observes: "the fact seems to be, that the Grammar School of Dunfermline was within the precincts of the Abbey, and under the jurisdiction of the Abbots." Henryson is said to have lived to be very old, and to have died of a diarrhœa or flux. His editor places the time of his decease towards the close of the fifteenth century.

Several excellent judges have spoken highly of Henryson's powers of description. He was the earliest of our pastoral writers, and also the first who put into a British dress the series of Fables, which pass under the name of *Æsop*. At what period of his career this writer produced his *Morall Fabillis of Esop the Phrygian* is as uncertain as the date of the composition of his *Robene and Makyne* and *Testament of Cresseid*. The Fables have come down to us only in a comparatively modern impression, made at Edinburgh in 1569. That nothing from his pen was committed to the press in his lifetime, almost amounts to a certainty; but an edition of his *Orpheus and Euridice* is still extant, printed at Edinburgh in 1508, 4to, when the poet had perhaps not been dead many years. With the exception of one or two of his minor pieces, which were also included by Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar in their popular series of publications during the reign of James IV., this is the only tribute which his countrymen paid to his memory till very long afterwards. Like Dunbar, he seems to have fallen into utter neglect. But we may be prejudging here, for editions upon editions of old Scottish authors have doubtless completely disappeared, and Henryson's poems may have been republished more frequently and continually than in our present state of information we can positively affirm to have been the case. There is unfortunately scarcely

<sup>1</sup> See p. 245, edit. 1776. [For an account of all the known early printed editions of the *Wallace*, see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Wallace*.]

space for an extended series of extracts from Henryson's Poems and Fables, highly deserving as they are of wider notice and appreciation. The Editor must content himself with giving the two opening stanzas of *Robene and Makyne* :

Robene sat on gud grene hill,  
 Kepand a flock of fe:  
 Mirry Makyne said him till,  
 " Robene, thow rew on me;  
 I haif thee luvit lowd and still,  
 Thir yeiris two or thre;  
 My dule in dern bot gif thow dill,  
 Doutlefs but dreid I de."  
 Robene answerit, " Be the Rude,  
 Na thing of lufe I knaw,  
 Bot keipis my scheip undir yone wude,  
 Lo! quhair thay raik on raw:  
 Quhat hes marrit thee in thy mude,  
 Makyne, to me thow schaw?  
 Or quhat is lufe, or to be lude,  
 Fane wald I leir that law."

This admirable production is probably not less than two hundred and fifty years older than Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*. It appears to be considered, and the Editor is inclined to concur in the opinion, that the author's *Orpheus and Euridice* was a youthful production; it wants the grace and polish which are found in those pieces which may be presumed to have come from his pen in his maturer years. But for the time when it was (conjecturally) composed, it is a work remarkable for the richness and beauty of its descriptions.

His best known work, however, is his sequel to Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresseide*, under the title of *The Testament of Cresseide*. All the early MSS. (if there were any except Asloane's) and printed copies have perished; and the 4to of 1593 in the British Museum is the most ancient and authentic text which remains. *The Testament of Cresseid* is correctly (the Editor thinks) regarded as one of Henryson's latest performances, and, on the whole, it is certainly the most finished and masterly of his poems. Henryson's ballads have also considerable merit. His genius was both versatile and opulent.

A few words must be said here of ALEXANDER SCOT, whom Pinkerton termed "the Anacreon of old Scottish poetry." Scot follows Dunbar at an interval of about a quarter of a century in the strict order of time; but the distance between them is really greater, when it is considered that Dunbar had attained some celebrity in 1490, while Scot does not appear to have written any of those poems which are extant from his pen much before the middle of the sixteenth century. Mr. Laing, who collected these productions in 1821, says: "Alexander Scot has uniformly been reckoned the most eminent of the early minor Scottish poets, and we cannot assume for him a higher character. His poems, with the few exceptions at the beginning [versions of the Psalms,] are all of the amatory kind, and are chiefly to be viewed as the light and sportive effusions of

an elegant and ingenious mind." Scot flourished at a middle period in the history of Scottish poetry, when the old allegorical and picturesque school of writers had died out, and before Scottish versification arrived at a higher perfection and refinement in the works of the later Makars.

A version of Hector Boece was executed about 1530 by William Stewart, of whose identity there seems to be some doubt, since at the time when he flourished (early part of the fifteenth century) there were two persons of the same name, both of whom were attached to the court of James V. of Scotland. The late Mr. Turnbull, who edited this Scottish translation of Boece for the first time in 1858, supposed that the author was the same Stewart of whom Lyndsay, in his *Complaynt of the Papingo* [circa 1530], says that he

Full ornate warkis daylie dois compyle.

But the assignation is, after all, a little uncertain.

But although Stewart merely purported to render Boece out of Latin into the vernacular Scottish, he in fact did more, for in some cases he introduces notices of curious incidents, overlooked by his original, from sources with which Boece does not appear to have been conversant. As a specimen of Stewart's style and language, I shall avail myself of one of Mr. Turnbull's extracts, as it is an account of a matter which is described imperfectly by Boece, and for which Stewart is supposed to have been indebted to Fordun :

The Inglis men, as my author did tell,  
Had Coupar castell in keeping that da,  
In falt of victuall on the nycht awa,  
Richt quyetlie out of the hous tha stall,  
That samen nycht on to one ferry all,  
Quhilk Donybrissis callit than that wes,  
In that purpois attonir Forth than to pas.  
To that same ferry syne quhen tha come till,  
The ferriar, in magir of his will,  
Out of his bed at midnycht gart him ryis.  
The ferrear that subtill wes and wyis,  
Quhen that he saw that na better micht be,  
With thame richt sone he passit to the se.  
In mid water as thame he askit fraucht,  
Said ane, "Ȝow fall haif all that euir we aucht ;"  
And with his fist vpoun the face him smet.  
And he agane, "Gramercy, gentill met !  
Haif it be so, the laif fall all be fre."  
Ȝit nevirtheles he thocht rycht sone to haif  
Ane trew mendis for him and all the laif.

It would be improper to overlook in this place Alexander Montgomery, whom Dr. Irving characterizes, justly enough, as "one of the most popular of the early Scottish poets." The same writer observes : "Some of those poets undoubtedly possessed higher powers of invention ; and the rank of Sir David Lyndsay, together with the acknowledged efficacy of his satires on the tottering church, rendered him more conspicuous among his contemporaries ; but few Scottish poems of equal antiquity seem to have obtained so permanent a hold of public attention as the *Cheerrie and the Slae*."

As several of Montgomery's pieces occur in the Bannatyne MS., written in 1568, he was probably not born later than 1540, and it is supposed by Mr. Laing that he was still living in 1605. He appears to have been at one time of his life in the service of the regent Morton, and there is also little doubt that he held some military preferment, although he is not described as Captain Montgomery in any but the posthumous impressions of his poems. Dr. Irving and Mr. Laing have collected his remains and all the notices of his life which were discoverable; but the latter partake of the scantiness and obscurity incidental to poetical biography. As a writer midway between Lyndsay and Drummond, exhibiting the Scottish language in its state of slow transition, Montgomery clearly merits some degree of attention, and his works unquestionably possess unusual merit. Some of his sonnets are as smooth and polished as the poet of Hawthornden's, and his pastoral is a production which, in the editor's opinion, places him at least on a level with Drummond as a man of genius. *The Flyting betwixt Montgomery and [Sir Patrick Hume of] Polwart* is a strange, grotesque performance, reminding us of Dunbar's similar contest with Walter Kennedy, and Skelton's poems against Garnefche. If Montgomery had produced nothing but this *Flyting* and his select version of the Psalms, entitled, *The Mindes Melodie*, he would have only been remembered as a person whose versatility of talent enabled him to leave to posterity specimens of the broadest satire and of the devoutest common-place. But, as it is, his *Cherrie and the Slae* and his *Sonnets* justly claim for him a high rank among the Scottish writers of the latter half of the sixteenth century and of the beginning of the seventeenth. His poems have not enjoyed quite so extensive a popularity as those of Lyndsay which, it ought to be recollected, have a strong religious interest, apart from any other fascination; but the *Cherry and the Slae* has never lost its hold on the public memory and affection, while nothing but modern zeal has restored to notice Henryson's *Robene and Makyne* and the sublime creations of Dunbar.]

I cannot return to the English poets without a hint, that a well-executed history of the Scottish poetry from the thirteenth century would be a valuable accession to the general literary history of Britain.<sup>1</sup> The subject is pregnant with much curious and instructive information, is highly deserving of a minute and regular research, has never yet been uniformly examined in its full extent, and the materials are both accessible and ample. Even the bare lives of the vernacular poets of Scotland have never yet been written with tolerable care, and at present are only known from the meagre outlines of Dempster and Mackenzie. The Scots appear to have had an early propensity to theatrical representations; and it is probable that, in the prosecution of such a design, among several other interesting and unexpected discoveries, many anecdotes, conducing to illustrate the rise and progress of our ancient drama, might be drawn from obscurity.

<sup>1</sup> [This has now, to a certain extent, been accomplished by the publication of the *History of Scottish Poetry*, by the late Dr. Irving, edited by Dr. Carlyle, 1861, 8vo.]

## SECTION XXXII.



**M**OST of the poems of John Skelton were written in the reign of Henry VIII. But as he was laureated at Oxford [before] the year [1490],<sup>1</sup> I consider him as belonging to the fifteenth century.

Skelton, having studied in both our universities,<sup>2</sup> [and at Louvaine,<sup>3</sup> took holy orders in 1498,<sup>4</sup> and] was promoted to the rectory of Dids in Norfolk.<sup>5</sup> But for his buffooneries in the pulpit, and his satirical ballads against the Mendicants, he was

<sup>1</sup> ["For a notice of Skelton's laureation at Oxford, the Rev. Dr. Bliss obligingly searched the archives of that University, but without success. 'No records,' he informs me, 'remain between 1463 and 1498, that will give a correct list of degrees.'"—*Dyce*. But the question is, whether, being a mere honorary academical distinction, Skelton's inauguration would have been registered in the *Books of Degrees* at all.]

<sup>2</sup> [He was admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge in 1493.—*Dyce*.]

<sup>3</sup> [*Dyce's Skelton*, i. xv.]

<sup>4</sup> [*Ibid.* xx.]

<sup>5</sup> [Probably as early as 1504. See *Dyce's Skelton*, i. xxvi.] At the end of his *Trentale for old John Clarke*, there is this colophon. "Auctore Skelton restore de Dis. Finis, &c. Apud Trumpinton, script. per Curatum ejusdem quinto die Jan. A.D. 1507." He was ordained both deacon and priest in the year 1498. On the title of the monastery de Gracii near the tower of London. Registr. Savage. Episc. Lond. There is a poem by Skelton on the death of King Edward IV., who died A.D. 1483. This is taken into the *Mirror for Magistrates*. [But perhaps Skelton's earliest production was his lost poem on the *Creation of Prince Arthur* in 1489. See *Dyce's Skelton*, i. xxi. There is an imperfect copy of the *Garlande of Laurell* in Cotton. MS. Vit. E x. 200. A second, supplying some matter wanting in the printed copies, was in a MS. volume formerly in the library at Eshton Hall.] Caxton, in his [prologue] to Virgil's *Eneidos*, says, ["For he hath late translated the epytlys of Tulle and the boke of dyodorus syculus, and dyuerse other werkes owte of latyn in to englyshe." The former is not known, but of the latter there is an unique but imperfect MS. in the library of C.C.C. Cambridge. (See a description of it communicated by Mr. Thomas Wright to *Dyce's Skelton*, i. cii.) In the Preface to the prose *Eneid*, Caxton also remarks, "But I pray mayfter John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the vnyuersite of oxenforde, to ouersee and correcte this sayd booke :—for hym I knowe for suffycient to expowne and englyshe euery dyffyculte that is therein." This, however, does not seem to have flattered Skelton into the service of becoming Caxton's critical overseer, as the book had no re-impression.—*Park*. But Caxton does not seem to indicate an intention of reprinting the work, merely a wish that, if Skelton discovered any errors, he should correct them.] Bale mentions his *Imuendiva* on William Lily the grammarian. I know nothing more of this, than that it was answered by Lily in *Apologia ad Joh. Skeltonum* [at present unknown. See *Dyce's Skelton*, i. xxxvii.; but Wood has preserved the beginning:] "Siccine vipereo pergis me," &c. Skelton's *Elinour Rummyng* or *Rumpkin* [occurs in all the editions of the little volume called *Certaine Bokes*, &c.] The last of the old editions is in 1624, 4to. In the title page is the picture of our genial hostess, an old woman, holding a pot of ale [in each hand] with this inscription:

"When Skelton wore the laurell Crowne  
My Ale put all the Ale wiues downe."

severely censured, and perhaps suspended by Nykke his diocesan, a rigid bishop of Norwich, from exercising the duties of the sacerdotal function. Wood says, he was also punished by the bishop for "having been guilty of certain crimes, as most poets are."<sup>1</sup> But these persecutions only served to quicken his ludicrous disposition, and to exasperate the acrimony of his satire. As his sermons could be no longer a vehicle for his abuse, he vented his ridicule in rhyming libels. At length, daring to attack the dignity of Cardinal Wolsey, he was closely pursued by the officers of that powerful minister; and, taking shelter in the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey, was kindly entertained and protected by Abbot Islip,<sup>2</sup> to the day of his death. He died, and was buried in the neighbouring church of Saint Margaret, in 1529.

Skelton was patronised by Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, who deserves particular notice here; as he loved literature at a time when many of the nobility of England could hardly read or write their names, and was the general patron of such genius as his age produced. He encouraged Skelton, almost the only professed poet of the reign of Henry VII., to write an elegy on the death of his father, which is yet extant. But still stronger proofs of his literary turn, especially of his singular passion for poetry, may be collected from a very splendid MS., which formerly belonged to this very distinguished peer, and is at present preserved in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> It contains a large collection of English poems, elegantly engrossed on vellum, and superbly illuminated, which had been thus sumptuously transcribed for his use. The pieces are chiefly those of Lydgate, after which follow the aforesaid Elegy of Skelton and some smaller compositions. Among the latter are a metrical history of the family of Percy, presented to him by one of his own chaplains, and a prolix series of poetical inscriptions, which he caused to be written on the walls and ceilings of the principal apartments of his castles of Lekinfield and Wressill.<sup>4</sup> Three of the apartments in the latter, now destroyed, were adorned with poetical inscriptions. These are called, in the MS. above mentioned, *Proverbs in the Lodgings in Wressill*.<sup>5</sup>

1. *The proverbes in the sydys of the innere chaumbre . . . at Wressill*. This is a poem of twenty-four stanzas, each containing seven lines: beginning thus,

When it is tyme of coste and greate expens,  
Beware of waste and spende be measure:

<sup>1</sup> [See Dyce's *Skelton*, i. xxviii. "The following entry occurs among the Acts and Orders of the Court of Requests: 'An. xvii. Hen. VII. (1501) 10 Julij, apud Westminster *Jo. Skelton commissarius carceribus janitoris domini regis.*'"—*Park*.]

<sup>2</sup> His Latin epitaph or elegy on the death of Henry VII. is addressed to Islip, A.D. 1512.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Reg. 18 D. [ii.]

<sup>4</sup> See [Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 178.] MSS. C.C.C. Cant. 168.

<sup>5</sup> [They are partly printed in the second edition of the *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1807, iv. 411-21.]

Who that outrageously makithe his dispens,  
Causyth the his goodis not longe to endure, &c.

2. *The counsell of Aristotill, which he gayfe to Alexander, kinge of Massydon; which are writyn in the Syde of the Utter Chamber above of the house in the Gardynge at Wressfylls.* This is in thirty-eight lines; beginning thus,

Punyshe moderately and discretly correcte,  
As well to mercye as to justice havynge a respecte, &c.

3. *The proverbis in the syde of the Utter Chamber above of the house in the gardynge at Wressfyll.* A poem of thirty stanzas, chiefly of four lines, viz.

Remorde thynne ey inwardly,  
Fyx not thy mynde on Fortune, that delythe dyversly, &c.

The following apartments in Lekingfield had poetical inscriptions: as mentioned in the said MS. *Proverbs in the Lodgings at Lekingfield.*

1. "The proverbis of the garette over the Bayne at Lekyngfelde." This is a dialogue in 32 stanzas, of four lines, between *the Parte Sensatyve* and *the Part Intellectyve*; containing a poetical comparison between sensual and intellectual pleasures.

2. "The proverbis in the garet at the new lodge in the parke of Lekingfelde." This is a poem of 32 stanzas, of four lines, being "a discant on Harmony, as also on the manner of Singing, and playing on most of the instruments then used: *i. e.* the Harps, Claricordes, Lute, Virgynall, Clarisymballis, Clarion, Shawme, Orgayne, Recorder." The following stanza relates to the Shawme, and shews it to have been used for the Bass, as the Recorder was for the Meane or Tenor:

A Shawme makithe a sweete sounde for he tunithe Bass,  
It mountithe not to hy, but kepithe rule and space.  
Yet yf it be blowne with a too vehement wynde,  
It makithe it to misgoverne out of his kynde.

3. "The proverbis in the rooffe of the hiest chawmbre in the gardinge at Lekingfelde." If we suppose this to be the room mentioned by Leland, where the Genealogy was kept, the following jingling reflections on the family motto (in thirty distichs) will not appear quite so misplaced:

*Esperance en Dyeu,*  
Trust in hym he is most trewe.

*En Dieu esperance,*  
In hym put thynne affiance.

*Esperance in the worlde?* nay;  
The worlde varieth every day.

*Esperance in riches?* nay, not so,  
Riches slidithe and sone will go.

*Esperance in exaltacion of honoure?*  
Nay, it widderithe . . . lyke a floure.

*Esperance in bloode and highe lynage?*  
At moste nede, bot esy avauntage.

The concluding distich is :

*Esperance en Dieu*, in hym is all ;  
Be thou contente and thou art above Fortunes fall.

4. "The proverbis in the rouse of my Lorde Percy closett at Lekyngfelde." A poetical dialogue, containing instructions for youth, in 142 lines.

5. "The proverbis in the rouse of my Lordis library at Lekyngfelde." Twenty-three stanzas of four lines, from which I take the following specimen :

To every tale geve thou no credens.  
Prove the cause, or thou give sentens.  
Agayn the right make no dyffens,  
So haist thou a clene consciens.

6. "The counsell of Aristotell, whiche he gave to Alexander kinge of Macedony ; in the syde of the garet of the gardynge in Lekyngfelde." This, [which was also at Wrefyll,] consists of nine stanzas, of eight lines : Take the last [four lines from the last] stanza but one [as a further specimen] :

If ye be moved with anger or haistynes,  
Pause in youre mynde and your yre repress :  
Defer vengeance unto your anger asswagede be ;  
So shall ye mynyfter iustice, and do dewe equyte.

This castle is also demolished. One of the ornaments of the apartments of the old castles in France, was to write the walls all over with amorous Sonnets.

The Earl's cultivation of the arts of external elegance appears, from the stately sepulchral monuments which he erected in the minster or collegiate church of Beverley in Yorkshire, to the memory of his father and mother ; which are executed in the richest style of the florid Gothic architecture, and remain to this day the conspicuous and striking evidences of his taste and magnificence. In the year 1520, he founded an annual stipend of ten marks for three years for a preceptor or professor, to teach grammar and philosophy in the monastery of Alnwick, contiguous to another of his magnificent castles.<sup>1</sup> A further instance of his attention to letters and studious employments occurs in his *Household-book*, dated 1512, yet remaining ; in which the Libraries of this earl and of his lady are specified :<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> From the Receiver's accompts of the Earl's Estates in Com. Northumb. A. xv. Henr. VIII. A.D. 1527. "Soluciones denariorum per Warrantum Domini. Et in denariis per dominum receptorem doctori Makerell Abbati monasterii de Alnewyk solutis, de exitibus hujus anni, pro solutione vadii unius pedagogi, five Magistri, existentis infra Abbathiam predictam, et docentis ac legentis Grammaticam et Philosophiam canonicis et fratribus monasterii predicti, ad x marcas per annum pro termino iij annorum, virtute unius warranti, cujus data est apud Wressill xx<sup>mo</sup> die Septembris anno xij Regis predicti, signo manuali ipsius Comitis signati, et penes ipsum Abbatem remanentis, ultra vj lib. xiiij s. iv d. sibi allocatas anno xiiij Henr. viij<sup>th</sup>, et vj lib. xiiij s. iiij d. similiter sibi allocatas in anno xiiij ejusdem Regis ut per ii acquietancias inde confectas, et penes Auditorem remanentes." From *Evidences of the Percy family*, at Sion-house. C. iii. Num. 5, 6. Communicated by Dr. Percy.

<sup>2</sup> Pag. 44 [edit. 1770. The work was reprinted in 1827.]

in the same curious monument of ancient manners it is ordered, that one of his chaplains should be a Maker of Interludes.<sup>1</sup> With so much boldness did this liberal nobleman abandon the example of his brother peers, whose principal occupations were hawking and tilting, and who despised learning as an ignoble and petty accomplishment, fit only for the purposes of laborious and indigent ecclesiastics. Nor was he totally given up to the pursuits of leisure and peace : he was, in the year 1497, one of the leaders who commanded at the battle of Blackheath against Lord Audley and his partisans ; and he was often engaged, from his early years, in other public services of trust and honour. But Skelton hardly deserved such a patronage.

It is in vain to apologise for the coarseness, obscenity, and scurrility of Skelton, by saying that his poetry is tinged with the manners of his age.<sup>2</sup> Skelton would have been a writer without decorum at any period. The manners of Chaucer's age were undoubtedly more rough and unpolished than those of the reign of Henry VII. Yet Chaucer, a poet abounding in humour, and often employed in describing the vices and follies of the world, writes with a degree of delicacy, when compared with Skelton. That Skelton's manner is gross and illiberal, was the opinion of his contemporaries ; at least of those critics who lived but a few years afterwards, and while his poems yet continued in vogue. Puttenham, the author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, published in 1589, [but written long before,] speaking of the species of short metre used in the minstrel-romances, for the convenience of being sung to the harp at feasts, and in Carols and Rounds, "and such light or lascivious Poemes, which are commonly more commodiously uttered by these buffons or vices in plays then by any other person," and in which the sudden return of the rhyme fatigues the ear, immediately subjoins : "Such were the rimes of *Skelton* . . . being in deede but a rude rayling rimer,

<sup>1</sup> Pag. 378. I am indebted to the usual kindness of Dr. Percy for all the notices relating to this earl. See his Preface to the *Household Book*, pag. xxi. seq. [edit. 1770.]

<sup>2</sup> "Warton has undervalued him (Skelton) ; which is the more remarkable, because Warton was as generous as well as a competent critic. He seems to have been disgusted with buffooneries which, like those of Rabelais, were thrown out as a tub for the whale ; for unless Skelton had written thus for the coarsest palates, he could not have poured forth his bitter and undaunted satire in such perilous times." *Southey*, 1831 (quoted by Dyce). "That Warton undervalued Skelton is very apparent ; but Southey's *for* is not equally so. But our historian was tainted by Pope's antipathy to him. A reprint of Marthe's edition of Skelton's *Works* having appeared in 1736, Pope took occasion, during the next year, to mention them in the following terms, casting a blight on our poet's reputation, from which it has hardly yet recovered :

'Chaucer's worst ribaldry is learn'd by rote,  
And *braggly* Skelton Heads of Houses quote.'"

—*Dyce*, 1843.

Warton enumerated among Skelton's lost works, a better account of which is to be found in Dyce's edition, the *Peregrination of Maunnes Lyse*, which he thought it possible Skelton might have taken from a Latin metrical tract printed by Pynion in 1508. But Skelton's original was in *prose*.]

& all his doings ridiculous, he vsed both short distaunces and short measures, pleasing onely the popular eare."<sup>1</sup> Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*, or *Wit's Treasury*, 1598, also observes: "as *Sotades Maronites* y<sup>e</sup> Iambicke Poet gaue himselfe wholly to write impure and lasciuious things: so *Skelto* (I know not for what great worthines furnamed the Poet Laureat) applied his wit to scurrilities and ridiculous matters, such amög the Greeks were called *Pantomimi*, with vs Buffons."<sup>2</sup>

Skelton's characteristic vein of humour is capricious and grotesque. If his whimsical extravagances ever move our laughter, at the same time they shock our sensibility. His festive levities are not only vulgar and indelicate, but frequently want truth and propriety. His subjects are often as ridiculous as his metre: but he sometimes debases his matter by his versification. On the whole, his genius seems better suited to low burlesque, than to liberal and manly satire. It is supposed by Caxton, that he improved our language;<sup>3</sup> but he sometimes affects obscurity, and sometimes adopts the most familiar phraseology of the common people.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. ch. ix. p. 69, [edit. 1811.]

<sup>2</sup> [This quotation is not accurately given in the former editions of Warton. *Palladis Tamia* purports to be a sequel to Ling's *Politeuphuia*, 1597, 8vo. Bishop Hall characterized both the temper and metre of this lampooner with forcible brevity, when he spoke of "*angry Skelton's* breathlesse rhymes." *Virgidemiarum*, lib. iv.—*Park*. I reckon the interval of time when Skelton began to write, and when Puttenham published, to be infinite as to the refinement of manners. Yet even in this last period, and later, the commentators of Shakspeare are glad to shelter his ribaldry and puns under the manners of his age.—*Ashtby*.]

<sup>3</sup> [Caxton speaks of Skelton's translations from the Greek and Latin, as not rendered in rude and old language, but in polished and ornate terms craftily. He adds, "And also he hath redde the ix. muses, and understande theyr muscalle scyences, and to whom of theym eche scyence is appropred. I suppose he hath dronken of Elycons well." *Prologue to Æneid*. Vide *supr*.—*Park*. That Churchyard indulged the same strange notion appears from the following curious encomium, [prefixed to Skelton's *Poems* in 1568,] in which he tells us that the conversation of Skelton resembled the taunting personality of his writings:

"diuers men of late  
Hath helpt our Englishe toung,  
That first was baes and brute:  
Ohe! shall I leaue out Skeltons name  
The blossome of my frute.  
The tree wheron indeed  
My branchis all might groe:  
Nay, Skelton wore the lawrel wreath,  
And past in schoels, ye knoe;  
A poet for his arte,  
Whoes iudgment fuer was hie,  
And had great practies of the pen,  
His works they will not lie;  
His termes to taunts did lean,  
His talke was as he wraet,  
Full quick of witte, right sharp of words,  
And skilful of the staet.  
Of reason riep and good,  
And to the haetfull mynd,  
That did disdain his doings still,  
A skornar of his kynd.

He thus describes (in the *Boke of Colin Cloute*<sup>1</sup>) the pompous houses of the clergy :

Buyldyng royally  
 Their mancyons curiously  
 With turrettes and with toures,  
 With halles and with boures,  
 Stretchynge to the starres;  
 With glasse wyndowes and barres :  
 Hangynge aboute the walles  
 Clothes of golde and palles;  
 Arras of ryche arraye,  
 Frefshe as flours in May :  
 Wyth dame Dyana naked;  
 Howe lusty Venus quaked,  
 And howe Cupyde shaked  
 His darte, and bent his bowe,  
 For to shote a crowe  
 At her tyrly tyrlowe :  
 And howe Parys of Troye  
 Daunced a *lege de moy*,  
 Made lusty sporte and ioy  
 With dame Helyn the quene :  
 With fuche storyes bydene,<sup>2</sup>  
 Their chambres well besene;  
 With triumphes of Cesar,  
 And of Pompeyus war,  
 Of renowne and of fame  
 By them to get a name :  
 Nowe<sup>3</sup> all the worlde stares  
 How they ryde in goodly chares,  
 Conueyed by olyphantes  
 With lauryat garlantes;  
 And by vnycornes  
 With their semely hornes;  
 Vpon these beestes rydyng  
 Naked boyes strydyng,  
 With wanton wenches winkynge  
 Nowe truly, to my thynkyng,  
 That is a speculacyon  
 And a mete meditacyon  
 For prelates of estate  
 Their courage to abate;  
 From worldly wantonneffe,  
 Their chambres thus to dresse  
 With fuche parfyetnesse  
 And all fuche holynesse,  
 How be it they let downe fall  
 Their churches cathedrall.<sup>4</sup>

These lines are in the best manner of his petty measure, which is

---

Most pleasant every way,  
 As poets ought to be,  
 And seldom out of princis grace,  
 And great with eche degre."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [This, and all the other, extracts from Skelton have now been collated with ed. Dyce, 1843.]

<sup>2</sup> [*By dene*, seems to signify, besides, moreover.—*Jamieson*.]

<sup>3</sup> This is still a description of tapestry.

<sup>4</sup> [Skelton's Works, 1843, i. 347-9.]

made still more disgusting by the repetition of the rhymes. We should observe, that the satire is here pointed at the subject of these tapestries. The graver ecclesiastics, who did not follow the levities of the world, were contented with religious subjects, or such as were merely historical. Rous of Warwick, who wrote about 1460, relates that he saw in the Abbot's hall, at St. Alban's Abbey, a suite of arras, containing a long train of incidents belonging to a most romantic and pathetic story in the life of the Saxon king Offa, which that historian recites at large.<sup>1</sup>

Hugh de Foliot, a canon regular of Picardy, so early as the year 1140, censures the magnificent houses of the bishops, with the sumptuous paintings or tapestry of their chambers, chiefly on the Trojan story.<sup>2</sup> Among the MSS. *Epistles* of Gilbert de Stone, a canon of Wells, who flourished about 1360, there is a curious passage concerning the spirit for fox-hunting which anciently prevailed among our bishops. Reginald Bryan, bishop of Worcester, in 1352, thus writes to the Bishop of St. David's: "Reverende in Christo pater et domine, premissa recommendatione debita tanto patri. Illos optimos canes venaticos, duodecim ad minus, quibus non vidimus meliores, quos nuper, scitis, vestra reverenda Paternitas repromisit, quotidie expectamus. Languet namque cor nostrum, donec realiter ad manus nostras venerit repromissum." He then owns his eagerness of expectation on this occasion to be sinful; but observes, that it is the fatal consequence of that deplorable frailty which we all inherit from our mother Eve. He adds that the foxes in his manor of Alnechurch and elsewhere had killed most of his rabbits, many of his capons, and had destroyed six of his swans in one night.<sup>3</sup> He then describes the very exquisite pleasure he shall receive, in hearing his woods echo with the cry of the hounds and the music of the horns; and in seeing the trophies of the chase affixed to the walls of his palace.<sup>4</sup>

From a want of the notions of common propriety and decorum, it is amazing to see the strange absurdities committed by the clergy of the middle ages, in adopting the laical character. Du Cange says, that the deans of many cathedrals in France entered on the dignities habited in a surplice, girt with a sword, in boots and gilt spurs, and a hawk on the fist.<sup>5</sup> Carpentier adds, that the treasurers

<sup>1</sup> J. Ros. Warwic. *Hist. Reg. Angl.* edit. Hearne, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> "Episcopi domos non impares ecclesiis magnitudine construunt. Pictos delectantur habere thalamos: vestiuntur ibi imagines pretiosis colorum indumentis.—Trojanorum gestis paries, purpura atque auro vestitur.—Græcorum exercitui dantur arma. Hæctori clypeus datur auro splendens," &c. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. James, ii. p. 203. But I believe the tract is published in the works of a cotemporary writer, Hugo de Sancto-Victore.

<sup>3</sup> "Veniant ergo, Pater Reverende, illæ sex Caniculorum copulæ, et non tardent," &c.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Super. D. 1. art. 123; MSS. Cotton. Vitell. E. x. 17. [See MSS. James, xix. p. 139.]

<sup>5</sup> *Latin. Gloss.* v. Decanus, tom. i. p. 1326. See also *ibid.* p. 79, and tom. ii. p. 179, seq.

of some churches, particularly that of Nivernois, claimed the privilege of assisting at mass, on whatever festival they pleased, without the canonical vestments, and carrying a hawk; and the Lord of Saffay held some of his lands, by placing a hawk on the high altar of the church of Evreux, while his parish priest celebrated the service, bobbed and spurred, to the beat of drum, instead of the organ.<sup>1</sup> Although their ideas of the dignity of the church were so high, yet we find them sometimes conferring the rank and title of secular nobility even on the Saints. St. James was actually created a baron at Paris.<sup>2</sup> Thus Froissart, "Or eurent ils affection et devotion d'aller en pelerinage au Baron Saint Jaques." And in a fabliau:<sup>3</sup>

Dame, dist il, et je me veu,  
A dieu, et au Baron Saint Leu,  
Et s'irai au Baron Saint Jaques.

Among the many contradictions of this kind, which entered into the system of these ages, the institution of the Knights Templars is not the least extraordinary. It was an establishment of armed monks, who made a vow of living at the same time both as anchorets and soldiers.

In the poem, *Why come ye not to Court*, Skelton thus satirises Cardinal Wolsey, not without some tincture of humour:

He is set so hye  
In his ierarchy<sup>4</sup>  
Of frantyeck frenesye,  
And folyfhe fantasy,  
That in the Chambre of Starres<sup>5</sup>  
Al maters ther be he marres,  
Clappyng his rod on the borde,  
No man dare speke a worde;  
For he hathe al the sayenge  
Without any renayenge.  
He rolleth in his recordes:  
He sayth, "How saye ye, my lordes?  
Is nat my reason good?  
Good euyn, good Robyn Hood!  
Some say yes, and some  
Syt styll as they were dom,  
Thus thwartyng ouer thom,  
He ruleth all the roste  
With braggyng and with boist;  
Borne vp on euery syde  
With pompe and with pryde,  
With, trompe up, alleluya,<sup>6</sup>  
For dame Philargerya,<sup>7</sup>  
Hath so his hart in hold, &c.—  
Adew, Philofophia!  
Adew, Theologia!  
Welcome dame Simonia;<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Suppl.* tom. i. p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Tom. iii. c. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Tom. ii. p. 182, cited by Carpentier, *ubi supr.* p. 469.

<sup>4</sup> hierarchy.

<sup>5</sup> the star-chamber.

<sup>6</sup> The pomp in which he celebrates divine service.

<sup>7</sup> love of money.

<sup>8</sup> simony.

With dame Castrimergia ;<sup>1</sup>  
 To drynke and for to eate  
 Swete ypcras<sup>2</sup> and swete meate.  
 To kepe his fleshe chaff,  
 If Lent, for repast  
 He eateth capons stewed,  
 Fesaunt and partriche mewed,—  
 Hennes, checkynges, and pygges  
 He foynes, and he prygges,  
 Spareth neyther mayde ne wyfe,  
 This is a postels lyfe !<sup>3</sup>

The poem called the *Bowge of Court* [*Bouche de la Cour*], or the *Rewards of a Court*, is in the manner of a pageant, consisting of seven personifications. Here our author, in adopting the more grave and stately movement of the seven-lined stanza,<sup>4</sup> has shown himself

<sup>1</sup> Or gulæ concupiscentia, gluttony. From the Greek, γαστριμαργία, Ingluivies, helluatio. Not an uncommon word in the monkish latinity. Du Cange cites an old Litany of the tenth century, "A Spiritu Castrimargiæ . . . Libera nos, domine !" *Lat. Gloss.* [edit. Henschel, in v.] Carpentier adds, among other examples, from the statutes of the Cistercian order, 1375, "Item, cum propter detestabile Castrimargiæ vitium in labyrinthum vitiorum descendatur," &c. *Suppl.* tom. i. p. 362, [or edit. *ut supr. ibid.*]

<sup>2</sup> I have before spoken of Hypocras, or spiced wine. I add here that the spice, for this mixture, was served, often separately, in what they called a spice-plate. So Froissart, describing a dinner in the castle of Toulouse, at which the King of France was present. "After dyner, they toke other pastymes in a great chambre, and hereyng of instruments, wherein the erle of Foiz greatly delyted. Than wine and spyces was brought. The erle of Harcourt served the kyng of his spyce-plate. And sir Gerard de la Pyen served the duke of Burbone. And sir Monaunt of Noailles served the erle of Foiz," &c. This was about the year 1360. *Chron.* tom. ii. cap. 164, f. 184, a. Again, *ibid.* cap. 100, f. 114, a. "The kyngelyghted at his palis [of Westminster] whiche was redie apperelled for him. There the kyng dranke and toke spyces and his uncles also : and other prelates, lordes, and knyghtes." Lord Berners's Transl. In the Computus of Maxtoke priory [MS. *supr. citat.*] an. 1447, we have this entry, "Item pro vino cretico cum speciebus et confectis datis diversis generosis in die sancti Dionysii quando Le fole domini Monfordes erat hic, et faceret jocositates suas in camera orioli." Here, I believe, vinum creticum is raisin-wine, or wine made of dry grapes; and the meaning of the whole seems to be this. "Paid for raisin wine with comfits and spices, when [the Lord] Montford's fool was here, and exhibited his merriments in the oriel-chamber." With regard to one part of the entry, we have again, "Item, extra cameram vocatam le gestis chamber, erat una lintheamina furata in die sancti Georgii Martiris quando le fole de Monfordes erat hic."

<sup>3</sup> He afterwards insinuates, that the cardinal had lost an eye by the French disease : and that Balthasar, who had cured of the same disorder Domingo Lomelyn, one who had won much money of the king at cards and hazarding, was employed to recover the cardinal's eye, p. 175. In the *Boke of Colin Clout*, he mentions the cardinal's mule, "wyth golde all betrayed." [Dr. Lort suggested to Mr. Ashby, that the above loss was the reason why the cardinal is always represented in profile, to hide his blemish. But how comes it, says Mr. Ashby, that we have no pictures of him prior to the accident, *i.e.* before he was a cardinal, for as such he is always dressed; yet he was as great a man before?—*Park.*]

<sup>4</sup> But in this stanza he sometimes relapses into the absurdities of his favourite style of composition ; for instance, in *Speke Parrot*, p. 97 :

"*Albertus de modo significandi*  
 And *Donatus* be dryuen out of schole ;

not always incapable of exhibiting allegorical imagery with spirit and dignity. But his comic vein predominates.

Riot is thus forcibly and humorously pictured :

Wyth that came Ryotte russhynge al at ones,  
A rusty galland,<sup>1</sup> to-ragged and to-rente;<sup>2</sup>  
And on the borde he whyrled a payre of bones;<sup>3</sup>  
*Quater treye deus* he clatered as he wente;  
Now haue at all by saynte Thomas of Kente,<sup>4</sup>  
And euer he threwe, and kyft<sup>5</sup> I wote nere what :  
His here was growen thorowe oute his hat.

Thenne I behelde how he dysgyfied was;  
His hede was heuy for watchynge ouer nyghte,  
His eyen blereed, his face shone lyke a glas;  
His gowne so shorte, that it ne couer myghte  
His rumpe, he wente so all for somer lyghte;  
His hofe was garded wyth a lyfte of grene,  
Yet at the knee they were broken I wene.

His cote was checked with patches rede and blewe,  
Of Kyrkeby Kendall was his shorte demye;<sup>6</sup>  
And ay he fange in *sayth decon thou creue* :  
His elbowe bare, he ware his gere so nye :  
His nose a droppynge, his lypes were full drye :  
And by his syde his whynarde and his pouche :  
The deuyll myghte daunce therin for ony crowche.<sup>7</sup>

Prisians hed broken now handy dandy,  
And *Inter didascalos* is returned for a sole :  
Alexander a gander of Menanders pole,  
With *Da Causales* is cast out of the gate,  
And *da Rationales* dare not fiew his pate."

Here by *da Causales* he perhaps means *Concilia*, or the canon law. By *da Rationales* he seems to intend *Logic*. Albertus is [Sigandus Albertus, author of the treatise *Liber Modorum Significandi*, printed at St. Albans, 1480, 4to.] To which add that Ingulphus says, in Croyland Abbey library there were many Catones and Donati in the year 1091. *Hist. Croyl.* Ingulph. *Script. Vet.* i. p. 104. And that no person was admitted into the college of Boissy at Paris, founded in 1358, "nisi Donatum aut Catonem didicerit." *Bul. Hist. Univ. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 355. *Interdidascalos* is the name of an old grammar. Alexander [Gallus, or *De Villa Dei*,] was a schoolmaster at Paris about the year 1290, author, [among other works,] of the *Doctrinale*, which for some centuries continued to be the most favourite manual of grammar used in schools, and was first printed at [Parma in 1478.] It is compiled from Priscian and in Leonine verse. See *Henr. Gandav. Scriptor. Eccles.* cap. lix. This admired system has been loaded with glosses and lucubrations; but, on the authority of an ecclesiastical synod, it was superseded by the [*Syntaxis* and *Grammatica* of Despauterius about 1515.] It was printed in England as early as 1503. Barclay, in the *Ship of Fools*, mentions Alexander's book, which he calls "The olde Doctrinall, with his diffuse and unperfite brevitie." *Fol.* 53, b, [edit. 1570.]

<sup>1</sup> galant.

<sup>2</sup> all over tatters and rags.

<sup>3</sup> dice.

<sup>4</sup> Saint Thomas Becket.

<sup>5</sup> cast; he threw I know not what.

<sup>6</sup> doublet, jacket.

<sup>7</sup> The devil might dance in his purse without meeting with a single sixpence. *Crouche* is *Crofs*, a piece of money so called from being marked with the cross. Hence the old phrase, "to cross the hand," for, to give money. In Chaucer's *Marchaunt's Tale*, when January and May are married, it is said the priest "Crouchid them, and bad god should them bleis," ver. 1223, Morris. That is, "He crossed the new-married couple," &c. In the poem before us, *Ryotte* says,

There is also merit in the delineation of Diffimulation, in the same poem; and it is not unlike Ariosto's manner in imagining these allegorical personages:

Than in his hode I sawe there faces tweyne;  
That one was lene and lyke a pyned goost,  
That other loked as he wolde me have slayne:  
And to me warde as he gan for to coost,  
Whan that he was euen at me almoost,  
I sawe a knyfe hyd in his one sleue,  
Wheron was wryten this worde Myſcheue.  
And in his other sleue, me thought, I sawe  
A ſpone of golde, full of hony swete,  
To fede a ſole, and for to preue a dawe,<sup>1</sup> &c.

The same may be observed of the figure of Disdain:

He looked hawte, he ſette eche man at noughte;  
His gawdy garment with ſcornys was all wrought,  
With indygnacyon lyned was his hode;  
He frowned, as he wolde ſwere by Cockes blode,<sup>2</sup>  
He bote<sup>3</sup> the lyppe, he loked paſſyng coye;  
His face was belymmed, as byes had hym ſtounge:  
It was no tyme with hym to jape nor toye,  
Enuye hathe waſted his lyuer and his lounge;  
Hatred by the herte ſo had hym wrounge,  
That he loked pale as aſhes to my ſyghte:  
Diſdayne, I wene, this comerous crabes<sup>4</sup> hyghte.  
Forthwith he made on me a prowde aſſawte,  
With ſcornfull loke meuyd all in mode;<sup>5</sup>  
He wente aboute to take me in a ſawte,  
He frounde, he ſtared, he ſtampped where he ſtoode:  
I lokyd on hym, I wende<sup>6</sup> he had be woode:<sup>7</sup>  
He ſet the arme proudly vnder the ſyde,  
And in this wyſe he gan with me chyde.

In the *Garland of Laurel* our author attempts the higher poetry; but he cannot long support the tone of solemn description. There are some of the most ornamented and poetical stanzas. He is describing a garden belonging to the superb palace of Fame:

"I have no coyne nor *croſſe*," p. 72. Carpentier mentions a coin called in Latin *Croſatus*, and in old French *Croſat*, from being marked with the croſs. Hence *Croſage*, Fr. for tribute; v. *Croſatus*, Suppl. Du Cange, *Lat. Gloſs.* tom. i. p. 1208. In Shakeſpeare's *Timon of Athens*, Flavius ſays:

"—— (*Aſide*.) More jewels yet?  
There is no croſſing him in 's humour;  
Elſe I ſhould tell him—well, ifaith, I ſhould,  
When all's ſpent he'd be *croſſi'd* then, an he could."

Aſt i. ſc. [ii. edit. Dyce, 1868, vi. 520.] That is, not thwarting him in his humour, but giving him money. Yet a jingle is intended. So in *As You Like It*, ii. iv. [edit. *ut ſupr.* iii. 25:] "Yet I ſhould bear no croſs if I did bear you; for I think you have no *money* in your purſe." A Cruzado, a Portuguese coin, occurs in Shakeſpeare.

<sup>1</sup> [Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 46.] To catch a ſilly bird.

<sup>2</sup> The Hoſt's oath in Lydgate. See *ſupr.*

<sup>3</sup> bit.

<sup>4</sup> [So old editions and ed. Dyce, i. 41; but (?) *crab is*, as Warton read.]

<sup>5</sup> in anger.

<sup>6</sup> weened, thought.

<sup>7</sup> mad.

<sup>8</sup> [Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 387.]

In an herber<sup>1</sup> I saw brought where I was;  
 There birdis on the brere sange on euery fyde,  
 With alys enfandid about in compas,<sup>2</sup>  
 The bankis enturfid with singular solas,  
 Enrailid with rosers<sup>3</sup> and vinis engrapid;  
 It was a new comfort of forowis escapid.

In the middis a coundight, that coriussly was cast  
 With pypes of golde engushing out stremes  
 Of cristall, the clerenes theis waters far past,  
 Enswymmyng with rochis, barbellis, and brems,  
 Whose skales enfulured again the son-beames  
 Englistred that ioyous it was to beholde,  
 Then furthermore aboute me my fyght reuolde.

Where I sawe growyng a goodly laurell tre,  
 Enuerdurid with leuis continually grene;  
 Aboue in the top a byrde of Araby,  
 Men call a phenix: her wynges bytwene  
 She bet up a fyre with the sparkis full kene,  
 With branches and bowghis of the swete olyue,  
 Whos fragraunt flower was chefe preferuatyue

Ageynst all infeccyons with cancour enflamyd:  
 Ageynst all baratows broisours of olde,  
 It passed all bawmis that euer were namyd,  
 Or gummis of Saby so derely that be solde:  
 There blewe in that gardynge a soft piplyng colde,  
 Enbrethyng of Zepherus, with his pleasant wynde;  
 All frutis and flowres grew there in there kynde.

Dryades there daunfid vpon that goodly soile,  
 With the nyne Muses, Pierides by name;  
 Phillis and Testalis ther tresses with oyle  
 Were newly enbybid: and rownd about the same  
 Grene tre of laurell moche solacyous game  
 They made, with chapelettes and garlandes grene;  
 And formeist of all dame Flora the quene:

Of somer so formally she fotid the daunce:  
 There Cintheus sat, twynklyng vyon his harpe stringis:  
 And Iopas his instrument did aduaunce,  
 The poemis and storis auncient inbryngis  
 Of Athlas astrology, &c.

Our author supposes, that in the wall surrounding the palace of Fame were a thousand gates, new and old, for the entrance and egress of all nations. One of the gates is called *Anglia*, on which stood a leopard. There is some boldness and animation in the figure and attitude of this ferocious animal:

The beldynge thereof was passynge commendable;  
 Wheron stode a lybbard crownyd with golde and stones,  
 Terrible of countenance and passynge formydale,  
 As quikly towchd as it were fleshe and bones,  
 As gassly that glaris, as grimly that gronis,  
 As ferly frownyng as he had ben fyghtyng,  
 And with forme fote he shoke forthe this writynge.

<sup>1</sup> See *supr.* p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> It was surrounded with sand-walks.

<sup>3</sup> rose-trees. See Chaucer's *Rom. R.* ver. 1651, *seq.* And our author, *infr.*:

"The ruddy *rosary*,  
 The pretty *rosemary*," &c.

Skelton, in the course of his allegory, supposes that the *poets laureate* (or learned men) of all nations were assembled before Pallas. This group shews the authors, both ancient and modern, then in vogue. Some of them are quaintly characterized. They are, first, *Olde Quintilian*, not with his *Institutes* of eloquence, but with his *Declamacyons*: Theocritus, with his *bucolycall relacyons*: Hesiod, the [*Iconomicar*]<sup>1</sup> Homer, the *freshe historiari*: The prynce of eloquence, Cicero: Sallust, who wrote both the *history* of Catiline and Jugurth: Ovid, *ensbryned with the Mufis nyne*: Lucan<sup>2</sup> Statius, writer of *Achilliedos*: Perflus, with *problemes diffufe*: Virgil, Juvenal, Livy: Ennius, *that wrate of mercyall war*: Aulus Gellius, *that noble historiari*: Horace, with his *New Poetry*:<sup>3</sup> *Maister Terence, the famous comicar*, with Plautus: Seneca the tragedian: Boethius: Maximian, *with his madde ditiis how dotynge age wolde iape with yonge foly*:<sup>4</sup> Boccaccio, *with his volumys grete*: Quintus Curtius: Macrobius, who treated of *Scipions dreame*: Poggius Florentinus, with many a *mad tale*:<sup>5</sup> a friar of France *syr Gaguine*, who frownyd on me *full angerly*:<sup>6</sup> Plutarch and Petrarch, two *famous clarkis*: Lucilius,

<sup>1</sup> ["i.e. Hesiod the writer on husbandry."—Dyce.]

<sup>2</sup> Of the popularity of Lucan in the dark ages, I have given proofs in the *Third Dissertation*, vol. i. To which I will here add others. The following passage occurs in Lydgate's *Prologue to the Lyff and Passoun of the blessed Martyr seynt Alboon* [Alban] and *seynt Amphiballus* [printed at St. Albans, 1534, 4to.]

"I not acquyentyd with Muses of Mars,  
Nor with metris of Lucan nor Virgile;  
Nor with fygred diteys of Cichero,  
Nor of Omere to folowe the freshe style."

And again, speaking of Julius Cæsar, Lydgate refers to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which he calls the *Records of Lucan*. Ibid. fol. 2, b. Peter de Blois, in writing to a professor at Paris about the year 1170, says, "Priscianus et Tullius, *Lucanus* et Perflus, isti sunt dii vestri." *Epistol.* iv. fol. 3, edit. 1517. Eberhardus Bethuniensis, called *Gracifla*, a philologist who wrote about the year 1130, in a poem on *Verseification*, says of Philip Gualtier, author of the *Alexandreis*, that he shines with the light of Lucan. "Lucet Alexander Lucani luce." Of Lucan he observes, "*Metro lucidiore canit*." It is easy to conceive why Lucan should have been a favourite in the dark ages.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Horace's *Art of Poetry*. Vinefauf wrote *De Nova Poetria*. Horace's *Art* is frequently mentioned under this title.

<sup>4</sup> His six Elegies *De incommotis senectutis*. Reinesius thinks that Maximian was the bishop of Syracuse in the seventh century: a most intimate friend, and the secretary, of Pope Gregory the Great. (*Epist. ad Daum.* p. 207.) These Elegies contain many things superior to the taste of that period.

<sup>5</sup> Poggius flourished about the year 1450. By his *mad tales*, Skelton means his *Facetie*, a set of comic stories, very licentious and very popular. See the *Works of Poggius* by Thomas Aucuparius, Argentorat. 1513, f. 157, 184. The obscenity contained in these compositions gave great offence, and fell under the particular censure of the learned Laurentius Valla. The objections of Valla Poggius attempts to obviate by saying, that Valla was a clown, a cynic, and a pedant, without any ideas of wit or elegance: and that the *Facetie* were universally esteemed in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, England, and all countries that cultivated pure Latinity. *Invekt. in Laurent. Vallam.* f. 82, b. edit. *ut supr.*

<sup>6</sup> Robert, or Rupert, Gaguin, a German, minister-general of the Maturines, who died at Paris in 1502. His most famous work is *Compendium super Francorum Gestis*, from Pharamond to the author's age. He has written among many other

Valerius Maximus, Propertius, Pisander,<sup>1</sup> and Vincentius Bellovacensis [Vincent of Beauvais], who wrote the *Speculum Historiale*. The catalogue is closed by Gower, Chaucer and Lydgate, who first adorned the English language:<sup>2</sup> in allusion to which part of their characters their apparel is said to shine beyond the power of description, and their tabards to be studded with diamonds and rubies. That only these three English poets are here mentioned, may be considered as a proof, that only these three were yet thought to deserve the name.

No writer is more unequal than Skelton. In the midst of a page of the most wretched ribaldry, we sometimes are surprised with three or four nervous and manly lines, like these :

Ryot and Revell be in your court routes,  
Mayntenance and Mischeve thesē be men of myght,  
Extorcyon is counted with you for a knyght.

Skelton's modulation in the octave stanza is rough and inharmonious. The following are the smoothest lines in the poem before us : which yet do not equal the liquid melody of Lydgate, whom he here manifestly attempts to imitate :

Lyke as the larke vpon the somers daye,  
Whan Titan radiant burnisshith his bemis bryght,  
Mowntith on hy with her melodious lay,  
Of the foes hyne engladid with the lyght.

The following little ode deserves notice ; at least as a specimen of the structure and phraseology of a love-sonnet about the close of the fifteenth century :

To maistres Margary Wentworth.  
With margerain<sup>3</sup> ientyll  
The flowre of goodlyhede,<sup>4</sup>  
Embrowdered the mantill  
Is of your maydenhede.<sup>5</sup>  
Plainly I can not glose ;<sup>6</sup>  
Ye be, as I deuyne,<sup>7</sup>

pieces, Latin orations and poems, printed in 1495. The history of Skelton's quarrel with him is not known. But he was in England as ambassador from [Charles VIII.] of France, in 1490. He was a particular friend of Dean Colet.

<sup>1</sup> Our author got the name of Pisander, a Greek poet, from Macrobius.

<sup>2</sup> In the *boke of Philip Sparow*, he says, *Gower's Englyshe is old*, but that Chaucer's *Englyshe is wel allowed* : he adds that Lydgate writes *after an hyer rate*, and that he has been censured for his elevation of phrase ; but acknowledges, "No man can amend those matters that he hath pend." [Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 75.] In [*Terens in englysh*, printed perhaps by J. Raftell, but *sine ullā nota*, about 1510], these three are mentioned in the Prologue, which is in stanzas, as the only English poets.

<sup>3</sup> *Margelain*, the herb Marjoram. *Afs. Lad.* 56 :

"And upon that a pottle of Margelain."

<sup>4</sup> goodlied, goodness. <sup>5</sup> virginity.

<sup>6</sup> In truth I cannot flatter or deceive. Or *glose* may be, simply to *write*.

<sup>7</sup> As I imagine. So Morris's *Chaucer*, *Non. Pr. T.* vol. iii. p. 242, v. 446.

"I can noon harme of *no woman divine*."

The praty primrose,  
 The goodly columbyne.  
*With margerain iantill, &c.*  
 Benynge, corteise, and meke,  
 With wordes well deuyfid;  
 In you, who list to seke,  
 Be vertus well compyfid.  
*With margerain iantill,*  
*The floure of goodlyhede,*  
*Embrawderid the mantill*  
*Is of yowre maydenhede.*

For the same reason this stanza in a sonnet to *Maistress Margaret Hufsey* deserves notice.

Mirry Margaret  
 As mydsomer flowre,  
 Ientyll as fawcoun,  
 Or hawke of the towre.<sup>1</sup>

As do the following flowery lyrics, in a sonnet addressed to *Maistress Isabell Pennel*:

Your colowre  
 Is lyke the dasy flowre,  
 After the Aprill showre:  
 Sterre of the morow gray,  
 The blossom on the spray,  
 The freshest flowre of May:  
 Maydenly demure,  
 Of womanhode the lure, &c.

But Skelton most commonly appears to have mistaken his genius, and to write in a forced character, except when he is indulging his native vein of satire and jocularity in the short minstrel metre above mentioned: which he mars by a multiplied repetition of rhymes, arbitrary abbreviations of the verse, cant expressions, hard and sounding words newly-coined, and patches of Latin and French. This anomalous and motley mode of versification is, I believe, supposed to be peculiar to our author.<sup>2</sup> I am not, however, quite certain that it originated with Skelton.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> f. 41. In the king's mews in the tower.

<sup>2</sup> ["Skelton has been frequently termed a Macaronic poet, but it may be doubted, if with strict propriety; for the passages, in which he introduces snatches of Latin and French, are thinly scattered through his works."—*Dyce*.]

I have given specimens. But the following passage in the *Boke of Colin Clout* affords an apposite example at one view:

"Of fuche vagabundus  
 Speketh totus mundus.  
 Howe some synge lætabundus, &c.  
*Cum ipis vel illis*  
*Qui manent in villis,*  
*Est uxor vel ancilla,*  
 Welcome Jacke and Gilla,  
 My pretty Petronilla,  
 And you wyll be stylla,  
 You shall haue your wylla:  
 Of fuche paternoster pekes  
 All the worlde speketh."

<sup>3</sup> ["He (Warton) ought to have been 'quite certain' that it did not."—*Dyce*.]

About the year 1512, [Merlinus Cocaus or Cocaius, of Mantua,] whose true name was Theophilo Folengo, a Benedictine monk of Casino in Italy, wrote a poem entitled [*Macaronices Libri xvii.*] This is a burlesque Latin poem, in heroic metre, checkered with [Mantuan] words, and those of the plebeian character, yet not destitute of profodical harmony. It is totally satirical, and has some degree of drollery; but the ridicule is too frequently founded on obscene or vulgar ideas. [One of the divisions of the work (in the edition of 1521) is entitled] *Zanitonella, or the Amours of Tonellus and Zanina*; <sup>1</sup> [another, *Phantasia Macaronica*, in twenty-five macaronics, "de gestis magnanimi et prudentissimi Baldi;" a third, *Mofchæa facetus liber.*] The author <sup>2</sup> died in 1544. <sup>3</sup> Cocaus is often cited by Rabelais, a writer of a congenial cast. <sup>4</sup> The three last books, containing a description of hell, are a parody on part of Dante's *Inferno*. In the preface or *Apologetica*, our author gives an account of this new species of poetry, since called the *Macaronic*, which I must give in his own words. <sup>5</sup> Vavasor observes that Cocaus [or Folengo] in Italy, and Antonius de Arena in France, were the two first, at least the chief authors of the semi-latin burlesque poetry. <sup>6</sup> As to Antonius de Arena, he was a civilian of Avignon, and wrote in 1519 a Latin poem in elegiac verses, ridiculously interlarded with French words and phrases. It is addressed to his fellow-students, or in his own words, "Ad suos compagneones studiantes, qui sunt de persona friantes, bassas dandas, in galanti stilo bifognatas, cum guerra Romana, totum ad longum sine require, et cum guerra Neapolitana, et cum revoluta Genuensi, et guerra Avenionensi, et epistola ad falotissimam garfam pro passando lo tempos." <sup>7</sup> I have gone out of my way to mention these two obscure writers with

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps formed from Zanni or Giovanni, a foolish character on the Italian stage. See Riccoboni, *Theatr. Ital.* ch. ii. p. 14, seq.

<sup>2</sup> See his Life, Jac. Phil. Thomasin's *Elog.* Patav. 1644, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> [See Brunet, last edit. in v. Folengo. The first known edition appears to be that of 1517.] See De Bure's curious catalogue of *Poetes Latini modernes facetieux, vulgairement appellees Macaroniques*, Bib. Instru&. Bel. Lett. tom. i. § 6, p. 445, seq.

<sup>4</sup> See Liv. iv. c. 13, ii. 1, xi. 3.

<sup>5</sup> "Ars ista poetica nuncupatur Ars Macaronica, a *Macaronibus* derivata: qui *Macarones* sunt quoddam pulmentum, farina, casco, butyro compaginaturn, grossum, rude, et rusticum. Ideo Macaronica nil nisi grossedinem, ruditatem, et Vocabulazzos, debet in se continere." See Menag. *Di&ion. Etymol. Orig. Lang. Franc.* edit. 1694, p. 462, v. *Macarons*; and O&. Ferrarius, *Orig. Italic.*

<sup>6</sup> *Di&. Ludr.* p. 453.

<sup>7</sup> I believe one of the most popular of Arena's Macaronic poems is his *Meygra entreprise Catoloqui Imperatoris*, printed at Avignon in 1537. It is an ingenious pasquinade on Charles V.'s expedition into France. The date of the Macaronic Miscellany in various languages entitled, *Macharonea varia*, and printed in the Gothic character, without place, is not known. The authors are anonymous; and some of the pieces are little comedies intended for representation. There is a Macaronic poem in hexameters, called *Polemo-Middinia*, by Drummond of Hawthornden, printed with notes and a preface on this species of poetry by Bishop Gibson, 1691.

so much particularity,<sup>1</sup> in order to observe that Skelton (their cotemporary) probably copied their manner: at least to show, that this singular mode of verification [which, however, is not strictly macaronic] was at this time fashionable, not only in England, but also in France and Italy. Nor did it cease to be remembered in England, and as a species of poetry thought to be founded by Skelton, till even so late as the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, as appears from the following poem on the Spanish Armada, which is filled with Latin words:

A Skeltonicall Salvation,  
Or condigne gratvlation,  
And iust vexation,  
Of the Spanish nation;  
That in a bravado  
Spent many a crusado  
In setting forth an armado  
England to invado.<sup>2</sup>

But I must not here forget, that Dunbar, a Scottish poet of Skelton's own age, already mentioned, wrote [somewhat] in this way. His *Testament of Master Andro Kennedy*, which represents [says Lord Hailes,] the character of an idle dissolute scholar, and ridicules the funeral ceremonies of the Romish communion, has almost every alternate line composed of the formularies of a Latin will and shreds of the breviary, mixed with what the French call

<sup>1</sup> Erythræus mentions Bernardinus Stephonius as writing in this way. *Pinacoth.* i. p. 160. See also some poems in Baudius, which have a mixture of the Greek and Latin languages, and which others have imitated, in German and Latin.

<sup>2</sup> Printed at Oxford, 1589. See also a doggerel piece of this kind, in imitation of Skelton, introduced into Browne's *Shepherd's Pipe*, 1614. [I have searched in vain for the doggerel mentioned by Warton, unless it be the lines at p. 196 of vol. ii. of Browne's Works, by Hazlitt. More probably it is in the portion of the volume not written by Browne.] Perhaps this way of writing is ridiculed by Shakespeare, *Merry Wives of Windsor*. a. ii. sc. i. Where Falstaffe says, "I will not say, pity me, 'tis not a soldier-like phrase, but I say, love me: by me

'Thine own true knight,  
By day or night,  
Or any kind of light,  
With all his might,  
With thee to fight.'"

[Dyce's edit. 1868, i. 360.] See also the Interlude of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, [which was printed by Kirkman in his *Sport upon Sport*, a collection of drolls performed at Bartholomew Fair. Here it was called the *Merry Conceited Humours of Bottom the Weaver*.] Skelton, however, seems to have retained his popularity till late. For [he is the chorus in Munday and Chettle's *Downfall of Robert Earle of Huntington*, 1601.] The second part [*The Death of Robert Earle of Huntington*, 1601,] is introduced by Friar Tuck. Friar Tuck is mentioned in Skelton's *Magnificence*, f. 5, b.

"Another bade shave halfe my berde,  
And boyes to the pylery gan me plucke,  
And wolde have made me Freer Tucke  
To preche oute of the pylery hole."

*Latin de cuisine.* There is some humour, arising from these burlesque applications, in the following stanzas :<sup>1</sup>

*In die mea sepultura,*  
I will nane haif bot our awen gyng,  
*Et duos rusticos de rure,*  
Berand a barrell on a styng;  
Drynkand and playand cop out, evin  
*Sicut egomet solebam;*  
Singand and gretand with hie stevin,<sup>2</sup>  
*Potum meum cum fletu miscebam.*

I will na priestis for me sing,  
*Dies ille, dies ira,*<sup>3</sup>  
Na yit na bellis for me ring  
*Sicut semper solet fieri;*  
But a bag pipe to play a spryng,  
*Et unum ail woff ante me,*  
In stayd of baneris for to bring,  
*Quatuor lagenas cervisie,*  
Within the graif to set sic thing,  
*In modum crucis juxta me,*  
To fle the feyndis<sup>4</sup> than hardely sing  
*De terra plasmasi me.*<sup>5</sup>

We must, however, acknowledge that Skelton, notwithstanding his scurrility, was a classical scholar; and in that capacity he was tutor to Prince Henry,<sup>6</sup> afterwards Henry VIII., at whose accession to the throne he was appointed the royal orator. He is styled by

<sup>1</sup> [Dunbar's Works, ed. Laing, i. 140-1. But Warton was mistaken in supposing that either Skelton or Dunbar ought to have a place among Macaronic writers. The intermixture of Latin with English words does not constitute Macaronic poetry. It is the use of burlesque Latinity, or vernacular words (in whatever language), with Latin terminations.

<sup>2</sup> With that verse or stanza in the Psalms, "I have mingled my drink with weeping."

<sup>3</sup> A hymn on the resurrection in the missal, sung at funerals.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of a cross on my grave to keep off the devil.

<sup>5</sup> A verse in the Psalms. In [the Bannatyne MS.] are many examples of this mixture: the impropriety of which was not perhaps perceived by our ancestors. See a very ludicrous specimen in Harfnet's [Declaration, 1603,] p. 156. Where he mentions a witch who has learned "of an old wife in a chimnies end *Pax, max, fax*, for a spell; or can say Sir John of Grantam's curse for the miller's eels that were stolen.

"All you that have stolen the millers eeles,  
*Laudate dominum de celis,*  
And all they that have consented thereto,  
*Benedicamus domino.*"

[But this is one of the stories in *A C. Mery Talys*, 1526, and was copied by Scot into his *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, whence perhaps Harfnet got it.]

See a poem on Becket's martyrdom, in Wasse's *Bibl. Liter.* Num. i. p. 39. Lond. 1722. Hither we must refer the old Carol on the *Boar's Head*, Hearne's *Spicileg. ad Gul. Neubrig. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 740. Some of the metrical hymns in the French *Fete de l'Ane* are in Latin and French. See *Mercur de France*, Avril, 1725, p. 724 *suiv.*

<sup>6</sup> [Mr. Ashby expresses his surprise that such a man should be chosen; and he adds with appearance of probability, that Skelton's having conceived his disappointment of preferment to be owing to Wolsey may have been the cause of his extreme irritation against that prelate.—*Park.*]

Erasmus "Britannicarum literarum decus et lumen."<sup>1</sup> His Latin elegiacs are pure, are often unmingled with the monastic phraseology; and they prove that, if his natural propensity to the ridiculous had not more frequently seduced him to follow the [whimsical school of poetry, which passes under the name of Walter Mapes, and which has derived its name of *Goliard* from Goliath, an appellation bestowed on an imaginary person, who was supposed to represent the ecclesiastics]<sup>2</sup> than to copy the elegances of Ovid, he would have appeared among the first writers of Latin poetry in England at the general restoration of literature. Skelton could not avoid acting as a buffoon in any language or any character.

I cannot quit Skelton, of whom I yet fear too much has been already said, without restoring to the public notice a play or Morality, written by him, not recited in any [early] catalogue of his works or annals of English typography; and (I believe) totally unknown to the antiquarians in this sort of literature. It is, *The Nigramanfir*, a morall *Enterlude* and a pithie written by Maister Skelton laureate, and plaid before the king and other estatys at Woodstoke on Palme Sunday. It was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in a thin quarto, in the year 1504.<sup>3</sup> It must have been presented before Henry VII. at the royal manor or palace at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, now destroyed. The characters are a Necromancer or conjuror, the devil, a notary public, Simony,<sup>4</sup> and Philargyria<sup>5</sup> or Avarice. It is partly a satire

<sup>1</sup> See *Op.* pp. 1019, 1021.

<sup>2</sup> [Poems attributed to Walter Mapes, ed. Wright, *Intro.* ix.-x.]

<sup>3</sup> My lamented friend Mr. William Collins, whose *Odes* will be remembered while any taste for true poetry remains, shewed me this piece at Chichester, not many months before his death: and he pointed it out as a very rare and valuable curiosity. He intended to write the *History of the Restoration of Learning under Leo the Tenth*, and with a view to that design had collected many scarce books. Some few of these fell into my hands at his death. The rest, among which, I suppose, was this *Interlude*, were dispersed.

In the *Mystery of Marie Magdalene*, written in 1512, a Heathen is introduced celebrating the service of Mahound, who is called *Saracenorum fortissimus*; in the midst of which he reads a Lesson from the Alcoran, consisting of gibberish, much in the metre and manner of Skelton. MSS. Digb. 133. [These *Mysteries* have since been published entire, and Mr. Park's description of their contents in the *Additional Notes* to Warton did not therefore appear worth retaining.]

<sup>4</sup> Crowley [printed and perhaps] wrote "The Fable of *Philargyrie*, the great gigant of Great Britain, what houses were builded, and lands appointed, for his provision," &c. 1551, [8vo.]

<sup>5</sup> Simony is introduced as a person in *Sir Penny*, an old Scottish poem, written in 1527 by Stewart of Lorne. See *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 1770, p. 154:

"So wily can syr Peter wink,  
And als sir Symony his fervand,  
That now is gydar of the kyrk."

And again, in an ancient anonymous Scottish poem, *ibid.* p. 253. At a feast, to which many disorderly persons are invited, among the rest are:

"And twa lerit men thairby,  
Schir Ochir and schir Simony."

That is, Sir Ufury and Sir Simony. Simony is also a character in Langland's *Pisoun*. *Pais. sec. fol. viii. b.*, edit. 1550. Wickliffe, who flourished about the year 1350,

on some abuses in the church ; yet not without a due regard to decency and an apparent respect for the dignity of the audience. The story, or plot, is the trial of Simony and Avarice : the devil is the judge, and the notary public acts as an assessor or scribe. The prisoners, as we may suppose, are found guilty, and ordered into hell immediately. There is no sort of propriety in calling this play the *Necromancer* : for the only business and use of this character is to open the subject in a long prologue, to evoke the devil, and summon the court. The devil kicks the necromancer for waking him so soon in the morning : a proof, that this drama was performed in the morning, perhaps in the chapel of the palace. A variety of measures, with shreds of Latin and French, is used : but the devil speaks in the octave stanza. One of the stage-directions is, "Enter Balsebub with a Berde." To make him both frightful and ridiculous, the devil was most commonly introduced on the stage, wearing a visard with an immense beard.<sup>1</sup> Philargyria quotes Seneca and St. Austin : and

---

thus describes the state of simony in his time. "Some lords, to colouren their Symony, wole not take for themselves but Keverchiefs for the lady, or a palfry, or a tun of wine. And when some lords wolden present a good man and able, for love of god and cristen souls, then some ladies been means to have a dancer, a tripper on tapits, or hunter or hawk, or a wild player of summers gamenes," &c. MSS. C.C.C. Cant. O. 161, 148. There is an old poem on this subject, MSS. Bodl. 48.

<sup>1</sup> Thus in Turpin's *History of Charlemagne*, the Saracens appear, "Habentes larvas barbata, cornutas, Dæmonibus confimiles." c. xviii. And in *Lewis the Eighth*, an old French romance of Philip Moulkes :

"J ot apries lui une barboire,  
Com diable cornu et noire."

There was a species of masquerade celebrated by the ecclesiastics in France, called the *Shew of Beards*, entirely consisting of an exhibition of the most formidable beards. Gregory of Tours says, that the abbess of Poitou was accused for suffering one of these shews, called a *Barbatoria*, to be performed in her monastery. *Hist.* lib. x. c. vi. In the *Epistles* of Peter de Blois we have the following passage : "Regis curiam sequuntur assidue histriones, candidatrices, aleatores, dulcorarii, caupones, nebulatores, mimi, *Barbatores*, balatrones, et hoc genus omne." *Epist.* xiv. Where by *Barbatores* we are not to understand Barbers, but mimics or buffoons, disguised in huge bearded masks. In Don Quixote, the barber who personates the squire of the Princess Micomicona, wears one of these masks, "una gran barba," &c. Part. prim. c. xxvi. l. 3. And the countess of Trifaldi's squire has "la mas larga, la mas horrida," &c. Part. sec. c. xxxvi. l. 8. See *Observat. on Spenser*, vol. i. Section ii.

About the eleventh century, and long before, beards were looked upon by the clergy as a secular vanity, and accordingly were worn by the laity only. Yet in England this distinction seems to have been more rigidly observed than in France. Malmesbury says that King Harold, at the Norman invasion, sent spies into Duke William's camp ; who reported that most of the French army were priests, because their faces were shaven. *Hist.* lib. iii. p. 56, b, edit. Savil. 1596. The regulation remained among the English clergy at least till the reign of Henry VIII. : for Longland bishop of Lincoln, at a Visitation of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1531, orders one of the fellows, a priest, to abstain under pain of expulsion from wearing a beard and pinked shoes like a laic ; and not to take the liberty, for the future, of insulting and ridiculing the governor and fellows of the society. *Ordinat.* Coll. Oriel. Oxon. *Append. ad Joh. Trokelowe*, p. 339. See Edicts of King John, in Prynne, *Libertat. Eccles. Angl.* tom. iii. p. 23. But among the religious, the Tem-

Simony offers the devil a bribe. The devil rejects her offer with much indignation: and swears by the "foule Eumenides," and the hoary beard of Charon, that she shall be well fried and roasted in the unfathomable sulphur of Cocytus, together with Mahomet, Pontius Pilate, the traitor Judas, and King Herod. The last scene is closed with a view of hell and a dance between the devil and the necromancer. The dance ended, the devil trips up the necromancer's heels, and disappears in fire and smoke.<sup>1</sup> Great must have been the edification and entertainment which Henry VII. and his court derived from the exhibition of so elegant and rational a drama! The royal taste for dramatic representation seems to have suffered a very rapid transition: for in [1528] a goodly comedy of Plautus [probably in Latin,] was played before Henry VIII. at Greenwich.<sup>2</sup> I have before mentioned Skelton's [interlude] of *Magnificence*. It contains sixty folio pages in the black letter, and must have taken up a very considerable time in the representation. The substance of the allegory is briefly this. Magnificence becomes a dupe to his servants and favourites, "Fanfy, Counterfet Countenance, Crafty Conveyance, Clokyd Colusion, Courtly Abusion, and Foly." At length he is seized and robbed by "Adversyte," by whom he is given up as a prisoner to "Poverty." He is next delivered to Despare and Mischefe, who offer him a knife and a halter. He snatches the knife to end his miseries by stabbing himself; when "Good Hope" and "Redresse" appear, and persuade him to take the "rubarbe of repentance" with some "gostly gummies" and a few "drammes of devocyon." He becomes acquainted with "Circumspeccyon" and Perseverance, follows their directions, and seeks for happiness in a state of penitence and contrition. There is some humour here and there in the dialogue, but the allusions are commonly low. The poet hardly ever aims at allegorical painting, but the figure of Poverty is thus drawn:

---

plars were permitted to wear long beards. In the year 1311, King Edward II. granted letters of safe conduct to his valet Peter Auger, who had made a vow not to shave his beard, and who, having resolved to visit some of the holy places abroad as a pilgrim, feared, on account of the length of his beard, that he might be mistaken for a knight-templar and insulted. Pat. iv. Edw. II. in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 704. Many orders about beards occur in the registers of Lincoln's-inn, cited by Dugdale. In the year 1542, it was ordered that no member, wearing a beard, should presume to dine in the hall. In 1553, says Dugdale, "such as had beards should pay twelve-pence for every meal they continued them; and every man to be shaven, upon pain of being put out of commons." *Orig. Jurid.* c. 64, p. 244. In 1559, no member is permitted to wear any beard above a fortnight's growth, under pain of expulsion for the third transgression. But the fashion of wearing beards beginning to spread, in 1560 it was agreed at a council, that "all orders before that time made, touching beards, should be void and repealed." Dugd. *ibid.* p. 245.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Mystery of Mary Magdalene*, just mentioned, one of the stage directions is, "Here enters the prynse of the devylls in a stage, with hell onderneath the stage." MSS. Digb. 133. [Another direction is, "With this word vii. dyvyls fall de woyde from the woman, and the bad angyl enter into hell with thondyr."—*Park.*]

<sup>2</sup> Holinsh. iii. 850, [and Stow's *Annales*, edit. 1615, p. 539.]

A, my bonys ake, my lymmys be sore,  
 Alasse, I haue the cyatyca full euyl in my huppe,  
 Alasse, where is youth that was wont for to skyppe !  
 I am lowfy, and vnlykynge, and full of scurffe,  
 My colour is tawny-colouryd as a turffe :  
 I am Pouerte, that all men doth hate,  
 I am baytyd with doggys at euery mannys gate :  
 I am raggyd and rent, as ye may se,  
 Full few but they haue envy at me.  
 Nowe must I this carcasfe lyft up,  
 He dynyd with Delyte, with Pouerte he must sup.<sup>1</sup>

The stage-direction then is, "Hic accedat ad levandum Magnifycence." It is not impossible that "Despære," offering the knife and the halter, might give a distant hint to Spenser. The whole piece is strongly marked with Skelton's manner, and contains every species of his capricious versification.<sup>2</sup> I have been prolix in describing these two dramas, because they place Skelton in a class in which he never has yet been viewed, that of a dramatic poet. And although many Moralities were now written, yet these are the first that bear the name of their author. There is often much real comedy in these ethic interludes, and their exemplifications of Virtue and Vice in the abstract convey strokes of character and pictures of life and manners. I take this opportunity of remarking that a Morality-maker was a professed occupation at Paris. Pierre Gringoire is called, according to the style of his age, "Compositeur, Historien et Facteur de Mysteres ou Comedies," in which he was also a performer. [One of his numerous pieces,] written at the command of Louis XII., in consequence of a quarrel with the pope and the states of Venice, is entitled [*Le jeu du prince des fots*, to which (in a later edition) is added, *iouè aux halles de pis le mardy gras* (1511). This latter impression purports to have been printed for the author.]<sup>3</sup>

Moralities seem to have arrived at their height about the close of the seventh Henry's reign. This sort of spectacle was now so fashionable, that John Raftell, a learned typographer and brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had hitherto been confined either to moral allegory or to religion blended with buffoonery, and conceived a design of making it the vehicle of science and philosophy. With this view he published *A new interlude and a mery, of the nature of the iiij Elements, declarynge many proper poynts of phylosophy naturall and of dyuers strange landys, &c.* [circa 1520, 8vo.]<sup>4</sup> In the cosmographical part of the play, in

<sup>1</sup> [Skelton's Works, 1843, i. 290-1.]

<sup>2</sup> [Counterfet Countenance says :

"But nowe wyll I [that they be gone,  
 In *bastarde* ryme after the *dogrell* gyse  
 Tell you where of my name doth ryse."]

<sup>3</sup> See Goujet, *Bibl. Franc.* tom. xi. p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> ["Dr. Dibdin and others have supposed hence [the allusion to the New World] that this interlude was written about 1510, as Columbus discovered the West Indies in 1492, but the author says nothing of Columbus, and does not seem to

which the poet professes to treat of "dyvers straunge regyons, and of the new founde landys," the tracts of America recently discovered, and the manners of the natives, are described. The characters are, a Messenger who speaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, Studious Desire, Sensual Appetite, a Taverner, Experience, and Ignorance. Raffell appears to have been a scholar. He was educated at Oxford, and took up the employment of printing as a profession, at that time esteemed liberal and not unsuitable to the character of a learned and ingenious man. He wrote and printed many other pieces which I do not mention, as unconnected with the history of our poetry. I shall only observe further, in general that he was eminently skilled in mathematics, cosmography, history, our municipal law, and theology. He died in 1536.

I have before observed that the frequent and public exhibition of personifications in the pageants, which anciently accompanied every high festivity, greatly contributed to cherish the spirit of allegorical poetry, and even to enrich the imagination of Spenser and of Shakespeare. There is a passage in *Antony and Cleopatra* where the metaphor is exceedingly beautiful, but where the beauty both of the expression and the allusion is lost, unless we recollect the frequency and the nature of these shows in Shakespeare's age.<sup>1</sup> I must cite the whole of the context, for the sake of the last hemistich :

Sometime we see a cloud that's dragonish,  
A vapour sometime like a bear or lion;  
A tower'd citadel, a pendent rock,  
A forked mountain, or blue promontory  
With trees upon't, that nod unto the world  
And mock our eyes with air: thou hast seen these signs;  
They are black vesper's pageants.

The Moralities, which now began to acquire new celebrity, and in which the same groups of the impersonated vices and virtues appeared, must have concurred in producing this effect; and hence, at the same time, we are led to account for the national relish for allegorical poetry, which so long prevailed among our ancestors. By means of these spectacles, ideal beings became common and popular objects; and emblematic imagery, which at present is only contemplated by a few retired readers in the obsolete pages of our elder poets, grew familiar to the general eye.

[Hawkins, in the *History of Music*, has printed a song written by Skelton, alluded to in the *Garlande of Lawrell*, and set to music by William Cornish, a musician of the chapel-royal under Henry VII. It begins :

Ah, beshrew you, by my fay,  
These wanton clarkes are nice alway.

Cornish seems to have been master of the children of the chapel in 1514-15, in the Christmas of which year the interlude of the

---

have known of his existence, attributing the finding of America to Americus Vesputius, who did not sail from Cadiz till 1497."—*Collier.*]

<sup>1</sup> Act iv. sc. [xiv. edit. Dyce, 1868, vii. 576.]

*Triumph of Love and Beauty* was performed by the children before Henry VIII., at Richmond, on a very sumptuous scale, at the same time that Medwall's interlude of *Nature* was played by the king's players.<sup>1</sup>

A dull poem by this person is introduced improperly into the edition of Skelton's Works in 1568. He received 13s. 4d. from Elizabeth of York for a Christmas carol composed by him for Christmas, 1502. This appears to have been the usual payment for such a performance.

Cornifh has also two songs in the Fairfax MS. (Add. MSS. B. M. 5465) for three voices; there he is described as "William Cornifh junior." In Harl. MS. 1709 there is a *Salve Regina* by the same hand.<sup>2</sup>

### SECTION XXXIII.

**I**N a work of this general and comprehensive nature, in which the fluctuations of genius are surveyed, and the dawnings or declensions of taste must alike be noticed, it is impossible that every part of the subject can prove equally splendid and interesting. We have, I fear, been toiling for some time through materials not perhaps of the most agreeable and edifying nature. But as the mention of that very rude species of our drama, called the *Morality*, has incidentally diverted our attention to the early state of the English stage, I cannot omit so fortunate and seasonable an opportunity of endeavouring to relieve the weariness of my reader, by [reverting to the drama, and] introducing an obvious digression on the probable causes of the rise of the *Mysteries* which, as I have before remarked, preceded, and at length produced, these allegorical fables. In this respect I shall imitate those map-makers mentioned by Swift, who

O'er inhospitable downs,  
Place elephants for want of towns.

Nor shall I perhaps fail of being pardoned by my reader if, on the same principle, I should attempt to throw new light on the history of our theatre, by pursuing this enquiry through those deductions which it will naturally and more immediately suggest.

About the eighth century, trade was principally carried on by means of fairs, which lasted several days. Charlemagne established many great marts of this sort in France: as did William the Conqueror and his Norman successors in England. The merchants, who frequented these fairs in numerous caravans or companies,

<sup>1</sup> [Collier, *H. E. D. P.* i. 63-5.]

<sup>2</sup> [Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 3rd Ser. ii. 50.]

<sup>3</sup> [See sect. vi.]

employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minstrels, and buffoons, who were no less interested in giving their attendance, and exerting all their skill, on these occasions. As now but few large towns existed, no public spectacles or popular amusements were established; and as the sedentary pleasures of domestic life and private society were yet unknown, the fair-time was the season for diversion. In proportion as these shews were attended and encouraged, they began to be set off with new decorations and improvements: and the arts of buffoonery, being rendered still more attractive by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy, observing that the entertainments of dancing, music, and mimicry, exhibited at these protracted annual celebrations, made the people less religious by promoting idleness and a love of festivity, proscribed these sports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their censures, they changed their plan, and determined to take these recreations into their own hands. They turned actors, and (instead of profane mummeries) presented stories taken from Legends or the Bible. This was the origin of sacred comedy. The death of Saint Catharine, acted by the Monks of Saint Denis, rivalled the popularity of the professed players. Music was admitted into the churches, which served as theatres for the representation of holy farces. The festivals among the French, called *La fete de Foux*, *de l'Ane*,<sup>1</sup> and *des Innocens*, at length became greater favourites, as they certainly were more capricious and absurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs. These are the ideas of a judicious French writer, who has investigated the history of human manners with great comprehension and sagacity.

Voltaire's theory on this subject is also very ingenious, and quite new.<sup>2</sup> Religious plays, he supposes, came originally from Constan-

<sup>1</sup> For a most full and comprehensive account of these feasts, see *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de la Fete de Foux*. Par M. du Tilliot, 1741. Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln in the eleventh century, orders his dean and chapter to abolish the *Festum Asinorum, cum sit vanitate plenum, et voluptatibus spurcum*, which used to be annually celebrated in Lincoln Cathedral on the feast of the Circumcision (Grossetesti *Epistol.* xxxii. *apud* Browne's *Fascicul.* p. 331, edit. 1690, tom. ii. Append.) and p. 412. Also he forbids the archdeacons of his diocese to permit Scot-ales in their chapters and synods, (*Spelm. Gl.* p. 506) and other ludi on holidays. *Ibid. Epistol.* xxii. p. 314. See in the *Mercure Francois* for September, 1742, an account of a mummery celebrated in the city of Befançon in France by the canons of the cathedral, consisting of dancing, singing, eating and drinking, in the cloisters and church, on Easter-day, called *Bergerette*, or the *Song of the Shepherds*; which remained unabolished till the year 1738. [*Bergerette* was the title also of a species of pastoral poetry.—*Park.*] From the *Ritual* of the church, p. 1930, *ad ann.* 1582. See Carpentier, *Suppl.* Du Cang. *Lat. Gloss.* tom. i. p. 523, in v. And *ibid.* v. *Boclare*, p. 570.

<sup>2</sup> ["Warton, referring to both these conjectures, inclines to Voltaire without perceiving that they might be reconciled."—*Collier*. Mr. Collier imagines that Warton's "judicious French writer" may be Du Tilliot, author of *La Fete de Foux*, Lausanne, 1741. "The reign of Charles V. (says Anderfon, from Pasquier

tinople, where the old Grecian stage continued to flourish in some degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were [still] represented. [It may be worth while to offer a few illustrations of this position.<sup>1</sup> The Imperial edict of 399, which abolished the feast of Majuma, gave free permission for the continuance of all other public entertainments; and among these the theatre was of course included. The petition of the African bishops, drawn up in the same year according to Godefroy, or in 401 according to Baronius, merely solicits the suppression of plays upon Sundays, and other days observed as festivals in the Christian church, and begs an exemption for all Christians from being *compelled* to attend them. Nor was it till the year 425, that the prayer of this petition was confirmed by Theodosius the Younger, and then restricted to the most important feasts in the calendar. Four years after, the same emperor found it necessary to rescind the law, which prohibited female Christian profelytes from appearing upon the stage; who were thus allowed to resume their profession without the fear of spiritual censure.<sup>2</sup> The capture of Carthage (439) was effected by Genseric, whilst the inhabitants were at the theatre; and the language of Theodoret upon this occasion, unless we are to accept it as a mere rhetorical flourish, might be strained to imply, that the dramas of Æschylus and Sophocles were still exhibited in the Empire, or at least that they were generally known. An edict of Justinian only forbids deacons, priests, and bishops, from attending any species of scenic representation; and under the same emperor (588) Gregory Bishop of Antioch was publicly defamed by the spectators at the theatre, and ridiculed by the actors on the stage. In the year 692 the council of Trullo prohibited all christians, both clergy and laity, under pain of suspension or excommunication, from following the occupation of a player, and from frequenting the games of the circus and the theatre (Can. 51). Lastly, the canons of Nicephorus and of Photius, both framed in the ninth century, only re-echo the edict of Theodosius, that the theatre ought to be closed upon Sundays and days of solemn festival. The history of the West will afford us nearly similar notices. The theatres of France and Italy,

---

and Brantome) gave rise to the French drama and theatre. The actors, being erected into a company by letters patent, represented the *Mysteries of Christ's Passion* which, with some additional pieces called *Moralities*, continued to be the theatrical entertainment for more than 130 years. Though in the time of Louis XII. some farces or comedies were written, the French drama received no sort of improvement, but continued in the reign of Francis I. under the direction of the Fraternity of the Passion, who only added some burlesque pieces to their Moralities. Under Henry II., Francis II., and Charles IX., Jodelle was the dramatic poet, and produced two tragedies and two comedies. His *Cleopatra* together with a comedy, being acted at Paris, he is said to have been rewarded for this new entertainment by his monarch with 500 crowns. But the genius and the relish for such compositions remained suspended for a considerable time after this exhibition of them." *Hist. of France, temp. Francis I. and Charles IX.* vol. ii. p. 427.—*Park.*]

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Price's addition.]

<sup>2</sup> Mimas diversis adnotationibus liberatas ad proprium officium summa instantiâ revocari decernimus. L. xv. Cod. Th. Tit. 7, L. 13.

especially those of Rome and Marseilles, continued in high celebrity long after the first incursions of the barbarians; and the policy of Theodoric found it expedient to tolerate a pastime which he secretly condemned, and to encourage an abuse he could neither chasten nor correct.<sup>1</sup> For a period indeed these amusements appear to have been suspended by the ravages of Attila in Italy and of the Franks in France. But, in the time of Charlemagne, the *Mimi* and *Histriones* are spoken of in much the same terms of invective, cast upon their profession by the early Christian teachers; nor does the language of Agobard warrant a belief, that he was characterizing a different order of men from those who fell under the denunciations of his predecessors.<sup>2</sup>

About the fourth century, Gregory Nazianzen, an archbishop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, banished pagan plays from the stage at Constantinople, and introduced select stories from the Old and New Testament. As the ancient Greek tragedy was a religious spectacle, a transition was made on the same plan; and the choruses were turned into Christian hymns. Gregory wrote many sacred dramas for this purpose, which have not survived those inimitable compositions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called *Χριστός πασχων*, or *Christ's Passion*, is still extant.<sup>3</sup> In the prologue it is said to be in imitation of Euripides,<sup>4</sup> and that this is the first time the Virgin Mary has been produced on the stage. The fashion of acting spiritual dramas, in which at first a due degree of method and decorum was preserved, was at length adopted from Constantinople by the Italians, who framed in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous species of theatrical representation called *Mysteries* or sacred comedies, which were soon afterwards received in France.<sup>5</sup> This opinion will acquire probability, if we consider the early commercial intercourse between Italy and Constantinople: and although the Italians, at the time when they may be supposed to have imported plays of this nature, did not understand the Greek language, yet they could understand, and consequently could imitate, what they saw.

In defence of Voltaire's hypothesis it may be further observed, that the *Feast of Fools* and of the *Ass*, with other religious farces of that sort so common in Europe, originated at Constantinople. They

<sup>1</sup> Hæc nos fovemus necessitate populorum. Expedit interdum desipere, ut possumus populi desiderata gaudia continere.

<sup>2</sup> [Satiat præterea et inebriat Histriones, Mimos, turpissimosque et vanissimos Jocularum, cum pauperes Ecclesiæ fame discruciatu intereant. Agobard, (*de Dispens.* p. 299). See *Discours sur la Comédie par Pierre Le Brun*. Paris, 1731.—Price.]

<sup>3</sup> *Greg. Nazianzen*, tom. ii. p. 253. In a MS. cited by Lambecius, it is called *Δραμα κατ' Εὐριπίδην* iv. 22. It seems to have been falsely attributed to Apollinaris, an Alexandrian, bishop of Laodicea. It is, however, written with less elegance and judgment than most of Gregory's poetical pieces. Apollinaris lived about the year 370.

<sup>4</sup> [Such an imitation Mr. Ashby thinks as probable as Otway and Dryden's imitations of Shakspeare.—*Park*.]

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Gen. Addit.* p. 138.

were instituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek church about the year 990 by Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, probably with a better design than is imagined by the ecclesiastical annalists : that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, particularly the Bacchanalian and calendary solemnities, by the substitution of Christian spectacles, partaking of the same spirit of licentiousness. The fact is, however, recorded by Cedrenus, one of the Byzantine historians, who flourished about the year 1050, in the words below.<sup>1</sup> "Theophylact introduced the practice, which prevails even to this day, of scandalising God and the memory of his saints, on the most splendid and popular festivals, by indecent and ridiculous songs, and enormous shoutings, even in the midst of those sacred hymns, which we ought to offer to the divine grace with compunction of heart, for the salvation of our souls. But he, having collected a company of base fellows, and placing over them one Euthymius, surnamed Casnes, whom he also appointed the superintendent of his church, admitted into the sacred service diabolical dances, exclamations of ribaldry, and ballads borrowed from the streets and brothels. [Perhaps Theophylact was only the first who admitted these buffooneries within the walls of a church, and thus prepared the way for their reception among the Christians of the West. Their origin may with more probability be referred to an earlier period, when the Iconoclast Emperors sought to degrade the Roman Pontiffs by an absurd mockery of the papal election, the ceremonies of the Western Church, and all its observances both civil and spiritual. Gibbon has detailed in part the conduct taken by the Emperor Michael III. in such a scene, and has noticed the sources whence the curious reader may derive a confirmation, or rather a strong corroboration, of this opinion.<sup>2</sup>] This practice was subsisting in the Greek church two hundred years afterwards ; for Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, complains of the gross abominations committed by the priests at Christmas and other festivals, even in the great church at Constantinople ; and that the clergy, on certain holidays, personated a variety of feigned characters, and even entered the choir in a military habit and other enormous disguises.<sup>3</sup>

In return, he forbids the professed players to appear on the stage in the habit of monks. Saint Austin, who lived in the sixth century, reproves the paganising Christians of his age for their indecent sports

<sup>1</sup> "Εργον εκεινου, και το νη κραται εθος, εν ταις λαμπραις και δημοτασις ιερταις ιδρυζεσθαι τον θεον, και τας τον αγιον μητρας, δια λογισματων απρεπειαν και γιλωτων, και παραφορον κραυγην, τελουμενων τον θεον υμνων' ους εδω, μετα καταλιψεις και συττριμμου καρδιας, υπηρ τας ημην σωτηριας, προσφερειν τον θεον. Πληθος γαρ συστασμενους επιρρητων ανδρων, και εξ αρχης αυταις επισησας ευθυμιον τινα κασνην λεγουμενον, εν αυτοις δομιστικον της εκκλησιας προβαλλετο' και τας σαταπικας ορχησιν, και τας ασχημους κραυγας, και τα εκ τριωδων και χαμαιτυπικων τραπισματα ασηματα τελεισθαι ειδιδεξεν."

Cedren. *Compend. Hist.* p. 639, B. edit. 1647. Compare Baron. *Annal.* sub ann. 956, tom. x. p. 752, C. edit. Antw. 1603.

<sup>2</sup> [Mr. Price's addition. *Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp.* cap. 49, n. 18.—Price.]

<sup>3</sup> *Comment. ad Canon.* lxii. *Synod.* vi. in Trullo. Beverigii *Synodic.* tom. i. 1672, pp. 230, 231.

on holidays ; but it does not appear that these sports were celebrated within the churches.<sup>1</sup>

I must however observe here, what perhaps did not immediately occur to our lively philosopher on this occasion, that in the fourth century it was customary to make Christian parodies and imitations in Greek of the best Greek classics for the use of the Christian schools. This practice prevailed much under the Emperor Julian, who forbade the pagan poets, orators, and philosophers to be taught in the Christian seminaries. Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, above mentioned, wrote Greek tragedies adapted to the stage on most of the grand events recorded in the Old Testament, after the manner of Euripides. On some of the familiar and domestic stories of scripture he composed comedies in imitation of Menander. He wrote Christian odes on the plan of Pindar. In imitation of Homer, he wrote an heroic poem on the History of the Bible, as far as the reign of Saul, in twenty-four books. Sozomen says that he compiled a system of grammar, (*Χριστιανικὴ τυπικὴ*), on the Christian model, and that his imitative compositions (now lost) rivalled their great originals in genius, expression, and conduct. His son, a bishop also of Laodicea, reduced the four gospels and all the apostolical books into Greek dialogues, resembling those of Plato.<sup>2</sup>

But I must not omit a much earlier and more singular specimen of a theatrical representation of sacred history than this mentioned by Voltaire. Some fragments of an ancient Jewish play on the Exodus or Departure of the Israelites from Egypt under their leader and prophet Moses are yet preserved in Greek iambs.<sup>3</sup> The principal characters of this drama are Moses, Sapphira, and God from the Bush, or God speaking from the burning bush. Moses delivers the prologue or introduction in a speech of sixty lines, and his rod is turned into a serpent on the stage. The author of this piece is Ezekiel, a Jew, who is called *Ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τραγωδίων ποιητής*, or the tragic poet of the Jews.<sup>4</sup> The learned Huet endeavours to prove that Ezekiel wrote at least before the Christian Era.<sup>5</sup> Some suppose that he was one of the seventy or Septuagint interpreters of the Bible under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. I am of opinion that Ezekiel composed this play after the destruction of Jerusalem, and even in the time of Baruch, as a political spectacle, with a view to animate his dejected countrymen with the hopes of a future deliverance from their captivity under the conduct of a new Moses,

<sup>1</sup> "In sanctis festivitatibus choro ducendo, cantica luxuriosa et turpia, &c. Iſti enim infelices ac miseri homines, qui balationes ac saltationes ante ipsas basilicas sanctorum exercere nec metuunt nec erubescunt." S. August. *Opera*, edit. 1529, x. fol. 763, b (*Serm.* ccxv.) See also *Serm.* cxvii. cxviii. *opp.* edit. Benedictin. v. p. 904, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Socrates, iii. 16, ii. 46. Sozomen, v. 18, vi. 26. Niceph. x. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Clemens Alexandrin. lib. i. *Strom.* p. 344, *seq.* Eusebius, *Præparat. Evang.* c. xxviii. xxix. Eustathius *ad Hex.* p. 25. They are collected, and translated into Latin, with emendations, by Fr. Morellus (Paris, 1580). See also *Corpus Poetar. Gr. Tragicor. et Comicor.* Genev. 1614. And *Poetæ Christiani. Græci*, 1609.

<sup>4</sup> See Scaliger, *ad Euseb.* p. 401.

*Demonstrat. Evangelic.* p. 99.

like that from the Egyptian servitude.<sup>1</sup> The author of this Jewish tragedy seems to have belonged to that class of Hellenistico-Judaic writers of Alexandria, of which was the author of the apocryphal *Book of Wisdom*, a work originally written in Greek, perhaps in metre, full of allusions to the Greek poets and customs, and containing many lessons of instruction and consolation peculiarly applicable to the distresses and situation of the Jews after their dispersion.

Whether a theatre subsisted among the Jews, who by their peculiar situation and circumstances were prevented from keeping pace with their neighbours in the culture of the social and elegant arts, is a curious speculation. It seems most probable, on the whole, that this drama was composed in imitation of the Grecian stage, at the close of the second century, after the Jews had been dispersed, and intermixed with other nations.

Boileau seems to think, that the ancient Pilgrimages introduced these sacred exhibitions into France :

Chez nos devots ayeux le théâtre abhorré  
Fut long-tems dans la France une plaisir ignore.  
De Pelerins, dit on, une troupe grossiere  
En public à Paris y monta la première ;  
Et sötoment zélée en sa simplicité,  
Iöua les Saints, la Vierge et Dieu par piété.  
Le Savoir, a la fin dissipant l'Ignorance,  
Fit voir de ce projet la devote imprudence :  
On chassa ces docteurs prêchant sans mission ;  
On vit renaître Hektor, Andromaque, Iliön.<sup>2</sup>

The authority to which Boileau alludes in these nervous and elegant verses is Menestrier, an intelligent French antiquary.<sup>3</sup> The pilgrims who returned from Jerusalem, Saint James of Compostella, Saint Baume of Provence, Saint Reine, Mount Saint Michael, Notre Dame du Puy, and other places esteemed holy, composed songs on their adventures : intermixing recitals of passages in the life of Christ, descriptions of his crucifixion, of the day of judgment, of miracles, and martyrdoms. To these tales, which were recommended by a pathetic chant and a variety of gesticulations, the credulity of the multitude gave the name of *Visions*. These pious itinerants travelled in companies ; and taking their stations in the most public streets, and singing with their staves in their hands, and their hats and mantles fantastically adorned with shells and emblems painted in various colours, formed a sort of theatrical spectacle. At length their performances excited the charity and compassion of some citizens of Paris, who erected a theatre in which they might exhibit their religious stories in a more commodious and advantageous manner, with the addition of scenery and other decorations. At length professed practitioners in the histrionic art were hired to perform these solemn mockeries of religion, which soon became the principal public amusement of a devout but undiscerning people.

To those who are accustomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies which the unpolished ages of Europe hold up to our

<sup>1</sup> See Le Moyne, *Obs. ad Var. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> *Art. Poet.* cant. iii. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Des Représent. en Musique*, p. 153, seq.

view, it will not appear surprising that the people, who were forbidden to read the events of the Sacred History in the Bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, should at the same time be permitted to see them represented on the stage, disgraced with the grossest improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the most ridiculous kind, sullied with impurities, and expressed in the language and gesticulations of the lowest farce.

On the whole, the *Mysteries* appear to have originated among the ecclesiastics, and were most probably first acted, at least with any degree of form, by the monks. This was certainly the case in the English monasteries. I have already mentioned the play of Saint Catharine, performed at Dunstable Abbey by the novices in the eleventh century under the superintendence of Geoffry, a Parisian ecclesiastic: and the exhibition of the *Passion* by the mendicant friars of Coventry and other places. Instances have been given of the like practice among the French. The only persons who could read were in the religious societies: and various other circumstances, peculiarly arising from their situation, profession, and institution, enabled the monks to be the sole performers of these representations.<sup>1</sup>

As learning increased and was more widely disseminated from the monasteries, by a natural and easy transition the practice migrated to

<sup>1</sup> We are sure that religious plays were presented in our churches long after the reformation. Not to repeat or multiply instances, see *Second and Third Blast of Retrait from Plaisies*, 1580, p. 77, and Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, p. 24, b. As to the exhibition of plays on Sundays after the reformation, we are told by John Field, in his *Declaration of Gods Judgement at Paris Garden*, that in the year 1580, "The Magistrates of the city of London obtained from queene Elizabeth, that all heathenish plays and enterludes should be banished upon sabbath dayes." fol. ix. It appears from this pamphlet, that a prodigious concourse of people were assembled at Paris Garden, to see plays and a bear-baiting, on Sunday Jan. 13, 1583, when the whole theatre fell to the ground, by which accident many of the spectators were killed. [As this accident happened three years after the above order was issued, Dr. Ashby supposes that the order extended only to the city, and that Paris Garden was out of that jurisdiction.—*Park*.] (See also Henry [Carre's] *Narration of the Fall of Paris Garden*, 1588, and Beard's *Theater of Gods Judgements*, 1631, lib. i. c. 35, p. 212. Also *Refutation of [Heywood's] Apologie for Actors*, p. 43, by [John] G[reen], 1615. And Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*, pp. 134, 135, edit. 1595.) We learn from Richard R[aw]lidges's *Monster lately found out and discovered, or the Scourging of Tiplers*, a circumstance not generally known in our dramatic history, and perhaps occasioned by these profanations of the sabbath, that "Many godly citizens and wel-disposed gentlemen of London, considering that play-houses and dicing-houses were traps for yong gentlemen and others,—made humble suite to queene Elizabeth and her Privy-councell, and obtained leave from her Majesty, to thrust the Players out of the city; and to pull downe all Play-houses and Dicing-houses within their liberties, which accordingly was effected, and the Play-houses, in Gracious [Grace-church] street, Bishops gate street, that nigh Paules, that on Ludgate-hill, and the White-friers, were quite put downe and suppressed, by the care of these religious senators." 1628, pp. 2, 3, 4. Compare Whetstone's *Mirrour for Magistrates of Citties*, 1586, fol. 24. But notwithstanding these precise measures of the city magistrates and the privy-council, the queen appears to have been a constant attendant at plays, especially those presented by the children of her chapel. [So, also, she retained some relics of popery, as tapers on the altar, &c. which greatly offended the puritans.—*Ashby*.]

schools and universities, which were formed on the monastic plan, and in many respects resembled the ecclesiastical bodies. Hence a passage in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is to be explained: where Hamlet says to Polonius, "My lord, you played once i' the University, you say." Polonius answers, "That did I, my Lord, and was accounted a good actor.—I did enact Julius Cæsar, I was killed i' the Capitol."<sup>1</sup> Boulay observes that it was a custom, not only still subsisting, but of very high antiquity (*vetustissima consuetudo*) to act tragedies and comedies in the university of Paris.<sup>2</sup> He cites a statute of the College of Navarre at Paris, dated 1315, prohibiting the scholars from performing any immodest play on the festivals of Saint Nicholas and Saint Catharine.<sup>3</sup> Saint Nicholas was the patron of scholars. Hence at Eton college Saint Nicholas has a double feast. The celebration of the Boy-bishop began on St. Nicholas's day.<sup>4</sup> Carpentier mentions an indecent sport, called *Le Vireli*, celebrated in the streets on the feast of St. Nicholas, by the vicar and other choral officers of a collegiate church.<sup>5</sup> The tragedy called *Julius Cæsar*, and two comedies, of Jaques Grevin, a learned physician and an elegant poet of France, were first acted in the college of Beauvais at Paris in 1558 and 1560.<sup>6</sup> Reuchlin, one of the German classics at the restoration of ancient literature, was the first writer and actor of Latin plays in the academies of Germany. He is said to have opened a theatre at Heidelberg, in which he brought ingenuous youths or boys on the stage, in the year 1498.<sup>7</sup> In the prologue to one of his comedies, written in trimeter iambics, and printed in 1516, are the following lines:

Optans poeta placere paucis versibus,  
Sat esse adeptum gloriæ arbitratus est,  
Si autore se Germaniæ Schola luserit  
Græcanicis et Romuleis lufibus.

The first of Reuchlin's Latin plays seems to be one entitled *Sergius, capitis caput, Comoedia*, a satire on bad kings or bad ministers, and printed in 1507;<sup>8</sup> [but this had been preceded by the same writer's *Scenica Progymnastica*, published nine years earlier]. He calls the *Sergius*, however, his *primiciæ*. It consists of three acts, and is professedly written in imitation of Terence. But the author promises,

<sup>1</sup> Act iii. sc. [2, edit. *ut supr.* vii. 155.]

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Univ. Paris*, tom. ii. 226. See also his History *De Patronis quatuor Nationum*, edit. 1662.

<sup>3</sup> "In festis sancti Nicolai et beatæ Catharinæ nullum ludum inhonestum faciant." *Hist. Univ. Paris*, tom. iv. 93.

<sup>4</sup> In a fragment of the Cellarer's *Computus*, of Hyde Abbey, near Winchester, A.D. 1397: "Pro epulis Pueri celebrantis in festo S. Nicolai." That is the Chorister celebrating mass. MSS. Wulves. Winton.

<sup>5</sup> *Suppl. Du Cang. Lat. Gloss.* in v. tom. iii. p. 1178.

<sup>6</sup> Verdier, *ut supra*, ii. 284. La Croix du Maine, i. p. 415, *seq.*

<sup>7</sup> "Nunquam ante ipsius ætatem Comœdia in Germanorum scholis acta fuit," &c. Lizelius, *Histor. Poetar. German.* 1730, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> It is published with a gloss by Simlerus his scholar. [See Brunet, last edit. art. *Reuchlin*.]

if this attempt should please, that he will write *integras Comedias*, that is, comedies of five acts.<sup>1</sup>

An old biographer affirms, that Conradus Celtes [or Celtis] was the first who introduced into Germany the fashion of acting tragedies and comedies in public halls, after the manner of the ancients.<sup>2</sup> Not to enter into a controversy concerning the priority of these two obscure theatrical authors, which may be sufficiently decided for our present satisfaction by observing, that they were certainly contemporaries: about the year 1500, Celtes wrote a play or masque, called the *Play of Diana*, presented by a literary society or seminary of scholars before the Emperor Maximilian and his court.<sup>3</sup> It consists of the iambic, hexameter and elegiac measures, and has five acts, but is contained in eight quarto pages. The plot, if any, is entirely a compliment to the emperor; and the personages, twenty-four in number (among which was the poet), are Mercury, Diana, Bacchus, Silenus drunk on his as, Satyrs, Nymphs, and Bacchanalians. Mercury, sent by Diana, speaks the Prologue. In the middle of the third act, the emperor places a crown of laurel on the poet's head: at the conclusion of which ceremony the chorus sings a panegyric in verse to the emperor. At the close of the fourth act, in the true spirit of a German shew, the imperial butlers refresh the performers with wine out of golden goblets, with a symphony of horns and drums: and at the end of the play they are invited by his majesty to a sumptuous banquet.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I give a few lines from the Prologue:

"Si unquam tulistis ad jocos vestros pedes,  
Aut si rei aures præbuitis ludicræ,  
In hac nova, obsecro, poetæ fabula,  
Dignemini attentiores esse quam antea;  
Non hic erit lasciviæ aut libidini  
Meretriciæ, aut tristi senum curæ locus,  
Sed histrionum exercitus et scommata."



<sup>2</sup> "Primus comedias et tragedias in publicis aulis veterum more egit."—*Viror. Illustr. Vitæ*, &c. published by Fischardus, Francof., 1536, 4to. p. 8, b. Celtes himself says, in his *Descriptio Urbis Norinbergæ*, written about 1500, that in the city there was an "Aula prætoria, ubi publica nuptiarum et chorearum spectacula celebrantur, hyfioriis et ymaginibus imperatorum et regum nostrorum depicta." Cap. x.

<sup>3</sup> It was printed in 1502, at Nuremberg, with this title, *Incipit Ludus Dyane, coram Maximiliano rege, per Sodalitatem Litterariam Damulianam in Linzio*. See *Conradi Celtis Amores*, Noringb. 1502, ad calc. sign. q. There is also a work [edited by] Conradus Celtes, containing six Latin plays in imitation of Terence, under this title, *Hofsuite, illustris virginis et Momalis Germanæ, Opera: nempe, Comœdia sex in emulationem Terentii, Octo Sacræ Historiæ versibus compositæ, necnon Panegyricus*, &c. 1501.

<sup>4</sup> In the Colleges of the Jesuits in Italy this was a constant practice in modern times. Denina says, that father Granelli's three best tragedies were written, for this purpose, between 1729 and 1731, (ch. v. § 9). The tragedies of Petavius, Bernardinus and Stephonius, all Jesuits, seem intended for this use. See Morhoff, *Polyhist. Literar.* lib. vii. cap. iii. tom. i. 15, pag. 1069, edit. Fabric. Riccoboni relates that he saw in the Jesuits' college at Prague a Latin play acted by the students on the subject of Luther's heresy; and the ridicule consisted in bringing Luther on

It is more generally known that the practice of acting Latin plays in the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge continued to Cromwell's usurpation. The oldest notice I can recover of this sort of spectacle in an English university is in the fragment of an ancient accompt-roll of the dissolved college of Michael House in Cambridge: in which, under 1386, the following expence is entered: "Pro ly pallio brufdato et pro sex larvis et barbis in comedia," that is, for an embroidered pall or cloak, and six visors and six beards, for the comedy.<sup>1</sup> In 1544 a Latin comedy, called *Pammachius*, was acted at Christ's college in Cambridge, which was laid before the privy council by Bishop Gardiner, chancellor of the university, as a dangerous libel, containing many offensive reflections on the papistic ceremonies yet unabolished.<sup>2</sup> This mode of attack was seldom returned by the opposite party; the catholic worship, founded on sensible representations, afforded a much better hold for ridicule than the religion of some of the sects of the reformers, which was of a more simple and spiritual nature. But I say this of the infancy of our stage. In the next century, fanaticism was brought upon the English stage with great success, when polished manners had introduced humour into comedy, and character had taken place of spectacle. There are, however, two English interludes, one of the reign of Henry VIII. called *Every Man*, the other of that of Edward VI. called *Lusty Juventus*, and written by R. Weever: the former defends, and the latter attacks, the church of Rome.<sup>3</sup>

The comedy of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* was acted in the same society [according to Malone, in 1566; but Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister*, as appears from a passage in Wilson's *Rule of Reason*, printed in 1551, had been performed before the latter date, and was probably printed about 1566.]<sup>4</sup> In an original draught of the statutes of Trinity College, at Cambridge, founded in 1546, one of the chapters is entitled, *De Præfesto Ludorum qui Imperator dicitur*, under whose direction and authority Latin comedies and tragedies are to be exhibited in the hall at Christmas, as also *Sex spectacula* or as many dialogues. Another title to this statute, which seems to be substituted by another and a more modern hand, is, *De Comediis ludisque in natali Christi exhibendis*. With regard to the peculiar business and office of Imperator, it is ordered that one of the Masters of Arts shall be placed over the juniors every Christmas for the regulation of their games and diversions at that season of festivity. At the same time he is to govern the whole society in the hall and chapel, as a republic committed to his special charge, by a set of laws which he is to frame in Latin or Greek verse. His sovereignty is to last during the twelve days of Christmas, and he is to exercise the same power on Candle-

---

the stage, with a Bible in his hand, quoting chapter and verse in defence of the Reformation.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. (*Catal. Nasmith.* p. 92.)

<sup>3</sup> [Both these pieces will be found in Mr. Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, vol. i.—*Price.*]

<sup>4</sup> [*Ralph Roister Doister* was reprinted in 1818 and 1847.]

mas-day. During this period, he is to see that six spectacles or dialogues be presented. His fee is forty shillings.<sup>1</sup> Probably the constitution of this officer (in other words, a Master of the Revels) gave a latitude to some licentious enormities, incompatible with the decorum of a house of learning and religion; and it was found necessary to restrain these Christmas celebrations to a more rational and sober plan. The spectacles also and dialogues (originally appointed) were growing obsolete, when the substitution was made, and were giving way to more regular representations. I believe these statutes were reformed by Queen Elizabeth's visitors of the University of Cambridge under the conduct of Archbishop Parker in 1573. John Dee, the famous occult philosopher, one of the first fellows of this noble society, acquaints us that by his advice and endeavours, both here and in other colleges at Cambridge, this master of the Christmas plays was first named and confirmed emperor. "The first was Mr. John Dun, a very goodly man of person, habit, and complexion, and well learned also."<sup>2</sup> He also further informs us, little thinking how important his boyish attempts and exploits scholastical would appear to future ages, that in the refectory of the college, in the character of Greek lecturer, he exhibited before the whole university the *Eupura* or Pax of Aristophanes, accompanied by a piece of machinery, for which he was taken for a conjuror: "with the performance of the scarabeus his flying up to Jupiter's palace, with a man and his basket of victuals on her back: whereat was great wondering, and many vain reports spread abroad, of the means how that was effected."<sup>3</sup> The tragedy of *Jephtha*, dedicated to Henry VIII. by a very grave and learned divine, John Christopherson, another of the first Fellows (and afterwards Master) of Trinity College, Cambridge, subsequently Dean of Norwich and Bishop of Chichester, was written about 1546, in Latin and Greek, being taken from the eleventh chapter of the Book of Judges; it was most probably composed as a Christmas-play for the same society. It is to be noted, that this play is on a religious subject.<sup>4</sup> Roger Ascham, while on his travels in Flanders, says in one of his *Epistles*, written about 1550, that the city of Antwerp as much exceeds all other

<sup>1</sup> This article is struck out from cap. xxiv. p. 85. MSS. Rawlins. Num. 233. Only that part of the statute is retained in which comedies and tragedies are ordered to be acted. These are to be written, or rather exhibited, by the nine lecturers. The senior lecturer is to produce one: the eight others are charged with four more. A fine of ten shillings is imposed for the omission of each interlude. Another clause is then struck out, which limits the number of the plays to three, if five "commode exponi non queant."

<sup>2</sup> *Compendious Rehearsall of John Dee, &c.* written by himself, A.D. 1592, ch. i. pp. 501, 502. *Append. J. Glastonienfis Chron.* edit. Hearne.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 502.

<sup>4</sup> Buchanan has a tragedy on this subject, written in 1554. [In *Hamlet*, 1603, is quoted a ballad of *Jephthah Judge of Israel*. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit. art. Jephthah*.] There is an Italian tragedy on this subject by Benedikt Capuano, a monk of Caluso. Florent. 1587, 4to. [Respecting Buchanan, see Ellis, *Or-Let.* 3rd S. iii. 373, and Harvey's *Four Letters, &c.* 1592, repr. Collier, 52.]

cities, as the refectory of St. John's College in Cambridge, exceeds itself, when furnished at Christmas with its theatrical apparatus for acting plays.<sup>1</sup> [Grimoald's *Archi-Propheta*, 1548, has been noticed elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>] This play coincided with the author's plan of a rhetoric lecture which he had set up in the college. In an audit-book of Trinity College, Oxford, I think for the year 1559, I find the following disbursements relating to this subject. "Pro apparatu in comoedia Andriæ, viil. ix. ivd. Pro prandio Principis Natalicii eodem tempore, xiiis. ix. d. Pro refectiōne præfectorum et doctorum magis illustrium cum Burfariis prandentium tempore comoediæ, ixl. viid." That is, for dresses and scenes in acting Terence's *Andria*, for the dinner of the Christmas Prince, and for the entertainment of the Heads of the Colleges and the most eminent doctors dining with the burfars or treasurers, at the time of acting the comedy, 12l. 3s. 8d. A Christmas Prince, or Lord of Misrule, corresponding to the Emperor at Cambridge just mentioned, was a common temporary magistrate in the colleges at Oxford, [and in the Inns of Court ;] but at Cambridge they were censured in the sermons of the Puritans in the reign of James I. as a relic of the pagan ritual.<sup>3</sup> The last article of this disbursement shows, that the most respectable company in the university were invited on these occasions. In some great families, this officer was called the "Abbot of Misrule." In Scotland, where the Reformation took a more severe and gloomy turn, these and other festive characters were thought worthy to be suppressed by the legislature;<sup>4</sup> and this under very severe penalties, viz. : In burghs, to the choosers of such characters, loss of freedom, with other punishments at the queen's grace's will, and those who accepted such offices, to be banished the realm. In the country, the choosers forfeited ten pounds, with an arbitrary imprisonment. "And gif onie women or uther about summer hees [hies, goes,] singand [singing] . . . thorow Burrowes and uthers Landward tounes, the women . . . sall be taken, handled, and put upon the cuck-stules," &c.<sup>5</sup> Voltaire says that, since the Reformation, for two hundred years there had not been a fiddle heard in some of the cantons of Switzerland.

In the French towns there was *L'Abbe de Lieffe*, who in many towns was elected from the burgeses by the magistrates, and was the director of all their public shews. Among his numerous mock-officers were a herald and a *Maitre d'Hotel*. In the city of Auxerre

<sup>1</sup> Or, in his own words, "Quemadmodum aula Johannis, theatri more ornata, seipsam post Natalem superat."—*Epistol.* 1581, p. 126, b.

<sup>2</sup> [*Infra*, sect. 39 (vol. iv. p. 49.)]

<sup>3</sup> Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* (Hist. of Cambridge, p. 159, edit. 1655.) See *Observat. on Spenser*, ii. 211, [and present work, sect. 48.]

<sup>4</sup> See *Parl. vi.* of Queen Mary of Scotland, 1555. "It is statute and ordained, that in all times cumming, na maner of person be chosen Robert Hude nor Little John, Abbot of Un-reason, Queenis of May, nor utherwise, norther in burgh, nor to landward, [in the country,] in onie time to cum." [See Dr. Jamieson's *Dictionary*, in voc. Abbot of Un-reffoun.]

<sup>5</sup> See Notes to the *Northumberland Housebold Book*, 1827, p. 441.

he was especially concerned to superintend the play which was acted on Quinquagesima Sunday.<sup>1</sup>

At length our universities adopted the representation of plays, in which the scholars by frequent exercise had undoubtedly attained a considerable degree of skill and address, as a part of the entertainment at the reception of princes and other eminent personages. In the year 1566, Queen Elizabeth visited the University of Oxford. In the magnificent hall of the College of Christ Church, she was entertained with a Latin comedy called *Marcus Geminus*, the Latin tragedy of *Progne*, and an English comedy [by Richard Edwards] on the story of Chaucer's *Palamon and Arcite*, all acted by the students of the University. The Queen's observations on the persons of the last-mentioned piece deserve notice, as they are at once a curious picture of the romantic pedantry of the times, and of the characteristical turn and predominant propensities of the Queen's mind. When the play was over she summoned into her presence the poet, whom she loaded with thanks and compliments; and at the same time (turning to her levee) remarked that Palamon was so justly drawn as a lover, that he certainly must have been in love indeed: that Arcite was a right martial knight, having a swart and manly countenance, yet with the aspect of a Venus clad in armour: that the lovely Emilia was a virgin of uncorrupted purity and unblemished simplicity, and that although she sang so sweetly, and gathered flowers alone in the garden, she preserved her chastity undeflowered. The part of Emilia, the only female part in the play, was acted by a boy of fourteen years of age, a son of the Dean of Christ Church, habited like a young prince, whose performance so captivated her majesty, that she gave him a present of eight guineas. This youth had before been introduced to the Queen's notice, in her privy chamber at her lodgings at Christ Church, where he saluted her in a short Latin oration with some Greek verses, with which she was so pleased that she called in Secretary Cecil, and (encouraging the boy's modesty with many compliments and kind speeches) begged him to repeat his elegant performance. By Wood he is called *summæ spei puer*.<sup>2</sup> During the exhibition a cry of hounds, belonging to Theseus, was counterfeited without, in the great square of the college: the young students thought it a real chase, and were seized with a sudden transport to join the hunters: at which the Queen cried out from her box, "O excellent! These boys, in very troth, are ready to leap out of the windows to follow the hounds!"<sup>3</sup> In the year 1564, Queen Eliz-

<sup>1</sup> Carpentier, *Suppl. Gloss. Lat. Du Cange*, tom. i. p. 7, v. *Abbas Lætitia*. See also, *ibid.* v. *Charavaritum*, p. 923.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. i. p. 287, col. 2. See also *Athen. Oxon.* i. 152, and Peck's *Desid. Curios.* vol. ii. lib. vii. Num. xviii. p. 46, *seq.* [For a detailed account of this and subsequent exhibitions of the same kind see Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*.—Price.]

<sup>3</sup> Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* ubi suprà.

abeth had honoured the University of Cambridge with a royal visit.<sup>1</sup> Here she was present at the exhibition of the *Aulularia* of Plautus and the tragedies of *Dido* [by John Rightwile,] and *Hezekiah* [all in Latin,] which were played in the body or nave of the chapel<sup>2</sup> of King's College, on a stage extended from side to side, by a select company of scholars, chosen from different colleges at the discretion of five doctors, "especially appointed to set forth such plays as should be exhibited before her grace."<sup>3</sup> The chapel on this occasion was lighted by the royal guards, each of whom bore a staff-torch in his hand.<sup>4</sup> Her majesty's patience was so fatigued by the sumptuous parade of shows and speeches, with which every moment was occupied, that she could not stay to see the *Ajax* of Sophocles, [also] in Latin, which was prepared. Having been praised both in Latin and Greek, and in prose and verse, for her learning and her chastity, and having received more compliments than are paid to any of the pastoral princesses in Sydney's *Arcadia*, she was happy to return to the houses of some of her nobility in the neighbourhood. In the year 1583, Albertus de Alasco, a Polish prince Palatine, arrived at Oxford.<sup>5</sup> In the midst of a medley of pithy orations, tedious sermons, degrees, dinners, disputations, philosophy, and fire-works, he was invited to the comedy of the *Rivales* and the tragedy of *Dido*, which were presented in Christ Church Hall by some of the scholars of that society and of St. John's College. [Both were in Latin. The first was] written by William Gager, admitted a student of Christ Church in 1572. By the way, he is styled by Wood the best comedian of his time, that is dramatic poet. But he wrote only Latin plays. His Latin *Meleager* was acted at Christ Church before Lord Leicester, Sir Philip Sydney, and other distinguished persons, in 1581.<sup>6</sup> Gager had a controversy with Dr. Rainolds, president of Corpus at Oxford, concerning the lawfulness of plays, which produced from the latter a book, called *The Overthrow of Stage-plays, &c.*, printed in 1599. Gager's letter, in defence of his plays and of the students who acted in them, is extant.<sup>7</sup> It appears by a pamphlet written by one W. Heale, and printed at Oxford in 1609, that Gager held it lawful, in a public Act of the University, for husbands to beat their wives. In the latter play, Dido's supper and the destruction of Troy were represented in a marchpane or rich cake; and the tempest which drove Dido and Eneas to the same cave was counterfeited by a snow of sugar, a hailstorm of comfits, and a shower of rose-water.<sup>8</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> For a minute account of which see Peck's *Desid. Curios.* Num. xv, and [MSS. Baker, vol. x. 7037, p. 109, Brit. Mus.]

<sup>2</sup> [Mr. Ashby conceived that the anti-chapel must be here meant; though the whole, he adds, is one plain room of uniform dimensions, and no separation of any kind except the organ; but the anti-chapel is more superbly fitted up than the chapel, i. e. with roses and shields of arms in alto-relievo.—*Park.*]

<sup>3</sup> Peck, *ut sup.* pp. 36, 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Supposed to be the person whom Shakespeare, in the *Merchant of Venice*, called the Count Palatine, act i. sc. i.

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Oxon.* i. p. 366.

<sup>7</sup> Bibl. Coll. Univ. MSS. J. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Holinsh. *Chron.* iii. 1355.

year 1605, James I. gratified his pedantry by a visit to the same university.<sup>1</sup> He was present in Christ Church hall at three plays, which he seems to have regarded as childish amusements in comparison with the more solid delights of scholastic argumentation. Indeed, if we consider this monarch's insatiable thirst for profound erudition, we shall not be surprised to find that he slept at these theatrical performances, and that he sat four hours every morning and afternoon with infinite satisfaction to hear syllogisms in jurisprudence and theology. The first play during this solemnity was a pastoral comedy called *Alba*, in which five men almost naked, appearing on the stage as part of the representation, gave great offence to the queen and the maids of honour; while the king, whose delicacy was not easily shocked at other times, concurred with the ladies, and availing himself of this lucky circumstance, peevishly expressed his wish to depart, before the piece was half finished.<sup>2</sup> The second play was *Vertumnus* which, although learnedly penned in Latin and by a doctor in divinity, [Matthew Gwinne,] could not keep the king awake; he was wearied in consequence of having executed the office of moderator all that day at the disputations in St. Mary's church. The queen was not present; but next morning, with her ladies, the young prince, and gallants attending the court, she saw an English pastoral by Daniel, called *Arcadia Reformed*.<sup>3</sup> Although the anecdote is foreign to our purpose, I cannot help mentioning the reason why the queen, during this visit to Oxford, was more pleased to hear the oration of the professor of Greek than the king. "The king heard him willingly, and the queen much more, because, she said, she 'never had heard Greek.'" <sup>4</sup> The third drama was the *Ajax* of Sophocles in Latin, at which the stage was varied three times. "The king was very wearied before he came thither, but much more wearied by it, and spoke many words of dislike."<sup>5</sup> But I must not omit that, as the king entered the city from Woodstock, he was saluted at the gate of St. John's College with a short interlude, which probably suggested a hint to Shakespeare to write a tragedy on the subject of Macbeth. Three youths of the college, habited like witches, advancing towards the king, declared they were the same who once met the two chiefs of Scotland, Macbeth and Banquo, prophesying a kingdom to the one, and to the other a generation of monarchs: that they now appeared a second time to his majesty, who was descended from the stock of Banquo, to show the confirmation of that prediction.<sup>6</sup> Immediately afterwards, "Three young youths, in habit and attire like Nymphs, confronted him, representing England, Scotland, and Ireland; and talking dialogue-wise (each to the other) of their state,

<sup>1</sup> See *Preparations at Oxford, &c., Append. Lelandi Coll.* vol. ii. p. 626, seq. edit. 1774. [MSS. Baker, ut *supr.* Brit. Mus.] They were written by one present.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 637.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 642. [This was the piece printed in 1606 under the title of *The Queenes Arcadia*.]

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 636.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 639.

<sup>6</sup> *Rex Platonicus, sive Musæ Regnantes*, 1607, p. 18.

at last concluded, yielding themselves up to his gracious government.”<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of the hall was a scene like a wall, “painted and adorned with stately pillars, which pillars would turn about, by reason whereof, with the help of other painted clothes, their stage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy.”<sup>2</sup> “The machinery of these plays, and the temporary stages in St. Mary’s church, were chiefly conducted by one Mr. Jones, a great traveller, who undertook to further them much, and furnish them with rare devices, but performed little to what was expected.”<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding these slighting expressions, [there is no doubt whatever] that this was Inigo Jones, afterwards the famous architect. He was now but thirty-three years of age, and had recently returned into England. He was the principal contriver for the masques at Whitehall.<sup>4</sup> Gerard, describing Queen Henrietta’s popish chapel, says [under 1635]: “Such a glorious scene built over the altar! Inigo Jones never presented a more curious piece in any of the masks at Whitehall.”<sup>5</sup>

It would be unnecessary to trace this practice in our universities to later periods. The position advanced is best illustrated by proofs most remote in point of time which, on that account, are also less obvious and more curious. I could have added other ancient proofs; but I chose to select those which seemed, from concomitant circumstances, most likely to amuse.

Many instances of this practice in schools, or in seminaries of an inferior nature, may be enumerated. I have before mentioned the play of *Robin and Marian* performed, according to an annual custom, by the school-boys of Angiers in France in the year 1392. But I do not mean to go abroad for illustrations of this part of our present inquiry. Among the writings of Udall, a celebrated master of Eton about the year 1540, are recited *Plures Comediæ*<sup>6</sup> and a tragedy *de Papatu*, on the papacy: written probably to be acted by his scholars. [His *Ralph Roister Doister* has already been mentioned.] In the ancient *Consuetudinary*, as it is called, of Eton School,<sup>7</sup> it is said that about the Feast of Saint Andrew, November 30, the master is accustomed to choose, according to his own discretion, such Latin stage-plays as are most excellent and convenient; which the boys are to act in the following Christmas holidays before a public audience, and with all the elegance of scenery and ornaments usual at the performance of a play. Yet he may sometimes order English plays; such, at least, as are smart and witty. In the year 1538,

<sup>1</sup> *Lel. Append.* ut supr. p. 636.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 631.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 646.

<sup>4</sup> [See Peter Cunningham’s *Life of Inigo Jones*, 1848, p. 5, et seq.]

<sup>5</sup> *Strafford’s Letters*, i. 505.

<sup>6</sup> [See Royal MS. 18. A. lxiv.]

<sup>7</sup> [These rules are] supposed to have been drawn up about the year 1560. But containing all the ancient and original customs of the school. MSS. Rawlins, Bibl. Bodl. The following is the original passage: “Circa festum divi Andreae, ludimagister eligere solet, pro suo arbitrio, scenicas fabulas optimas et accommodatissimas, quas Pueri feriis Natalitiis subsequenter, non sine ludorum Elegancia, populo spectante, publice aliquando peragant. Interdum etiam exhibet Anglico sermone contextas fabulas, siquæ habeant acumen et leporem.”

Ralph Radcliffe, a polite scholar and a lover of graceful elocution, opening a school at Hitchin in Hertfordshire, obtained a grant of the dissolved Friary of the Carmelites in that town: and converting the refectory into a theatre, wrote several plays, both in Latin and English, which were exhibited by his pupils. Among his comedies were *Dives and Lazarus*, Boccaccio's *Patient Grisilde*, *Titus and Gefippus*, and Chaucer's *Melibeus*: his tragedies were, the *Delivery of Susannah*, the *Burning of John Hufz*, *Job's Sufferings*, the *Burning of Sodom*, *Jonas*, and *The Fortitude of Judith*. These pieces were seen by the biographer Bale in the author's library, but are now lost.<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that this very liberal exercise is yet preserved, and in the spirit of true classical purity, at Westminster School.<sup>2</sup> I believe, the frequency of these school-plays suggested to Shakespeare the names of Seneca and Plautus as dramatic authors, where Hamlet, speaking of a variety of theatrical performances, says, "Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light."<sup>3</sup> Jonson, in *The Staple of Newes*, has a satirical allusion to this practice (yet ironically applied), where Censure says: "For my part, I beleeve it, and there were no wiser than I, I would have neer a cunning schoole-master in England: I mean a Cunning-man a schoole-master; that is, a conjurour, or a poet, or that had any acquaintance with a poet. They make all their schollers Play-boyes! Is't not a fine fight to see all our children made Enterluders? Doe we pay our money for this? Wee send them to learne their grammar and their Terence, and they learne their play-bookes. Well, they talk we shall have no more parliaments, god bleffe us! But an wee have, I hope *Zeale of the Land Buzzy*, and my gossip *Rabby Trouble*—

<sup>1</sup> Bale, viii. 98. *Ath. Oxon.* i. 73. I have seen an anonymous comedy, [by William Hawkins,] *Apollo Shroving*, composed by the Master of Hadleigh School, in Suffolk, and acted by his scholars, on Shrove Tuesday, Feb. 7, 1626, printed 1627, 8vo. Published, as it seems, by E. W. Shrove Tuesday, as the day immediately preceding Lent, was always a day of extraordinary sport and feasting. So in the song of [Master] Silence in [the second part of *Henry IV.* act v. sc. 3:]

"Tis merry in hall when beards wag all,  
And welcome merry Shrovetide."

[The first line is in the metrical *Life of Alexander*, attributed to Adam Davie, circa 1312.] In the Romish church there was anciently a feast immediately preceding Lent, which lasted many days, called Carniscapum. See Carpenter, in v. *Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang.* tom. i. p. 831. In the *Northumberland Household-book*, 1512, it appears that the clergy and officers of Lord [Northumberland's] chapel performed a play "before his lordship upon Shrowfteweſday at night," p. 345, [edit. 1770 or 1827].

<sup>2</sup> It appears anciently to have been an exercise for youth, not only to act but to write interludes. Erasmus says that Sir Thomas More, "adolescens Comoediolas et scriptit et egit." *Epistol.* 447. But see what I have said of More's *Pageants, Observat. on Spens.* ii. 47, [and *infra*, section xliii.] We are told that More, while he lived a page with Archbishop Morton, as the plays were going on in the palace during the Christmas holidays, would often step upon the stage without previous notice, and exhibit a part of his own, which gave much more satisfaction than the whole performance besides. Roper's *Life and Death of More*, p. 27, edit.

1731.

<sup>3</sup> Act ii. sc. 7.

*truth*, will start up, and see we have painfull good minifters to keepe schoole, and catechife our youth ; and not teach em to fpeake Playes, and aēt fables of false newes," &c.<sup>1</sup>

In tracing the history of our stage, this early practice of performing plays in schools and universities has never been considered as a circumstance instrumental to the growth and improvement of the drama. While the people were amused with Skelton's [*Nigramansir*],<sup>2</sup> Bale's *God's Promises*, and *Christ's Descent into Hell*, [the last-named, an anonymous miracle-play presented before Henry VII. in 1487 by the choir-boys of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester Castle on a Sunday], the scholars of the times were composing and acting plays on historical subjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of a legitimate fable must have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama ; and we may add, while no settled or public theatres were known, and plays were chiefly acted by itinerant minstrels in the halls of the nobility at Christmas, these literary societies supported some idea of a stage: they afforded the best accommodations for theatrical exhibition, and were almost the only, certainly the most rational, companies of players that existed. But I mean yet to trespass on my reader's patience by pursuing still further this inquiry which, for the sake of comprehension and connection, has already exceeded the limits of a digression.

It is perhaps on this principle, that we are to account for plays being acted by singing-boys : although they perhaps acquired a turn for theatrical representation and the spectacular arts from their annual exhibition of the ceremonies of the boy-bishop ; which seem to have been common in almost every religious community that was capable of supporting a choir. In a small college, for only one provost, five fellows, and six choristers, founded by Archbishop Rotherham in 1481, in the obscure village of Rotherham in Yorkshire, this piece of mummary was not omitted. The founder leaves by will, among other bequests to the college, "A Myter for the 'barne-bishop' of cloth of gold, with two knoppes of silver, gilt and enamelled."<sup>3</sup> This establishment, but with a far greater degree of buffoonery, was common in the collegiate churches of France.<sup>4</sup> A part of the ceremony in the church of Noyon was, that the children of the choir should celebrate the whole service on Innocents' Day.<sup>5</sup> This privilege, as I have before observed, is permitted to the children of the choir of Winchester College, on that festival, by the founder's

<sup>1</sup> Act iii. p. 50, edit. fol. 1631, [or edit. 1816, v. 262]. This play was first acted in the year 1625.

<sup>2</sup> [Warton, in his original text, speaks of this as *The Trial of Simonie*, which according to him (and there is no doubt he saw a copy of this now lost drama,) formed part of the groundwork of Skelton's production.]

<sup>3</sup> Hearne's *Lib. Nig. Scacc. Append.* pp. 674, 686.

<sup>4</sup> See Dom. Marlot, *Histoire de la Metropole de Rheims*, tom. ii. p. 769.

<sup>5</sup> Brillou, *DiDionnaire des Arrrets*, Artic. *Noyon* edit. 1727.

statutes given in 1380.<sup>1</sup> Yet in the statutes of Eton College, given in 1441, and altogether transcribed from those of Winchester, the chorister-bishop of the chapel is permitted to celebrate the holy offices on the feast of St. Nicholas, but by no means on that of the Innocents.<sup>2</sup> The same clause is in the statutes of King's College at Cambridge.<sup>3</sup> The parade of the mock-bishop is evidently akin to the "Fete des Foux," in which they had a bishop, an abbot, and a precentor, of the fools. One of the pieces of humour in this last-mentioned show, was to shave the precentor in public on a stage erected at the west door of the church.<sup>4</sup> It is surprising that Colet, Dean of Saint Paul's, a friend to the purity of religion, and who had the good sense and resolution to censure the superstitions and fopperies of popery in his public sermons, should countenance this idle farce of the boy-bishop in the statutes of his school at St. Paul's; which he founded with a view of establishing the education of youth on a more rational and liberal plan than had yet been known, in 1512. He expressly orders that his scholars "shall every Childermas [Innocents'] daye come to Paulis church, and hear the childe-byshops [of S. Paul's cathedral] sermon. And after be at the hygh masse; and each of them offer a penny to the childe-byshop, and with them the maisters and surveyors of the scole."<sup>5</sup> I take this opportunity of observing, that the anniversary custom at Eton of going "ad Montem," originated from the ancient and popular practice of these theatrical processions in collegiate bodies.

In the statutes of New College in Oxford, founded about 1380, there is the subjoined remarkable passage.<sup>6</sup> Hearne endeavours to explain this injunction, by supposing that it was made in opposition to the Wickliffites, who disregarded the laws of Scripture, and (in this particular instance) violated the text in *Leviticus*, where this custom is expressly forbidden:<sup>7</sup> "Neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard."<sup>8</sup> Nothing can be more unfortunate than this elucida-

<sup>1</sup> [See *supr.* vol. ii.]

<sup>2</sup> "In festo sancti Nicolai, in quo et nullatenus in festo sanctorum Innocentium, divina officia (præter Missæ Secreta) exequi et dici permittimus per Episcopum Puerorum, ad hoc de eisdem [pueris choristis] annis singulis eligendum." *Statut. Coll. Etonens.* cap. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. xlii.

<sup>4</sup> Tilliot, *Mem. de la Fete des Foux, ut supr.* p. 13. In the Council of Sens, A.D. 1485, we have this prohibition: "Turpem etiam illum abusum in quibusdam frequentatum ecclesiis quo, certis annis, nonnulli cum mitra, baculo, ac vestibus pontificalibus, more episcoporum benedicunt, alii ut reges et duces induti, quod Festum Fatorum, vel Innocentium, seu Puerorum, in quibusdam regionibus nuncupatur," &c. *Concil. Senon.* cap. iii. Harduin. *A.B. Concil.* 1714, tom. ix. p. 1525, E. See also *ibid. Concil. Basil.* Sess. xxi. p. 1122, E; and 1296, D. p. 1344, A.

<sup>5</sup> Knight's *Life of Colet* (*Miscell. Num. v. Append.*), p. 362. [See also Mr. Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England.—Price.*]

<sup>6</sup> "Ac etiam illum ludum vilissimum et horribilem radendi barbas, qui fieri solet in nocte præcedente Inceptionis Magistradorum in Artibus, infra collegium nostrum prædictum, vel alibi in Universitate prædicta, ubicunque, ipsis [sociis et scholaribus] penitus interdicimus, ac etiam prohibemus expresse." *Rubr.* xxv.

<sup>7</sup> xix. 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Not. ad. Joh. Trokelowe*, p. 393.

tion of our antiquary. The direct contrary was the case: for the Wickliffites entirely grounded their ideas of reformation both in morals and doctrine on Scriptural proofs, and often committed absurdities in too precise and literal an acceptance of texts; and (to say no more) the custom, from the words of the statute, seems to have been long preserved in the university, as a mock ceremony on the night preceding the solemn Act of Magistration. It is styled *Ludus*, a play: and I am of opinion that it is to be ranked among the other ecclesiastic mummeries of that age; and that it has some connection with the exhibition mentioned above of having the precursor in public.

I have just given an instance of singing-boys performing a Morality on a Sunday in 1487. In the accounts of Maxtoke Priory near Coventry in 1430, it appears that the eleemosynary boys or choristers of that monastery acted a play (perhaps every year) on the Feast of the Purification in the hall of the neighbouring castle belonging to Lord Clinton: and it is specified that the cellarer should take no money for their attendance, because his lordship's minstrels had often assisted this year at several festivals in the refectory of the convent, and in the hall of the prior, without fee or gratuity.<sup>1</sup> The charge for the extraordinary breakfast of the children of the almonry, or singing-boys of the convent, when they went to the hall in the castle to perform the Play on the Feast-day, was fourteenpence.

So early as 1378, the scholars or choristers of St. Paul's cathedral in London presented a petition to Richard II. that his majesty would prohibit some ignorant and inexperienced persons from acting the *History of the Old Testament* to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended considerable sums for preparing a public presentation of that play at the ensuing Christmas.<sup>2</sup> From Mysteries this young fraternity proceeded to more regular dramas; and at the commencement of a Theatre, they were the best and almost only comedians. They became at length so favourite a set of players, as often to act at Court, and on particular occasions of festivity were frequently removed from London, for this purpose only, to the royal houses at some distance from town. In 1554, while the Princess Elizabeth resided at Hatfield House, in Hertfordshire, under the custody of Sir Thomas Pope, she was visited by Queen Mary. The next morning, after mass, they were entertained with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, with which their highnesses were right well content. In the evening the great chamber was adorned with a sumptuous suit of tapestry, called *The Hanging of*

<sup>1</sup> [This is the original Latin:] "Pro jentaculis puerorum eleemosynæ exeuntium ad aulam in castro ut ibi ludum peragerent in die Purificationis, xivd. Unde nihil a domini [Clinton] thesaurario, quia sæpius hoc anno ministralli castri fecerunt ministralliam in aula conventus et Prioris ad festa plurima sine ullo regardo."

<sup>2</sup> See *Rise and Progress*, &c. *Life of Colley Cibber*, vol. ii. p. 118.

*Antioch*: and after supper, a play was presented by the children of Paul's.<sup>1</sup> After the play, and the next morning, one of the children, named Maximilian Paines, sang to the princeſs, while ſhe "plaid at the virginals."<sup>2</sup> Strype, perhaps from the ſame manuſcript chronicle, thus deſcribes a magnificent entertainment given to Queen Elizabeth in the year 1559 at Nonſuch in Surrey by [Henry, Earl of Arundel, who had acquired it from the crown by exchange<sup>3</sup> in Queen Mary's reign]. I chooſe to give the deſcription in the words of this ſimple but pictureſque compiler. "There the queen had great entertainment, with banquets, eſpecially on Sunday night, made by the ſaid earl; together with a Maſk, and the warlike ſounds of drums and flutes, and all kinds of muſick, till midnight. On Monday was a great ſupper made for her: but before night, ſhe ſtood at her ſtanding in the further park, and there ſhe ſaw a courſe. At night was a Play by the *Children of Paul's*, and their [muſic] maſter Sebaſtian. After that, a coſtly banquet, accompanied with drums and flutes. This entertainment laſted till three in the morning. And the earl preſented her majeſty a cupboard of plate."<sup>4</sup> In the year 1562, when the Society of Pariſh-Clerks in London celebrated one of their annual feaſts, after morning ſervice in Guildhall chapel, they retired to their hall where, after dinner, a goodly play was performed by the chorifiers of Weſtminſter Abbey with waits and regals and fingiſg.<sup>5</sup> The children of the chapel-royal were alſo famous actors, and were formed into a company of players by Queen Elizabeth under the conduct of Richard Edwards, a muſician and a writer of Interludes already mentioned, and of whom more will be ſaid hereafter. All Lyly's plays and [ſome] of Jonſon's were originally performed by theſe boys:<sup>6</sup> and it ſeems probable that the title given by Jonſon to one of his comedies, called [*The Fountaine of Self-Love, or Cynthia's revels*], privately acted at the Blackfriars theatre by the Children of the Chapel, and firſt printed in 1601,] was an alluſion to

<sup>1</sup> Who perhaps performed the play of *Holophernes* the ſame year, after "a greates and rich maskinge and banquet" given by Sir Thomas Pope to the princeſs, in the "grete hall at Hatfelde." *Life of Sir Tho. Pope*, ſect. iii. p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales of Q. Maries Reigne* (MSS. Cotton. Vitell. F. 5). There is a curious anecdote in Melville's *Memoirs*, 1754, concerning Elizabeth, when Queen, being ſurprized from behind the tapeſtry by Lord Hunſdon, while ſhe was playing on her virginals. Her majeſty, I know not whether in a fit of royal prudery or of royal coquetry, ſuddenly roſe from the inſtrument and offered to ſtrike his lordſhip: declaring, "that ſhe was not uſed to play before men, but when ſhe was ſolitary to ſhun melancholy." *Mem.* pag. 99. Leland applauds the ſkill of Elizabeth both in playing and fingiſg. *Encom.* fol. 59, p. 125, edit. Hearn:

"Aut quid commemorem, quos tu, teſtudine ſumpta,  
Concentus referas mellifluousque modos?"

<sup>3</sup> [Lyſon's *Environs of London*, firſt edit. i. 155-6. The palace is long ſince deſtroyed.]

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Ref.* vol. i. ch. xv. p. 194, edit. 1725.

<sup>5</sup> *Stow's Surv.* edit. 1720, B. v. p. 231.

<sup>6</sup> Six of Lyly's nine comedies were reprinted together in 1632, 12mo. [under the title of *Court Comedies*]. His laſt play is dated [1601].

this establishment of Queen Elizabeth, one of whose romantic names was Cynthia.<sup>1</sup> The general reputation which they gained, and the particular encouragement and countenance which they received from the queen, excited the jealousy of the grown actors at the theatres: and Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, endeavours to extenuate the applause which was idly indulged of their performance, perhaps not always very just, in the following speeches of Rosencrantz and Hamlet:—"There is, fir, an aery of children, little eyases,<sup>2</sup> that cry out on the top of question, and are most tyrannically clapped for't: these are now the fashion, and so berattle the common stages, so they call them, that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose quills, and dare scarce come thither.—*Ham.* What, are they children? Who maintains 'em? How are they escoted?<sup>3</sup> Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing,"<sup>4</sup> &c. This was about the year 1599. The latter clause means, "Will they follow the profession of players, no longer than they keep the voices of boys, and sing in the choir?" So Hamlet afterwards says to the player, "Come, give us a taste of your quality: come, a passionate speech."<sup>5</sup> And perhaps he glances at the same set of actors in *Romeo and Juliet*, when a play or masque is proposed:

We'll have no Cupid, hood-wink'd with a scarf,  
Bearing a Tartar's painted bow of lath.—  
Nor a without-book prologue faintly spoke  
After the prompter.<sup>6</sup>

Some of these, however, were distinguished for their propriety of action, and became admirable comedians at the theatre of Blackfriars. There is a passage in Strafford's *Letters*, which seems to show, that the dispositions and accommodations at the theatre of Blackfriars were much better than we now suppose. "A little pique happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and the lord chamberlain, about a box at a new play in the Black-friers, of which the duke had got the key." The dispute was settled by the king.<sup>7</sup>

[There is, by the way, a] curious account of an order of the Privy

<sup>1</sup> They very frequently were joined by the choristers of Saint Paul's. It is a mistake that these were rival companies; and that because Jonson's *Poetaster* was acted in 1601 by the boys of the chapel, his antagonist Decker got his *Satiromastix*, an answer to Jonson's play, to be performed (out of opposition) by those of St. Paul's. Lyly's comedies, and many others, were acted by the children of both choirs in conjunction. It is certain that Decker sneers at Jonson's interest with the Master of the Revels, in procuring his plays to be acted so often at court. "*Sir Vaughan.* I have some cossen-germans at court shall beget you the reversion of the master of the king's revels, or else to be his lord of misrule nowe at Christmas." Sign. G 3, Decker's *Satiromastix*, 1602. Again, sign. M. "When your plays are misliked at court, you shall not crie mew like a puffed-cat, and say you are glad you write out of the courtier's element." On the same idea the satire is founded of sending Horace (or Jonson) to court, to be dubbed a poet, and of bringing "the quivering bride to court in a maske," &c. *Ibid.* signat. I 3.

<sup>2</sup> nest of young hawks.

<sup>3</sup> A& ii. sc. [2, edit. *ut sup.* vii. 140.]

<sup>4</sup> A& i. sc. [4, edit. *ut sup.* vi. 401.]

<sup>5</sup> G. Garrard to the Lord Deputy, Jan. 25, 1635, vol. i. p. 511, edit. 1739.

<sup>6</sup> paid.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* [p. 143.]

Council, in 1633, "hung up in a table near Paules and Black-fryars, to command all that resort to the play-house there, to send away their coaches, and to disperse abroad in Paules Church-yard, carter-lane, the conduit in fleet-street."<sup>1</sup> Another of Garrard's letters, dated 1637, mentions a play at this theatre, which "cost three or four hundred pounds setting out; eight or ten suits of new cloaths he [the author] gave the players, an unheard of prodigality!"<sup>2</sup>

It appears by the Prologue of Chapman's *All Fools*, a comedy presented at Blackfriars, and printed in 1605, that only the spectators of rank and quality sat on the stage :

To fair attire the stage  
Helps much; for if our other audience see  
You on the stage depart before we end,  
Our wits go with you all, &c.

Among the children of Queen Elizabeth's chapel, was one Salvadore Pavy, who acted in Jonson's two dramas *Poetaster* and *Cynthia's Revels*, and was inimitable in his representation of the character of an old man. He died about thirteen years of age, and is thus elegantly celebrated in one of Jonson's epigrams :

*An Epitaph on S. P. a child of queene Elizabeth's chapell.*

Weep with me, all you that read  
This little story :  
And know, for whom a teare you shed  
Deaths selfe is sorry.  
Twas a child, that so did thrive  
In grace and feature,  
As Heaven and Nature seem'd to strive  
Which own'd the creature.  
Yeares he numbred scarce thirteene,  
When Fates turn'd cruell;  
Yet three fill'd zodiackes had he beene  
The Stages Jewell :  
And did acte, what now we moane,  
Old men so duely;  
As, sooth, the Parcæ thought him one,  
He plaid so truely.  
So, by errour, to his fate  
They all consented;  
But viewing him since, alas, too late,  
They have repented :  
And have sought, to give new birthe,  
In bathes to steep him :  
But, being so much too good for earthe,  
Heaven vowes to keep him.<sup>3</sup>

To this ecclesiastical origin of the drama we must refer the plays acted by the Society of the Parish Clerks of London for eight days successively at Clerkenwell (which thence took its name) in the presence of most of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, in the years 1390 and 1409. In the ignorant ages, the Parish Clerks of London might justly be considered as a literary society. It was an essential

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. 150.

<sup>3</sup> *Epigrammes*, Epig. cxx. [edit. 1816 of Works, viii. 229-30.]

part of their profession not only to sing but to read : [the latter] an accomplishment almost solely confined to the clergy : and on the whole they seem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild or fellowship by Henry III. about 1240 under the patronage of St. Nicholas. It was anciently customary for men and women of the first quality, ecclesiastics and others, who were lovers of church-music, to be admitted into this corporation : and they gave large gratuities for the support or education of many persons in the practice of that science. Their public feasts, which I have already mentioned, were frequent, and celebrated with singing and music ; most commonly at Guildhall Chapel or College.<sup>1</sup> Before the Reformation, this society was constantly hired to assist as a choir, at the magnificent funerals of the nobility or other distinguished personages, celebrated within the city of London or in its neighbourhood. The splendid ceremonies of their anniversary procession and mas in 1554 are thus related by Strype, from an old chronicle. " May the sixth, was a goodly even-song at Guildhall college by the Masters of the Clerks and their Fellowship, with singing and playing ; and the morrow after was a great mas at the same place, and by the same fraternity : when every clerk offered an halfpenny. The mas was sung by diverse of the queen's [Mary's] chapel and children. And after mas done every clerk went their procession, two and two together ; each having on a surplice and a rich cope, and a garland. And then, fourscore standards, streamers, and banners ; and each one that bare them had an albe or a surplice. Then came in order the waits playing : and then thirty clarkes, singing *Festa dies*. There were four of these choirs. Then came a canopy, borne over the Sacrament by four of the masters of the clarkes, with staffe torches burning,"<sup>2</sup> &c. Their profession, employment and character naturally dictated to this spiritual brotherhood the representation of plays, especially those of the scriptural kind : and their constant practice in shews, processions and vocal music easily accounts for their address in detaining the best company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce for more than a week.

Before I conclude this inquiry, a great part of which has been taken up in endeavouring to shew the connection between places of education and the stage, it ought to be remarked that the ancient fashion of acting plays in the Inns of Court, which may be ranked among seminaries of instruction, although for a separate profession, is deducible from this source. The first representation of this sort which occurs on record, and is mentioned with any particular circumstances, was at Gray's-inn. John Roos or Roo, student at Gray's-Inn, and created a serjeant at law in the year 1511, wrote a comedy which was acted at Christmas in the hall of that society in the year 1527. This piece, [although written many years before, when the cardinal was unknown, was construed personally by] Wolsey, and the

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Surv. Lond.* [edit. 1720,] lib. v. p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> *Eccles. Mem.* vol. iii. ch. xiii. p. 121.

author was degraded and imprisoned.<sup>1</sup> In 1550, under the reign of Edward VI., an order was made in the same society that no comedies, commonly called Interludes, should be acted in the refectory in the intervals of vacation, except at the celebration of Christmas: and that then the whole body of students should jointly contribute towards the dresses, scenes, and decorations.<sup>2</sup> In 1561, Sackville's tragedy of *Ferrex and Porrex* was presented before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple.<sup>3</sup> In 1566, the *Supposes*, a comedy, [a prose paraphrase of the *Suppositi* of Ariosto by George Gascoigne, and *Jocasta*,<sup>4</sup> a dramatic adaptation of the *Phæniçæ* of Euripides, the joint work of Gascoigne, Francis Kinwelmersh, and Christopher Yelverton, were produced at Gray's-Inn.] Decker, in his *Satiromastix*, 1602, accuses Jonson of having stolen some jokes from the Christmas plays of the lawyers. "You shall sweare not to bumbast out a new play with the old linyng of jestes stolne from the Temple-revells."<sup>5</sup> In the year 1632 it was ordered in the Inner Temple, that no play should be continued after twelve at night, not even on Christmas-Eve.<sup>6</sup>

But these societies seem to have shone most in the representation of Masques, a branch of the old drama. So early as the year 1431, it was ordered that the society of Lincoln's-Inn should celebrate four revels on four grand festivals every year, which I conceive to have consisted in great measure of this species of impersonation. It is not, however, exactly known whether these revels were not simply Dances: for Dugdale says that the students of this inn "anciently had dancings for their recreation and delight;<sup>7</sup> and he adds that in 1610 the under barristers, for example's sake, were put out of commons by decimation, because they offended in not dancing on Candlemas-day, when the Judges were present, according to an antient order of the society. In an old comedy, called *Cupid's Whirligig*, acted in 1616 by the children of his majesty's revels, a law student, one of the persons of the drama, says to a lady, "Faith, lady, I remember the first time I saw you was in quadrageffimo-sexto of the queene, in a michaelmas tearme, and I think it was the morrow upon *menfe Michaelis* or *crastino Animarum*, I cannot tell which. And the next time I saw you was at our Revells, where it pleased your ladyship to grace me with a galliard; and I shall never forget it, for my velvet pantables [pantofles]

<sup>1</sup> [Collier's *Hist. of Dram. Poetry*, 1831, i. 104.]

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale, *Orig. Jurid.* cap. 67, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> [Printed in 1565, 8vo., and 1590, 4to.; but both these impressions are spurious. The genuine edition, printed by John Day (circa 1570, 8vo.), purports to be "set forth, without addition or alteration, but altogether as the same was shewed on stage before the queenes maiestie."]

<sup>4</sup> [A copy of this drama, apparently the MS. presented in 1568 by Gascoigne, to Roger, Lord North, was sold among the Guilford MSS. It is a folio of 38 leaves, beautifully written, and contains the autograph signature of Gascoigne to those portions which he contributed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Satiromastix*, edit. 1602, *ut sup.* signat. M.

<sup>6</sup> Dugd. *ut sup.* cap. 57, p. 140, *seq.* also c. 61, 205.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* col. 2.

were stolne away the whilst." But this may also allude to their masques and plays.<sup>1</sup>

[On the 15th February, 1612-13,] the Inns presented at Whitehall a masque before James I. in honour of the marriage of his daughter the Princess Elizabeth with the Prince Elektor Palatine of the Rhine, at the cost of more than 1,080*l*.<sup>2</sup> The poetry was by Chapman and the machinery by [Inigo] Jones.<sup>3</sup> But the most splendid and sumptuous performance of this kind, played by these societies, was the masque which they exhibited at Candlemas-day, in the year 1633, at the expense of [upwards of 21,000*l*.] before Charles I., which so pleased the king and probably the queen, that he invited one hundred and twenty gentlemen of the law to a similar entertainment at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday following.<sup>4</sup> It was called the *Triumph of Peace*, and written by Shirley [a member] of Gray's-Inn. The scenery was the invention of Jones, and the music was composed by William Lawes and Simon Ives.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sign. H 2, edit. 1616.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale, *ibid.* p. 246. The other societies seem to have joined. *Ibid.* cap. 67, p. 286. See also Finett's *Philoxenis*, pp. 8, 11, edit. 1656, and *ibid.* p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> "With a description of the whole shew, in the manner of their march on horseback to the court from the Master of the Rolls his house," &c. It is dedicated to Sir E. Philipps, Master of the Rolls. But we find a masque on the very same occasion [exhibited on the 20th February, 1612-13] at Whitehall before the king and queen, called *The Masque of [the Inner Temple and Grayes-Inns]* by Beaumont in the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, [edit. Dyce, ii.]

<sup>4</sup> Dugd. *ibid.* p. 346.

<sup>5</sup> It was printed [three times in 1633. "The third impression has considerable variations from the others both in the description and in the performances of the anti-masks."—*Collier*. Mr. Dyce seems unable to decide which appeared first. As to the cost of the masque, compare Shirley's works, edit. 1833, i. xxvii.-viii.] The author says, that it exceeded in variety and richness of decoration, anything ever exhibited at Whitehall. There is a little piece called *The Inns of Court Anagrammatist*, or *The Masquers Masqued in Anagrams*, written by Francis Lenton, [who calls himself] the queen's poet, 1634. In this piece, the names and respective houses of each masquer are specified; and in commendation of each there is an epigram. The masque with which his majesty returned this compliment on the Shrove-Tuesday following [Feb. 18, 1633-4], at Whitehall was *Cælum Britannicum*, written by the king's command, and played by his majesty, with many of the nobility and their sons who were boys. The machinery by Jones, and the music by H. Lawes. [It is alluded to in Strafford's Letters, 360. The list of the masquers is on the last page of the 4to edit. of 1634. See Carew's Works, by Hazlitt, 1870, p. 235.] Middleton [wrote the] *Inner Temple Masque*, or *the Masque of Heroes*, presented as an entertainment for many worthy ladies, by the members of that society, [and printed in 1619]. I have also seen the *Masque of Flowers*, acted by the students of Gray's-inn, in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, on Twelfth Night in 1613. It is dedicated to Sir F. Bacon, and was printed in 1614. It was the last of the court-solemnities exhibited in honour of Carr, Earl of Somerset. [In the library of the Music School at Oxford, are two large volumes in the hand-writing of W. Lawes, one of which contains some fragments of the music which he wrote for the celebrated masque, *The Triumph of Peace*. W. Lawes, as well as his brother Henry, whose character and attainments procured him the proud distinction of Milton's friendship, was rather distinguished as a composer by the simplicity and easy flow of his melodies, than by any display of those masterly combinations of harmony which adorn the church and chamber music of the preceding age.—*Edgar Taylor*.]

Some curious anecdotes of this exhibition are preserved by a contemporary, a diligent and critical observer of those seemingly insignificant occurrences, which acquire importance in the eyes of posterity, and are often of more value than events of greater dignity. "On Monday after Candlemas-day, the gentlemen of the inns of court performed their *Masque* at Court. They were sixteen in number, who rode through the streets,<sup>1</sup> in four chariots, and two others to carry their pages and musicians; attended by an hundred gentlemen on great horses, as well clad as ever I saw any. They far exceeded in bravery [splendour] any *Masque* that had formerly been presented by those societies, and performed the dancing part with much applause. In their company was one Mr. Read of Gray's-inn, whom all the women and some men cried up for as handsome a man as the duke of Buckingham. They were well used at court by the king and queen. No disgust given them, only this one accident fell: Mr. May, of Gray's-inn, a fine poet, he who translated Lucan, came athwart my lord chamberlain in the banquetting-house,<sup>2</sup> and he broke his staff over his shoulders, not knowing who he was; the king was present, who knew him, for he calls him his poet, and told the chamberlain of it, who sent for him the next morning, and fairly excused himself to him, and gave him fifty pounds in pieces. This riding-shew took so well, that both king and queen desired to see it again, so that they invited themselves to supper to my lord mayor's within a week after; and the Masquers came in a more glorious show with all the riders, which were increased twenty, to Merchant-taylor's hall, and there performed again."<sup>3</sup> It is added, "On Shrove-Tuesday at night, the king and the lords performed their *Masque*. The templars were all invited, and well pleased," &c.<sup>4</sup> It seems the queen and her ladies were experienced actresses: for the same writer says (Jan. 9, 1633-4): "I never knew a duller Christmas than we had at Court this year; but one play all the time at Whitehall! . . . The queen had some little infirmity, which made her keep in: only on Twelfth-night, she feasted the king at Somerset-house, and presented him with a play, newly studied, long since printed, the *Faithful Sheperdes* [of Fletcher] which the king's players acted in the robes she and her ladies acted their *Pastoral* in the last year."<sup>5</sup> Again, Nov. 9, 1637, "Here are to be two masks this winter; one at Christmas, which the king and the young noblesse do make; the other at Shrovetide, which the queen and her ladies do present to the king. A great room is now building only for this use betwixt the guard chamber and the banquetting-house, and of fir"<sup>6</sup> . . . Finett observes:

<sup>1</sup> They went from Ely house.

<sup>2</sup> at Whitehall.

<sup>3</sup> *Strafford's Letters*, Garrard to the Lord Deputy, dat. Feb. 27, 1633, vol. i. p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> See also p. 177, and Fr. Osborn's *Tradit. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 134 (*Works*, edit. 1722).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 177.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 130. See also p. 140, *Philoxeni*, p. 198.

"There being a maske in practice of the queen in person, with other great ladies."<sup>1</sup> . . . . She was [also] an actress in Davenant's masque of the *Temple of Love*, with many of the nobility of both sexes. We have Jonson's *Chloridia* at Shrovetide, 1630: his Masque called *Love freed from Ignorance and Folly*, printed [1616: the Honourable Walter] Montagu's *Shepherd's [Paradise]*, a Pastoral, printed in [1659]: *Albion's Triumph*, the Sunday after Twelfth-night, 1631 [by Aurelian Townshend]: *Luminalia, or The Festival of Light*, a masque on Shrove-Tuesday in 1637: *Salmacida Spolia*, at Whitehall in 1639, the words by Davenant, and the music by Lewis Richard, master of her majesty's music. *Tempe restored* was performed by fourteen ladies on Shrove-Tuesday at Whitehall, 1631. The words were by Aurelian Townsend. The king acted in some of these pieces. In the preceding reign, Queen Anne had given countenance to this practice; and (I believe) she was the first of our queens that appeared personally in this most elegant and rational amusement of a court. She acted in Daniel's masque of *The Vision of the twelve Goddesses*, with eleven other ladies, at Hampton-court, in 1604; in Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, at Whitehall, in 1609; in Daniel's *Tethys Festival* [or the *Queens Wake*],<sup>2</sup> a masque at the creation of Prince Henry, Jun. 5, 1610. Daniel dedicates to this queen a pastoral tragi-comedy, in which she perhaps performed, called *Hymen's Triumph*. It was presented at Somerset-house, where she magnificently entertained the king on occasion of the marriage of Lord Roxburgh. Many others, I presume, might be added. Among the entertainments at Rutland-house, composed in the reign of Charles I. there [are two pieces by Davenant, described elsewhere, and said to have been performed by declamation and music.

After the Restoration, when the dignity of the old monarchical manners had suffered a long eclipse from a Calvinistic usurpation, a feeble effort was made to revive these liberal and elegant amusements at Whitehall. For, about the year 1675, Queen Catherine ordered Crowne to write a Pastoral called *Calisto*, which was acted at court by the ladies Mary and Anne daughters of the duke of York, and the young nobility. About the same time Lady Anne, afterwards queen, played the part of Semandra in Lee's *Mitridates*. The young noblemen were instructed by Betterton, and the princesses by his wife; who perhaps conceived Shakespeare more fully than any female that ever appeared on the stage. In remembrance of her theatrical instructions, Anne, when queen, assigned Mrs. Betterton an annual pension of one hundred pounds.<sup>3</sup>

This was an early practice in France. In 1540, Margaret de Valois, Queen of Navarre, wrote Moralities which she called *Pastorals*, to be acted by the ladies of her court.

<sup>1</sup> Whitelock, *sub an.* 1632.

<sup>2</sup> Winwood, iii. 180. [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Davenant*.]

<sup>3</sup> Langb. *Dram. P.* p. 92, edit. 1691. Cibber's *Apol.* p. 134.

But it was not only by the parade of processions and the decorations of scenery, that these spectacles were recommended. Some of them, in point of poetical composition, were eminently beautiful and elegant. Among these may be mentioned a masque on the story of Circe and Ulysses, called the *Inner Temple Masque*, written by William Browne, a student of that society, [and presented by the members on the 13th January, 1614-15.]<sup>1</sup> From this piece, as a specimen of the temple-masques in this view, I make no apology for my anticipation in transcribing the following ode, which Circe sings as a charm to drive away sleep from Ulysses, who is discovered reposing under a large tree. It is addressed to Sleep:

## THE CHARME.

Sonne of Erebus & Nighte,  
Hye away, and aime thy flighte,  
Where consort none other fowle  
Than the batte & sullen owle:  
Where, upon the lymber graffe,  
Poppy & Mandragoras,  
W<sup>th</sup> like simples not a few,  
Hange for euer dropes of dew:  
Where flowes Lethe, w<sup>th</sup>out coyle  
Softly like a streame of oyle.  
Hye thee hither, gentle Sleepe,  
W<sup>th</sup> this Greeke no longer keepe.  
Thrice I charge thee by my wand,  
Thrice w<sup>th</sup> moly from my hand  
Doe I touch Vlysses eyes,  
And w<sup>th</sup> the Jaspis. Then arise,  
Sagest Greeke.<sup>2</sup>

In praise of this song it will be sufficient to say, that it reminds us of some favourite touches in Milton's *Comus*, to which it perhaps gave birth. Indeed one cannot help observing here in general, although the observation more properly belongs to another place, that a masque thus recently exhibited on the story of Circe, which there is reason to think had acquired some popularity, suggested to Milton the hint of a masque on the story of *Comus*. It would be superfluous to point out minutely the absolute similarity of the two characters: they both deal in incantations conducted by the same mode of operation, and producing effects exactly parallel.

When the societies of the law performed these shows within their own respective refectories at Christmas or any other festival, a Christmas-prince or revel-master was constantly appointed. At a Christmas celebrated in the hall of the Middle-temple in the year 1635, the jurisdiction, privileges, and parade, of this mock-monarch

<sup>1</sup> [The original MS. is still in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. It was printed, not very correctly, by Davies in his edition of Browne, 1772. A complete edition of Browne's works has been included by the present writer in the *Roxburghe Library Series*, 1869-70, 2 vols. 4to. where it is thought that the reader will find all that we can ever hope to learn of Browne's life or to recover of his poetry.]

<sup>2</sup> [Collated with the orig. MS.]

are thus circumstantially described.<sup>1</sup> He was attended by his lord keeper, lord treasurer, by eight white staves, a captain of his band of pensioners and of his guard; and by two chaplains, who were so seriously impressed with an idea of his regal dignity, that when they preached before him on the preceding Sunday in the Temple church, on ascending the pulpit, they saluted him with three low bows.<sup>2</sup> He dined, both in the hall and in his privy-chamber, under a cloth of estate. The pole-axes for his gentlemen pensioners were borrowed of Lord Salisbury. Lord Holland, his temporary justice in Eyre, supplied him with venison on demand, and the lord mayor and sheriffs of London with wine. On Twelfth-day, at going to church, he received many petitions, which he gave to his master of requests; and, like other kings, he had a favourite whom with others, gentlemen of high quality, he knighted at returning from church. His expenses, all from his own purse, amounted to 2000*l*.<sup>3</sup> We are also told that in the year 1635, "On Shrovetide at night, the Lady Hatton feasted the king, queen, and princes, at her house in Holborn. The Wednesday before the *Prince of the Temple* invited the Prince Elector and his brother to a masque at the Temple,"<sup>4</sup> which was very completely fitted for the variety of the scenes, and excellently well performed. Thither came the queen with three of her ladies disguised, all clad in the attire of citizens. This done, the prince was deposed, but since the king knighted him at Whitehall."<sup>5</sup>

But these spectacles and entertainments in our law societies, not so much because they were romantic and ridiculous in their mode of exhibition as that they were institutions celebrated for the purposes of merriment and festivity, were suppressed or suspended under the false and illiberal ideas of reformation and religion which prevailed in the fanatical court of Cromwell. The countenance afforded by a polite court to such entertainments became the leading topic of animadversion and abuse in the miserable declamations of the Puritan theologists, who attempted the business of national reformation without any knowledge of the nature of society, and whose censures

<sup>1</sup> See also Dugd. *Orig. Jurid.* p. 151, where many of the circumstances of this officer are described at large; he also mentions, at Lincoln's-inn, a *King of the Cockneys* on Childermas-day, cap. 64, p. 247. [This has been preceded in the former edit. of Warton by a long argument respecting a passage in Hen. IV., part 2, iii. 3, where there is a conversation touching on Shallow and Falstaff's old recollections of the archery meetings on Mile-End Green, mistaken by Warton for dramatic entertainments.]

<sup>2</sup> This ceremonial, to the honour and pious memory of George III. was laid aside in his reign.

<sup>3</sup> Strafford's *Letters*, ut supra, vol. i. p. 507. The writer adds, "All this is done to make them fit to give the prince elector a royal entertainment, with masks, dancings, and some other exercises of wit in orations or arraignments, that day they invite him."

<sup>4</sup> This was Davenant's *Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour*, written at their request, for the purpose, in three days. The music by H. and W. Lawes. The names of the performers are at the end. [Compare Hazlitt's *Popular Antiquities of Gr. Britain*, i. 275-6.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 525. The writer adds, "Mrs. Basset, the great lace-woman of Cheap-side, went foremost, and led the queen by the hand," &c. See *ibid.* p. 506.

proceeded not so much from principles of a purer morality as from a narrowness of mind, and from that ignorance of human affairs which necessarily accompanies the operations of enthusiasm.

## SECTION XXXIV.



WE have now arrived at the commencement of the sixteenth century. But before I proceed to a formal and particular examination of the poetry of that century, some preliminary considerations of a more general nature which will have a reference to all the remaining part of our history, for the purpose of preparing the reader and facilitating our future inquiries, appear to be necessary.

On a retrospect of the fifteenth century, we find much poetry written during the latter part of that period. It is certain that the recent introduction into England of the art of typography, to which our countrymen afforded the most liberal encouragement, and which for many years was almost solely confined to the impression of English books, the fashion of translating the classics from French versions, the growing improvements of the English language, and the diffusion of learning among the laity, greatly contributed to multiply English composition, both in prose and verse. These causes, however, were yet immature, nor had they gathered a sufficient degree of power and stability to operate on our literature with any vigorous effects.

But there is a circumstance which, among some others already suggested, impeded that progression in our poetry which might yet have been expected under all these advantages. A revolution, the most fortunate and important in most other respects, and the most interesting that occurs in the history of the migration of letters, now began to take place; this, by diverting the attention of ingenious men to new modes of thinking and the culture of new languages, introduced a new course of study, and gave a temporary check to vernacular composition. I mean the revival of classical learning.

In the course of these Annals we must have frequently remarked, from time to time, striking symptoms of a restless disposition in the human mind to rouse itself from its lethargic state, and to break the bonds of barbarism. After many imperfect and interrupted efforts this mighty deliverance, in which the mouldering Gothic fabrics of false religion and false philosophy fell together, was not effectually completed till the close of the fifteenth century. An event, almost fortuitous and unexpected, gave a direction to that spirit of curiosity and discovery, which had not yet appeared in its full force and extent for want of an object. About the year 1453 the dispersion of the Greeks, after Constantinople had been occupied by the Turks, became the means of gratifying that natural love of novelty which has so frequently led the way to the noblest improvements, by the

introduction of a new language and new books, and totally changed the state of letters in Europe. But it should be remembered that some learned Grecians, foreseeing the persecutions impending over their country, frequented Italy, and taught their language there before the taking of Constantinople. Some Greeks who attended the Florentine council, and never returned for fear of the Turks, founded the present royal library in the city of Turin. In 1401 the Greek emperor, unable to resist the frequent insults of these barbarians, came into England to seek redress or protection from Henry IV. He landed at Dover attended by many learned Greeks, and the next day was honourably received at Christ Church priory at Canterbury by the Prior, Thomas Chyllenden.<sup>1</sup>

This great change commenced in Italy, a country (from many circumstances) above all others peculiarly qualified and prepared to adopt such a deviation. Italy, during the darkest periods of monastic ignorance, had always maintained a greater degree of refinement and knowledge than any other European country. In the thirteenth century, when the manners of Europe appear to have been overwhelmed with every species of absurdity, its luxuries were less savage and its public spectacles more rational than those of France, England and Germany. Its inhabitants were not only enriched but enlightened by that flourishing state of commerce which its commodious situation, aided by the combination of other concomitant advantages, contributed to support. Even from the time of the irruptions of the northern barbarians, some glimmerings of the ancient erudition still remained in this country; and in the midst of superstition and false philosophy, repeated efforts were made in Italy to restore the Roman classics. To mention no other instances, Alberto [or Albertino] Mussato<sup>2</sup> of Padua, a commander in the Paduan army against the Veronese, wrote two Latin tragedies: *Ecerrinis*<sup>3</sup> (or the fate of the tyrant Ecerinus of Verona) and *Achilleis*, on the plan of the Greek drama and in imitation of Seneca, before the year 1320. The many monuments of legitimate sculpture and architecture, preserved in Italy, had there kept alive ideas of elegance and grace; and the Italians, from their familiarity with those precious remains of antiquity so early as the close of the fourteenth century, had laid the rudiments of their perfection in the

<sup>1</sup> In a manuscript called *Speculum Parvulorum*, lib. 5, c. 30. MSS. Bibl. Lambeth.

<sup>2</sup> He was honoured with the laurel, and died 1329.

<sup>3</sup> Printed at Venice, 1636, fol. with his *Epistolæ*, *Elegi*, *Soliloquia*, *Ecloge*, *Cento Ovidianus*, *Latin History of Italy*, and *Bavarus ad Filium*. And in Muratori's *Rer. Ital. Scriptor.* tom. x. Mediolan. 1727, pp. 1, 123, 569, 769, 785. See also in *Thesaur. Ital.* tom. vi. part ii. Lugd. Bat. 1722. Among his inedited works are mentioned, *Liber de Lite Naturæ et Fortuna*, on natural causes and fate, and three books in heroic verse, on the war against the Veronese above mentioned. The name and writings of Mussato were hardly known, till they were brought forward to the public notice in the *Essay on Pope* [by Dr. Joseph Warton], which I shall not be accused of partiality (as I only join the voice of the world) in calling the most agreeable and judicious piece of criticism produced by the age.

ancient arts. Another circumstance which had a considerable share in clearing the way for this change, and which deserves particular attention, was the innovation introduced into the Italian poetry by Petrarch who, inspired with the most elegant of passions, and clothing his exalted feelings on that delicate subject in the most melodious and brilliant Italian versification, had totally eclipsed the barbarous beauties of the Provençal troubadours; and by this new and powerful magic had in an eminent degree contributed to reclaim, at least for a time, the public taste from a love of Gothic manners and romantic imagery.

In this country, so happily calculated for their favourable reception, the learned fugitives of Greece, when their empire was destroyed, found shelter and protection. Hither they imported, and here they interpreted, their ancient writers whose works had been preserved entire at Constantinople. These, being eagerly studied by the best Italian scholars, communicated a taste for the graces of genuine poetry and eloquence, and at the same time were instrumental in propagating a more just and general relish for the Roman poets, orators, and historians. In the meantime a more elegant and sublime philosophy was adopted: a philosophy more friendly to works of taste and imagination, and more agreeable to the sort of reading which was now gaining ground. For the scholastic subtleties and the captious logic of Aristotle were substituted the mild and divine wisdom of Plato.

It was a circumstance, which gave the greatest splendour and importance to this new mode of erudition, that it was encouraged by the popes, who, considering the encouragement of literature as a new expedient to establish their authority over the minds of men, and enjoying an opulent and peaceable dominion in the voluptuous region of Italy, extended their patronage on this occasion with a liberality so generous and unreserved, that the court of Rome on a sudden lost its austere character, and became the seat of elegance and urbanity. Nicholas V., about 1440, established public rewards at Rome for composition in the learned languages, appointed professors in humanity, and employed intelligent persons to traverse all parts of Europe in search of classic manuscripts buried in the monasteries.<sup>1</sup> It was by means of the munificent support of Pope Nicholas, that Cyriac of Ancona, who may be considered as the first antiquary in Europe, was enabled to introduce a taste for gems, medals, inscriptions, and other curious remains of classical antiquity, which he collected with indefatigable labour in various parts of Italy and Greece.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Dominici Georgii *Dissertatio de Nich. quinti erga Lit. et Literat. Viris Patrocinio*, Rom. 1743. Added to his *Life*.

<sup>2</sup> See Fr. Burmanni *Prefat. ad Inscription. Gruterian.* Amstel. 1707, Baluz. *Miscell.* tom. vi. p. 539. Ant. Augustini *Dialog. de Numismat.* ix. xi. Vols. *De Histor. Lat.* p. 809. His *Itinerarium* was printed at Florence, 1742. See Leon. Aretini *Epistol.* tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149. And *Giornal. de' Letterati d'Italia*, tom. xxi. p. 428. See the *Inscriptiones*, [many of which, however, are fabrications,] by P. Apianus and B. Amantius, Ingoldstat. 1634, at the *Monum. Gaditan.*

He allowed Francis Philelphus, an elegant Latin poet of Italy about 1450, a stipend for translating Homer into Latin.<sup>1</sup> Leo X., not less conspicuous for his munificence in restoring letters, descended so far from his apostolical dignity as to be a spectator of the *Poenulus* of Plautus, which was performed in a temporary theatre in the court of the Capitol by the flower of the Roman youth, with the addition of the most costly decorations:<sup>2</sup> and Leo, while he was pouring the thunder of his anathemas against the heretical doctrines of Martin Luther, [issued a licence for the publication of the poems of Ariosto, couched in the usual denunciatory terms against piracy].<sup>3</sup> It was under the pontificate of Leo, that a perpetual indulgence was granted for rebuilding the church of a monastery, which possessed a manuscript of Tacitus.<sup>4</sup> It is obvious to observe how little conformable this just taste, these elegant arts, and these new amusements proved in their consequences to the spirit of the papal system: and it is remarkable that the court of Rome, whose sole design and interest it had been for so many centuries to enslave the minds of men, should be the first to restore the religious and intellectual liberties of Europe. The apostolical fathers, aiming at a fatal and ill-timed popularity, did not reflect that they were shaking the throne, which they thus adorned.

Among those who distinguished themselves in the exercise of these studies, the first and most numerous were the Italian ecclesiastics. If not from principles of inclination and a natural impulse to follow the passion of the times, it was at least their interest to concur in forwarding those improvements, which were commended; countenanced and authorised by their spiritual sovereign: they abandoned the pedantries of a barbarous theology, and cultivated the purest models of antiquity. The cardinals and bishops of Italy composed Latin verses (and with a success attained by few in more recent times) in imitation of Lucretius, Catullus and Virgil. Nor would the encouragement of any other European potentate have availed so much in this great work of restoring literature: as no other patronage could have operated with so powerful and immediate an influence

<sup>1</sup> Philolph. *Epist.* xxiv. 1, xxxvi. 1. In the *Epistles* of Philolphus and in his ten books of *Satires* in Latin verse, are many curious particulars relating to the literary history of those times. Venet. fol. 1502. His *Nicolaus*, or two books of *Lyrics*, is a panegyric on the life and acts of Nicholas V.

<sup>2</sup> It was in 1513, on occasion of Julianus de Medicis, Leo's brother, being made free of Rome. P. Jovius, *Hist.* lib. xi. *ad calc.* and *Vit. Leon.* lib. iii. p. 145. Jovius says, that the actors were *Romane juventutis lepidissimi*, and that several pieces of poetry were recited at the same time. Leo was also present at an Italian comedy, written by Cardinal Bibiena, called *Calander*, in honour of the Dukes of Mantua. It was acted by noble youths in the spacious apartments of the Vatican, and Leo was placed in a sort of throne. Jov. in *Vit.* p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> [See Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.* vol. iv.—*Price*.]

<sup>4</sup> Paulus Jovius relates an anecdote of Leo X. which shows that some passages in the classics were studied at the court of Rome to very bad purposes. I must give it in his own words: "Non caruit etiam infamia, quod parum honeste nonnullos e cubiculariis suis (erant enim e tota Italia nobilissimi) adamare, et cum his tenerius atque libere jocari videretur." *Vita Leonis X.* p. 192.

on that order of men who, from the nature of their education and profession, must always be the principal instruments in supporting every species of liberal erudition.

[Not only on the *terra-ferma*, but at Venice, about this time in the zenith of her power and prosperity, rapid progress had been made in the cultivation of all liberal arts. The Venetians, not content with reading contemporary history, with mastering the intricacies of diplomacy, or with attaining the highest honours in the military profession, studied the language which Cicero spoke, the language of the *Anabasis*, and the language of Holy Writ. They applied themselves to the liberal, mechanical and occult sciences, and to the fine arts. They became diligent scholiasts. They searched for MSS. with an avidity eclipsing that of De Bure. They formed libraries, some of which were far larger than the public collections at Oxford or Paris. Some gave gratuitous instruction in the *Elements of Euclid*; others lectured on *Ethics* or *Metaphysics*. A Trevifano devoted ten years to the composition of a single treatise, which he never lived to finish. A Giorgio naturalized among his countrymen the literature of the troubadours and the songs of Provence. To a Polo scientific men were indebted for the first book of travels in China, Kamtschatka, and Japan.]<sup>1</sup>

Here we cannot but observe the necessary connection between literary composition and the arts of design. No sooner had Italy banished the Gothic style in eloquence and poetry, than painting, sculpture and architecture, at the same time and in the same country, arrived at maturity, and appeared in all their original splendour. The beautiful or sublime ideas, which the Italian artists had conceived from the contemplation of ancient statues and ancient temples, were invigorated by the descriptions of Homer and Sophocles. Petrarch was crowned in the Capitol, and Raphael was promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal.

These improvements were soon received in other countries. Lascaris, one of the most learned of the Constantinopolitan exiles, was invited into France by Louis XII. and Francis I. : and it was under the latter of these monarchs that he was employed to form a library at Fontainebleau, and to introduce Greek professors into the University of Paris.<sup>2</sup> Yet we find Gregory Typhernas teaching Greek at Paris so early as 1472.<sup>3</sup> About the same time, Antonius Eparchus of Corsica sold one hundred Greek books to the Emperor Charles V. and to Francis I.,<sup>4</sup> those great rivals who agreed in nothing but in promoting the cause of literature. Francis I. maintained even a Greek secretary, the learned Angelus Vergerius, to whom he assigned in 1541 a pension of four hundred livres from his exche-

<sup>1</sup> [*History of the Venetian Republic*, 1860, iv. 198.]

<sup>2</sup> Du Breul, *Antiquitez de Paris*, 1639, liv. ii. p. 563. Bembì *Hist. Venet.* part ii. p. 76; and R. Simon, *Critique de la Bibl. Eccles.* par du Pin, tom. i. pp. 502, 512.

<sup>3</sup> Hody, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Morhoff, *Polyhist.* iv. 6.

quer.<sup>1</sup> He employed Julius Camillus to teach him to speak fluently the language of Cicero and Demosthenes in the space of a month; but so chimerical an attempt necessarily proved abortive: yet it shewed his passion for letters.<sup>2</sup> In 1474 the parliament of Paris which, like other public bodies eminent for their wisdom, could proceed on no other foundation than that of ancient forms and customs, and was alarmed at the appearance of an innovation, commanded a cargo of books (some of the earliest specimens of typography) which were imported into Paris by a factor of the city of Mentz, to be seized and destroyed. Francis I. would not suffer so great a dishonour to remain on the French nation; and although he interposed his authority too late for a revocation of the decree, he ordered the full price to be paid for the books. This was the same parliament that opposed the reformation of the calendar and the admission of any other philosophy than that of Aristotle. Such was Francis's solicitude to encourage the graces of a classical style, that he abolished the Latin tongue from all public acts of justice, because the first president of the parliament of Paris had used a barbarous term in pronouncing sentence;<sup>3</sup> and because the Latin code and judicial processes, hitherto adopted in France, familiarised the people with a base Latinity. At the same time, he ordered these formularies to be turned, not into good Latin which would have been absurd or impossible, but into pure French:<sup>4</sup> a reformation which promoted the culture of the vernacular tongue. He was the first of the kings of France, who encouraged brilliant assemblies of ladies to frequent the French court: a circumstance, which not only introduced new splendour and refinement into the parties and carousals of the court of that monarchy, but gave a new turn to the manners of the French ecclesiastics (who of course attended the king), and destroyed much of their monkish pedantry.<sup>5</sup>

When we mention the share which Germany took in the restitution of letters, she needs no greater panegyric than that her mechanical genius added, at a lucky moment, to all these fortunate contingencies in favour of science an admirable invention, which was of the most singular utility in facilitating the diffusion of the ancient writers over every part of Europe: I mean the art of printing. By this observation, I do not mean to insinuate that Germany kept no pace with her neighbours in the production of philological scholars. Rodolphus Langius, a canon of Munster and a tolerable Latin poet, after many struggles with the inveterate prejudices and authoritative threats of German bishops and German universities, opened a school

<sup>1</sup> Du Breul, *ibid.* p. 568. It is a just remark of P. Victorius, that Francis I., by founding beautiful Greek and Roman types at his own cost, invited many students, who were caught by the elegance of the impression, to read the ancient books. *Prefat. ad Comment. in octo libr. Aristotelis de Opt. Statu Civitat.*

<sup>2</sup> Alciati *Epistol.* xxiii. inter *Gudianas*, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Matagonis de Matagonibus *adversus Italogalliam Antonii Matharelli*, p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> Varillas, *Hist. de François I.* livr. ix. p. 381.

<sup>5</sup> Brantome, *Mem.* tom. i. p. 227. Mezerai, *Hist. France*, sous Hen. III. tom. iii. pp. 446, 447.

of humanity at Munster which supplied his countrymen with every species of elegant learning, till it was overthrown by the fury of fanaticism and the revolutions introduced by the barbarous reformations of the anabaptistic zealots in 1534.<sup>1</sup> Reuchlin, [dictus] Capnio, co-operated with the laudable endeavours of Langius by professing Greek before 1490 at Basle.<sup>2</sup> Soon afterwards he translated Homer, Aristophanes, Plato, Xenophon, Æschines and Lucian, into Latin, and Demosthenes into German. At Heidelberg he founded a library, which he stored with the choicest Greek MSS. It is worthy of remark, that the first public institution in any European university for promoting polite literature, by which I understand these improvements in erudition, appears to have been established at Vienna. In 1501, Maximilian I. who, like Julius Cæsar, had composed a commentary on his own illustrious military achievements, founded in the University of Vienna a College of Poetry. This society consisted of four professors: one for poetry, a second for oratory, and two others for mathematics. The professor of poetry was so styled, because he presided over all the rest: and the first person appointed to this office was Conradus Celtes [already mentioned,] one of the restorers of the Greek language in Germany, an elegant Latin poet, a critic on the art of Latin versification, the first poet-laureat of his country, and the first who introduced the practice of acting Latin tragedies and comedies in public after the manner of Terence.<sup>3</sup> It was the business of this professor to examine candidates in philology, and to reward those who appeared to have made a distinguished proficiency in classical studies with a crown of laurel. Maximilian's chief and general design in this institution was to restore the languages and the eloquence of Greece and Rome.<sup>4</sup>

Among the chief restorers of literature in Spain (about 1490), was Antonio de Lebrixa, one of the professors in the University of Alcalá, founded by the magnificent Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of

<sup>1</sup> D. Chytræus, *Saxonia*, l. iii. p. 80. Trithem. p. 993, *De S. E. Et de Luminarib. German.* p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> See *Epistol. Claror. Viror. ad Reuchlin.* p. m. 4. 17. Maius, *Vita Reuchlini*, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Celtes dedicates his *Amores* or Latin Elegies to Maximilian in a Latin panegyric prefixed; in which he compliments the emperor thus: "You who have this year endowed most liberally the muses long wandering, and banished from Germany by the calumnies of certain unskilful men, with a college and a perpetual stipend: having, moreover, according to a custom practised in my time at Rome, delegated to me and my successors, in your stead, the authority of creating and laureating poets in the said college," &c. *Paneg. Prim. ad Maximilian. Imp.* signat. a ii. *Amores*, &c. Noringb. 1502, 4to. The same author, in his *Description of the City of Nuremburgh*, written in 1501, mentions it as a circumstance of importance and a singularity, that a person skilled in the Roman literature had just begun to give lectures in a public building to the ingenuous youth of that city in poetry and oratory, with a salary of one hundred aurei, as was the practice in the cities of Italy. *Descript. Urb. Noringb.* cap. xii.

<sup>4</sup> See the imperial patent for erecting this college, in Freherus *German. Rerum Scriptior. Var.* &c. tom. ii. fol. Francof. 1602, p. 237, and by Van Seelen, Lubec, 1723; and in his *Select. Literar.* p. 488. In this patent, the purpose of the foundation is declared to be, "restituere abolitam præfici sæculi eloquentiam."

Toledo. It was to the patronage of Ximenes that Lebrixa owed his celebrity.<sup>1</sup> Profoundly versed in every species of sacred and profane learning, and appointed to the respectable office of royal historian, he chose to be distinguished only by the name of the grammarian,<sup>2</sup> that is, a teacher of polite letters. In this department he enriched the seminaries of Spain with new systems of grammar in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and with a view to reduce his native tongue to some critical laws he wrote comparative lexicons in the Latin, Castilian, and Spanish languages. These, at this time, were plans of a most extraordinary nature in Spain, and placed the literature of his country which, from the phlegmatic temper of the inhabitants was tenacious of ancient forms, on a much wider basis than before. To these he added a manual of rhetoric, compiled from Aristotle, Tully and Quintilian: together with commentaries on Terence, Virgil, Juvenal, Persius, and other classics. He was deputed by Ximenes, with other learned linguists, to superintend the grand complutensian edition of the Bible: and in the conduct of that laborious work, he did not escape the censure of heretical impiety for exercising his critical skill on the sacred text (according to the ideas of the Holy Inquisition) with too great a degree of precision and accuracy.<sup>3</sup>

Even Hungary, a country by no means advanced uniformly with other parts of Europe in the common arts of civilization, was illuminated with the distant dawning of science. Mattheus Corvinus, king of Hungary and Bohemia in the fifteenth century, and who died in 1490, was a lover and a guardian of literature.<sup>4</sup> He purchased innumerable volumes of Greek and Hebrew writers at Constantinople and other Grecian cities, when they were sacked by the Turks: and (as the operations of typography were now but imperfect) he employed at Florence many learned librarians to multiply copies of classics, both Greek and Latin, which he could not procure in Greece.<sup>5</sup> These, to the number of 50,000, he placed in a tower which he had erected in the metropolis of Buda;<sup>6</sup> and in this library he established thirty amanuenses, skilled in painting, illuminating and writing: who, under the conduct of Felix Ragusinus, a Dalmatian, consummately learned in the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages, and an elegant designer and painter of ornaments on vellum, attended incessantly to the business of transcription and decoration.<sup>7</sup> The librarian was Bartholomew Fontius, a learned Floren-

<sup>1</sup> See Nic. Anton. *Bibl. Nov. Hispan.* tom. i. pp. 104-9.

<sup>2</sup> L. Vives, *De Caussis Corruptarum Art.* ii. p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> See Alvarus Gomefius *De Vita Ximenis*, lib. ii. p. 43. Nic. Anton. *ut supr.* p. 109. Imbonatus, *Bibl. Latino-Hebr.* p. 315.

<sup>4</sup> See *Notit. Biblioth. Thoruniensis*, p. 32, by Petrus Jaenichiis, who has written a Dissertation *De meritis Matthie Corvini in rem literariam.*

<sup>5</sup> See Joh. Alex. Bracciani *Prefat. ad Salvianum*, Basil. 1530; and *Maderus de Bibliothecis*, pp. 145, 149.

<sup>6</sup> Anton. Bonfinii *Rev. Hungar.* Decad. iv. lib. 7, p. 460, edit. 1690.

<sup>7</sup> Belius, *Apparat. ad Hist. Hungar.* Dec. i. cap. 5.

tine, the writer of many philological works,<sup>1</sup> and a professor of Greek and oratory at Florence. When Buda was taken by the Turks in 1526, Cardinal Bozmanni offered for the redemption of this inestimable collection 200,000 pieces of the imperial money, yet without effect; for the barbarous besiegers defaced or destroyed most of the books, in the violence of seizing the splendid covers and the silver bosses and clasps with which they were enriched.<sup>2</sup> The learned Obsopaeus relates, that a book was brought him by an Hungarian soldier, which he had picked up (with many others) in the pillage of the library of Corvinus, and had preserved as a prize, merely because the covering retained some marks of gold and rich workmanship. This proved to be a MS. of the *Ethiopics* of Heliodorus; and from it, in 1534, Obsopaeus printed at Basle the first edition of that elegant Greek romance.<sup>3</sup>

But as this incidental sketch of the history of the revival of modern learning is intended to be applicable to the general subject of my work, I hasten to give a detail of the rise and progress of these improvements in England: nor shall I scruple, for the sake of producing a full and uniform view, to extend the enquiry to a distant period.

Efforts were made in our English universities for the revival of critical studies much sooner than is commonly imagined. So early as the year 1439, William Byngham, rector of St. John Zachary in London, petitioned Henry VI. in favour of his grammar scholars, for whom he had erected a commodious mansion at Cambridge, called God's House, which he had given to the College of Clare-hall: to the end that twenty-four youths, under the direction and government of a learned priest, might be there perpetually educated, and be thence transmitted (in a constant succession) to different parts of England, to those places where grammar schools had fallen into a state of desolation.<sup>4</sup> In the year 1498, Alcock, Bishop of Ely, founded Jesus College in Cambridge, partly for a certain number of scholars to be educated in grammar.<sup>5</sup> Yet there is

<sup>1</sup> Among other things, he wrote Commentaries on Persius, Juvenal, Livy, and Aristotle's Poetics. He translated the *Epistles of Phalaris* into the Tuscan language; and this version was published in [1471]. Crescimbeni has placed him among the Italian poets. Lambecius says, that in the year 1665, he was sent to Buda by the Emperor Leopold, to examine what remained in this library. After repeated delays and difficulties, he was at length permitted by the Turks to enter the room: where he saw about four hundred books, printed and of no value, dispersed on the floor, and covered with dust and filth. Lambecius supposes, that the Turks, knowing the condition of the books, were ashamed to give him admittance. *Comment. de Bibl. Vindobon.* lib. ii. c. ix. p. 993.

<sup>2</sup> *Collatio Madero-Schmidiana, Access.* 1, p. 310, seq. Belius, *ut supr.* tom. iii. p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> In the Preface. See Neandri *Prefat. ad Gnomolog. Stobaei*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> "Ubi scholæ grammaticales existunt desolatæ." Pat. Hen. VI. ann. reg. xvii. p. 2, memb. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Rymer, *Fæder.* xii. 653. We find early establishments of this sort in the Colleges of Paris. In the year 1304, Queen Jeanne founded the college of Navarre at Paris for thirty theologists, thirty artists, and twenty grammarians, who are also

reason to apprehend, that these academical pupils in grammar (with which the art of rhetoric was commonly joined), instead of studying the real models of style, were chiefly trained in systematic manuals of these sciences, filled with unprofitable definitions and unnecessary distinctions: and that, in learning the arts of elegance, they acquired the barbarous improprieties of diction which those arts were intended to remove and reform. That the foundations I have mentioned did not produce any lasting beneficial effects, and that the technical phraeology of metaphysics and casuistry still continued to prevail at Cambridge, appears from the following anecdote. In the reign of Henry VII. that university was so destitute of skill in latinity, that it was obliged to hire an Italian, one Caius Auberinus, for composing the public orations and epistles, whose fee was at the rate of twenty-pence for an epistle.<sup>1</sup> The same person was employed to explain Terence in the public schools.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly the same attention to a futile philosophy, to unintelligible elucidations of Scotus and Aquinas, notwithstanding the accessions accruing to science from the establishment of the Humfredian library, had given the same tincture to the ordinary course of studies at Oxford. For, about the year 1468, the university of Oxford complimented Chadworth, bishop of Lincoln, for his care and endeavours in restoring grammatical literature which, as they represent, had long decayed and been forgotten in that seminary.<sup>3</sup>

---

called "Enfans escholiers en grammaire." They are ordered to hear "lectiones, [readings], materias, et verbus, prout in scholis grammaticalibus consuevit." Boul. *Hist. Acad. Paris*. vol. iv. p. 74. But the college of Ave Maria at Paris, founded in 1339, is for a Master and six boys only, from nine to sixteen years. Boul. *ibid.* p. 261. The society of Merton college in Oxford, founded in 1272, originally maintained in the university such boys as claimed kindred to the founder, Bishop Walter de Merton, in grammar learning and all necessities, sometimes till they were capable of taking a degree. They were placed in Nunhall, adjoining to the college on the east. "Expens. factæ per Thomam de Herlyngton, pro pueris de genere fundatoris a fest. Epiph. usque ad fest. S. Petri ad vincula, 21 Edw. III. A.D. 1347."—*Item*, in filo albo et viridi, et ceteris pertinenciis, ad reparationem vestium tam artificum quam grammaticarum, vi d. *Item*, Mag. Joh. Cornubiensi pro salario scholæ, in tertio quadragesimali. x d. Et hostiano [usher] suo, ii d. ob. *Item*, Mag. Joh. Cornubiensi pro tertio estivali. x d. Et hostiario suo, ii d. ob." A. Wood, *MS. Coll. Merton College*. [Cod. MSS. Ballard. Bibl. Bodl. 46.]

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Bibl. C.C.C. Camb. *Miscell.* P. p. 194. *Officium magistri Glomerie*. I observe here, that Giles du Vadis, or Ægidius Dewes [or Du Wes,] successively royal librarian at Westminster to Henry VII. and VIII. was a Frenchman [?]. The last king granted him a salary for that office, of ten pounds, in the year 1522. *Priv. Sig.* 13 *Henr. VIII. Offic. Pell.* He was preceptor in French to Henry VIII. Prince Arthur, Princess Mary, the kings of France and Scotland, and the Marquis of Exeter. Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 230. He wrote at the command of Henry, *An Introduction for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to speak French trewly compiled for the [&c.] prince's Mary* [first printed about 1525.] See Pref. Palfgrave's *L'claircissement*.] He died in 1535 [and was buried at St. Olaves, Southwark. His *Introduction* is reprinted in the Paris edition of the *Eclaircissement*, 1852.]

<sup>2</sup> "Quod fecit admodum frigide, ut ea erant tempora." *Lib. Matt. Archiep. Parker*. (MSS. Baker), MSS. Harl. 7046, f. 125, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Registr. Univ. Oxon.* FF. [*Epistol. Acad.*] fol. 254. The Epistles in this Register contain many local anecdotes of the restoration of learning at Oxford.

But although these gleams of science long struggled with the scholastic cloud which enveloped our universities, we find the culture of the classics embraced in England much sooner than is supposed. Before the year 1490, many of our countrymen appear to have turned their thoughts to the revival of the study of classics: yet, chiefly in consequence of their communications with Italy, and (as most of them were clergymen) of the encouragements they received from the liberality of the Roman pontiffs. Such of our countrymen as wrote in Latin at this period, and were entirely educated at home without any connection with Italy, wrote a style not more classical than that of the monkish Latin annalists who flourished two or three centuries before. I will instance only Rofs of Warwick, author of the *Historia Regum Angliæ*, educated at Oxford, an ecclesiastic, and esteemed an eminent scholar. Nor is the plan of Rofs's *History*, which was finished so late as the year 1483, less barbarous than his latinity; for in writing a chronicle of the kings of England he begins, according to the constant practice of the monks, with the creation and the first ages of the world, and adopts all their legends and fables. His motives for undertaking this work are exceedingly curious. He is speaking of the method of perpetuating the memories of famous men by statues: "Also in our churches, tabernacles in stone-work, or niches, are wrought for containing images of this kind. For instance, in the new work of the College of Windsor [i.e. St. George's Chapel,] such tabernacles abound, both within and without the building. Wherefore, being requested, about the latter end of the reign of King Edward IV. by the venerable master Edward Seymor, Master of the Works there, and at the desire of the said king, to compile a history of those kings and princes who have founded churches and cities, that the images placed in those niches might appear to greater advantage, and more effectually preserve the names of the persons represented; at the instance of this my brother-student at Oxford, and especially at the desire of the said most noble monarch, as also to exhilarate the minds of his royal successors, I have undertaken this work," &c.<sup>1</sup>

Millyng, Abbot of Westminster about 1480, understood the Greek language, which yet is mentioned as a singular accomplishment in one, although a prelate, of the monastic profession.<sup>2</sup> Adam Efton, educated at Oxford, a Benedictine monk of Norwich, and who lived at Rome the greatest part of his life, is said to have written many pieces in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He died at Rome in 1397.<sup>3</sup> Leland mentions John Bate, a Carmelite of York about 1429, as a Greek scholar.<sup>4</sup> Robert Flemmyng studied the Greek and Latin languages under Battista Guarini at Ferrara,<sup>5</sup> and, at his return into England, was preferred to the deanery of Lincoln [on the

<sup>1</sup> Edit. Hearne, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Leland, *Scriptores*, in v.

<sup>3</sup> Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* v. *Batus*.

21st January, 1451-2.]<sup>1</sup> During the reign of Edward IV. he was at Rome, where he wrote an elegant Latin poem in heroic verse, entitled *Lucubrationes Tiburtinæ*, which he inscribed to Pope Sixtus, his singular patron.<sup>2</sup> It has these three chaste and strong hexameters, in which he describes the person of that illustrious pontiff:

Sane, quisquis in hunc oculos converterit acreis,  
In facie vultuque viri sublimis videbit  
Elucere aliquid, majestatemque verendam.

He was prothonotary to Pope Sixtus. In this poem he mentions Baptista Platina, the librarian at Rome who, together with most of the Italian scholars, was his familiar friend.<sup>3</sup> I know not whether one John Opicius, our countryman as it seems, and a Latin poet, improved his taste in Italy about this time: but he has left some copies of elegant Latin verses.<sup>4</sup>

Leland assures us, that he saw in the libraries of Oxford a Greco-Latin lexicon, compiled by Flemmyng, which has escaped my searches. He left many volumes beautifully written and richly illuminated to Lincoln College in Oxford, where he had received his academical education.<sup>5</sup> [Not long after] the same period, John Gunthorpe, [elected in 1472] Dean of Wells, keeper of the privy seal, and Master of King's Hall in Cambridge, also attended the philological lectures of Guarini: and for the polished latinity with which he wrote *Epistles* and *Orations*, compositions at that time much in use and request, was appointed by Edward IV. Latin Secretary to [his consort Anne] in the year 1487.<sup>6</sup> The MSS. collected in Italy, which he gave to both the universities of England, were of much more real value than the sumptuous silver image of the Virgin Mary, weighing 143 ounces, which he presented to his Cathedral of Wells.<sup>7</sup> William Grey imbibed under the same preceptors a knowledge of the best Greek and Roman writers: and in 1454 was advanced by Nicholas V. equally a judge and a protector of scholars, to the bishopric of Ely.<sup>8</sup> This prelate employed at Venice and Florence many scribes and illuminators<sup>9</sup> in preparing

<sup>1</sup> Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 62. Wharton, *Append.* p. 155. Bale, viii. 21. [Le Neve, *Fasti*, edit. Hardy, ii. 33.]

<sup>2</sup> Printed at Ferrara, 1477, in two books.

<sup>3</sup> See Carbo's Funeral Oration on Guarini.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Cotton. Vespas. B. iv. One is, *De regis Henrici Septimi in Galliam progressu*. It begins: "Bella canant alii Trojæ, prostrataque dicant." Another is, *De ejusdem laudibus sub pretextu rosæ purpureæ*, a dialogue between Mopius and Melibeus. One of the poems, *On Christmas*, has the date 1497.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Pat. 7. Edw. IV. m. 2. Five of his *Orations* before illustrious personages are extant, MSS. Bodl. NE. F. ii. 20. In the same MSS. are his *Annotationes quædam Criticæ in verba quædam apud poetas citata*. He gave many books (collected in Italy) to Jesus College at Cambridge. *Lel. Coll.* iii. 13. He was ambassador to the king of Castile, in 1466 and 1470. Rymer, *Fœd.* xi. 572, 653. Bale mentions his *Diversi generis Carmina* (viii. 42) and a book on rhetoric.

<sup>7</sup> *Registr. Eccles. Wellens.*

<sup>8</sup> Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 672. [Le Neve, edit. 1854, i. 339.]

<sup>9</sup> One of those was Antonius Marius. In Baliol College library, one of Bishop

copies of the classics and other useful books, which he gave to the library of Baliol College in Oxford,<sup>1</sup> at that time esteemed the best in the university. John Phreas, or Free, an ecclesiastic of Bristol, [and provost of Baliol College, Oxford,] receiving information from the Italian merchants who trafficked at Bristol, that multitudes of strangers were constantly crowding to the capitals of Italy for instruction in the learned languages, passed over to Ferrara, where he became a fellow-student with the prelate last mentioned, by whose patronage and assistance his studies were supported.<sup>2</sup> He translated Diodorus Siculus and many pieces of Xenophon into Latin.<sup>3</sup> On account of the former work, he was nominated Bishop of Bath and Wells by Paul II., but died before consecration in the year 1464,<sup>4</sup> ["non sine veneni suspicione."] His Latin Epistles, five of which are addressed to his patron the Bishop of Ely, discover an uncommon terseness and facility of expression. It was no inconsiderable testimony of the taste of Phreas, that he was requested by some of his elegant Italian friends to compose a new epitaph in Latin elegiacs for Petrarch's tomb: the original inscription in monkish rhymes not agreeing with the new and improved ideas of Latin versification.<sup>5</sup> William Sellynge, a fellow of All Souls College in Oxford, disgusted with the barren and contracted circle of philosophy taught by the irrefragable professors of that ample seminary, acquired a familiarity with the most excellent ancient authors, and cultivated the conversation of Politian at Bologna,<sup>6</sup> to whom he introduced the learned Linacer.<sup>7</sup> About 1460, he returned into England; and being elected prior of Christ Church at Canterbury, enriched the library of that fraternity with an inestimable collection of Greek and Roman MSS. which he had amassed in Italy.<sup>8</sup> It has been already stated

---

Gray's MSS. has this entry: "Antonius Marii filius Florentinus civis transcripti ab originalibus exemplaribus, 2 Jul. 1448," &c. MSS. lxviii. [*Apud* MSS. Langb. Bal. p. 81.] See Leland. *Coll.* iii. p. 21.

<sup>1</sup> Leland. *Coll.* ut sup. p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Among Phreas's *Epistles* in Baliol library, one is *Preceptori suo Guarino*, whose epistles are full of encomiums on Phreas, MSS. Bal. Coll. Oxon. G. 9. See ten of his epistles, five of which are written from Italy to Bishop Grey, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. ii. 20. In one of these he complains, that the bishop's remittances of money had failed, and that he was obliged to pawn his books and clothes to Jews at Ferrara.

<sup>3</sup> He also translated into Latin the *Panegyric on Baldness* of Synesius. Printed, Basil. 1521, 8vo. [Whence Abraham Fleming made his English translation, 1579. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. Fleming.] Leland mentions some flowing Latin heroics, which he addressed to his patron Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, in which Bacchus expostulates with a goat gnawing a vine. *Coll.* iii. 13; and *Scriptor.* v. Phreas. His *Cosmographia Mundi* is a collection from Pliny. Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 58. See MSS. Br. Twyne, 8, p. 285.

<sup>4</sup> See Leland, *Coll.* iii. 58. Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 76. [Le Neve, edit. 1854, i. 141.]

<sup>5</sup> See Leland, *Coll.* iii. 13, 63. Leland says that he had the new epitaph, "Novum ac elegans." *Scriptor.* v. Phreas. "Tuscia me genuit," &c.

<sup>6</sup> Leland, v. *Cellingus*.

<sup>7</sup> Id. *lit.* vi. f. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 177. In a monastic *Obituary*, cited by Wharton, he is said to be "Latina quoque et Græca lingua apprime institutus." It is added,

that among these books, which were all soon afterwards accidentally consumed by fire, there is said to have been a complete copy of Cicero's Platonic system of politics *De Republica*.<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Pole expended two thousand crowns in searching for Tully's Six Books *de Republica* in Poland, but without success.<sup>2</sup> Sturmius, in a letter to Ascham [dat. 30 Jan. 1552] says that a person in his neighbourhood had flattered him with a promise of this inestimable treasure. Barthius reports, that they were in the monastery of Fulda on vellum, but destroyed by the soldiers in a pillage of that convent.<sup>3</sup> Isaac Bullart relates that in 1576, during the siege of Moscow, some noble Polish officers, accompanied by one Voinuskus, a man profoundly skilled in the learned languages, made an excursion into the interior parts of Muscovy, where they found, among other valuable monuments of ancient literature, Tully's *Republic*, written in golden letters.<sup>4</sup> It is to be wished, that the same good fortune which may discover this work of Cicero, will also restore the remainder of Ovid's *Fasts*, the lost *Decads* of Livy, the *Anticatones* of Cæsar, and an entire copy of Petronius. Henry VII. sent Sellynge in the quality of an envoy to the king of France, before whom he spoke a most elegant Latin oration.<sup>5</sup> It is mentioned on his monument, now remaining in Canterbury Cathedral, that he understood Greek.<sup>6</sup>

Doct̃or theologus Selling, Græca atque Latina  
Lingua perdoctus.

This is an uncommon topic of praise in an abbot's epitaph. William Grocyn, a fellow at New College at Oxford, pursued the same path about the year 1488: and having perfected his knowledge of the Greek tongue, with which he had been before tinctured, at Florence under Demetrius Chalcondylas and Politian, and at Rome under Hermolaus Barbarus, became the first voluntary lecturer of that language at Oxford, before the year 1490.<sup>7</sup> Yet Polydore Vergil, perhaps only from a natural partiality to his country, affirms that Cornelius Vitellus, an Italian of noble birth and of the most accomplished learning, was the first who taught the Greek and Roman classics at Oxford.<sup>8</sup> Nor must I forget John Tiptoft, the

---

that he adorned the library over the prior's chapel with exquisite sculptures, and furnished it with books, and that he glazed the south side of the cloisters of his monastery for the use of his studious brethren, placing on the walls new texts or inscriptions, called *Caroli* or carols. *Angl. Sacr.* i. p. 145, seq.

<sup>1</sup> This is asserted on the authority of Leland. *Scriptor.* ut sup̃r. [See *sup̃r.* i. 214, note 4.]

<sup>2</sup> *Epistol. Aschami ad Sturm.* dat. 14 Sept. 1555, lib. i. p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Christiani Fuestell. *Miscellan.* p. 47. Compare Mabillon. *Mus. Italic.* tom. i. p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Acad. Art. Scient.* tom. p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> From his *Epitaph.*

<sup>6</sup> [In the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham is a MS. copy of a Homily of St. Chrysostom translated in 1488 from the Greek into Latin by Sellynge. A second copy is in the British Museum among the Additional MSS.—Madden.]

<sup>7</sup> Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxon.* i. 246. See Fiddes's *Wolsey*, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> *Angl. Histor.* lib. xxvi. p. 610. 30, edit. Basil, 1534. But he seems to have

unfortunate Earl of Worcester who, in the reign of Henry VI. rivalled the most learned ecclesiastics of his age in the diligence and felicity with which he prosecuted the politer studies. At Padua, his singular skill in refined Latinity endeared him to Pius II. and to the most capital ornaments of the Italian school.<sup>1</sup> His Latin Letters still remain, and abundantly prove his abilities and connections. In this correspondence, four letters are written by the earl, viz. To Laurence More, John Fre or Phreas, William Atteclyff, and Magister Vincent. To the earl are letters of Galeotus Martius, Baptista Guarini, and other anonymous friends.<sup>2</sup> He translated Cicero's dialogue on *Friendship* into English,<sup>3</sup> [and also the Commentaries of Cæsar *De Bello Gallico*, which were published about 1530. There is, moreover, from his pen *Ordinances for Justes of Peace Royal*, prepared in 1466 in the Earl's official capacity as Lord High Constable of England. These are printed in the *Antiquarian Repertory*]. He was the common patron of all his ingenious countrymen, who about this period were making rapid advances in a more rational and ample plan of study; and, among other instances of his unwearied liberality to true literature, he prepared a present of chosen MSS. books, valued at 500 marks, for the increase of the Humphredian library at Oxford, then recently instituted.<sup>4</sup> These books appear to have been purchased in Italy, at that time the grand and general mart of ancient authors, especially the Greek classics; for the Turkish emperors now seated at Constantinople, particularly Bajazet II., freely imparted these treasures to the Italian emissaries who, availing themselves of the fashionable enthusiasm, traded in the cities of Greece for the purpose of purchasing books, which they sold in Italy: and it was chiefly by means of this literary traffic, that Cosmo and Lorenzo de Medici, and their munificent successors the dukes of Florence, composed the famous Florentine library.<sup>5</sup>

---

only been a schoolmaster of Magdalen or New College. See Nic. Harpsfield, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 651, who says that this Vitellius spoke his first oration at New College. "Qui primam suam orationem in collegio Wiccamensi habuit."

<sup>1</sup> See Ware, *Script. Hibern.* ii. 133; *Camd. Brit.* p. 436; and the Funeral Oration of Ludovico Carbo on Guarini. [Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, occupied one of the professorships at Padua for some time. See *Hist. of the Venet. Rep.* iii. 426.]

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Eccles. Cathedr. Lincoln.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, iii. 110-11, note. See MSS. Harl. 4329. 2. 3. [It may be added here that Tiptoft is said by Caxton to be also the translator of the Declaration (attached) of Bonacursus de Montemagno (the younger). See Blades, ii. 92.] He has left other pieces.

<sup>4</sup> *Epist. Acad. Oxon.* 259. *Registr. F. F. f.* 121. I suspect that, on the Earl's execution in 1470, they were never received by the university. Wood, *Antiq. Un. Oxon.* ii. 50. Wood adds, that the Earl meditated a benefaction of the same kind to Cambridge.

<sup>5</sup> Many of them were sent into Italy by Lorenzo de Medicis, particularly John Lascaris. Varillas says, that Bajazet II. understood Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle. *Anecdotes de Florence*, p. 183. P. Jovii *Elog.* c. xxxi. p. 74. Lascaris also made a voyage into Greece by command of Leo X. and brought with him some Greek boys, who were to be educated in the college which that pope had founded on

As the Greek language became fashionable in the course of erudition, we find the petty scholars affecting to understand Greek. This appears from the following passage in Barclay's *Ship of Fools* written, as we have seen, about the [beginning of the sixteenth century]:

Another boasteth himself that hath bene  
In Greece at scholes, and many other lande;  
But if that he were apposed<sup>1</sup> well, I wene  
The Greekes letters he scant doth understand.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to what is here suggested, of our countrymen resorting to Greece for instruction, Rhenanus acquaints us that Lilly (the famous grammarian) was not only intimately acquainted with the whole circle of Greek authors, but with the domestic life and familiar conversation of the Greeks, he having lived some time in the island of Rhodes.<sup>3</sup> He stayed at Rhodes five years. This was about the year 1500. I have before mentioned a translation of the *Tactics* of Vegetius, written at Rhodes in 1459 by John Newton, evidently one of our countrymen, who perhaps studied Greek there.<sup>4</sup> It must, however, be remembered, that the passion for visiting the holy places at Jerusalem did not cease among us till the reign of Henry VIII.<sup>5</sup> William Wey, fellow of Eton College, celebrated *mas cum cantu organico* at Jerusalem in 1472.<sup>6</sup>

Barclay, in the same stanza, like a plain ecclesiastic, censures the prevailing practice of going abroad for instruction which, for a time at least, certainly proved of no small detriment to our English schools and universities:

But thou, wayne boaster, if thou wilt take in hand  
To study cunning,<sup>7</sup> and ydelnes despise,  
Th'royalme of England might for thee suffice:—  
In England is sufficient discipline,  
And noble men endowed with science, &c.

And in another place:<sup>8</sup>

Mount Quirinal, and who were intended to propagate the genuine and native pronunciation of the Greek tongue. Jov. *ut sup.* c. xxxi. [But the *original* Medicean library, or a portion of it, formed the basis of St. Mark's Library at Venice, having been given to the republic under the reign of Francesco Foscarei, while Cosimo de Medici was an exile on her territory. It was presented by the Duke Cosimo to San Giorgio Maggiore, but was afterwards amalgamated with the national collection. *Hist. of Venet. Rep.* iv. 370.]

<sup>1</sup> examined.

<sup>2</sup> Edit. 1570, *ut sup.* fol. 185, a.

<sup>3</sup> *Prefat. ad T. Mori Epigram.* edit. Basil. 1520.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. Laud. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. K. 53.

<sup>5</sup> See 1. *The Way to the Holy Land*, printed in 1515, and twice afterwards, by Wynkyn de Worde, and republished for the Roxburghe Club, 1824; 2. [*The pilgrimage of Sir Richard Gylforde, (Controller to Henry VII.) to the Holy Land*, printed in 1511, and reprinted for the Camden Society, 1851; and] 3. *The pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkyngton, parson of Mulberton in Norfolk, to Jerusalem*, An. 1517 [now lately added to the Additional MSS. British Museum].

<sup>6</sup> MSS. James. Bibl. Bodl. vi. 153. See his *Itineraries*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 2. 12. [Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1857.] In which are also some of his English rhymes on *The Way to Hierusalem*, [of which there are other copies.] He went twice thither.

<sup>7</sup> knowledge.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 54, a.

One runneth to Almayne, another into Fraunce,  
 To Paris, Padway,<sup>1</sup> Lombardy, or Spayne;  
 Another to Bonony,<sup>2</sup> Rome, or Orleauce,  
 To Cayns, to Thoulous,<sup>3</sup> Athens, or Colayne:<sup>4</sup>  
 And at the last returneth home agayne,  
 More ignoraunt.

Yet this practice was encouraged by some of our bishops, who had received their education in English universities. Richard Pace, one of our learned countrymen and a friend of Erasmus, was placed for education in grammar and music in the family of Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, who kept a domestic school within the precincts of his palace for training boys in these sciences. "Humaniores literas" (says my author) "tanti estimabat, ut domestica schola pueros ac juvenes ibi erudiendos curavit," &c. The bishop, who took the greatest pleasure in examining his scholars every evening, observing that young Pace was an extraordinary proficient in music, thought him capable of better things, and sent him, while yet a boy, to the university of Padua. He afterwards studied at Bologna: for the same bishop by will bequeaths to his scholar, Richard Pace, studying at Bononia, an exhibition of ten pounds annually for seven years.<sup>5</sup> At Padua, Pace was instructed by Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and the giver of many valuable Greek books to the University of Cambridge; and by Hugh Latimer.<sup>6</sup>

We find also Archbishop Wareham, before 1520, educating at his own expense for the space of twelve years Richard Croke, one of the first restorers of the Greek language in England, at the universities of Paris, Louvain, and Leipzig: from which returning a most accomplished scholar, he succeeded Erasmus in the Greek professorship at Cambridge. Croke dedicated to Archbishop Wareham his *Introductiones in Rudimenta Græcæ*, printed in the shop of Eucharius Cervicornius at Cologne in 1520.

With regard to what has been here said concerning the practice of educating boys in the families of our bishops, it appears that Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, educated in this manner most of the nobility in the kingdom, who were placed there in the character of pages.<sup>7</sup> Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, educated in his house many of the young nobility.<sup>8</sup> Fiddes cites a record remaining in the family of the Earl of Arundel, written in 1620, which contains instructions how the

<sup>1</sup> Padua.

<sup>2</sup> Bologna.

<sup>3</sup> Caen and Toulouse.

<sup>4</sup> Cologne in Germany.

<sup>5</sup> See Pace's *Traſatus de fruſtu qui ex doctrina percipitur*, edit. Baſil. 1517, pp. 27, 28, in which the author calls himſelf Biſhop Langton's *a manu miniſter*. See alſo Langton's Will. (*Cur. Prærog. Cant. Regiſtr. Moore*, qu. 10). Biſhop Langton had been provost of Queen's College at Oxford, [and Biſhop of Salisbury,] and died in 1501.

<sup>6</sup> *Traſat.* ut ſupr. pp. 6. 99. 103. Leland, *Coll.* iii. 14.

<sup>7</sup> "Filios Nobilium procerum regni, quos ſecum habuit domicellos." Joh. de Athona. in *Conſtit. Ottobon.* Tit. 23, in voc. *Barones*.

<sup>8</sup> Fiddes's *Wolſey*, p. 100. See what is ſaid above of the quality of Pope Leo's *Cubicularii*, p. 411.

younger son of the writer, the Earl of Arundel, should behave himself in the family of the Bishop of Norwich, whither he is sent for education as page : and in which his lordship observes, that his grandfather the Duke of Norfolk, and his uncle the earl of Northampton, were both bred as "pages with bishoppes."<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas More was educated as a page with Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, about 1490.<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious to remark the popularity which must have accrued to these politer studies, while they thus paved the way to the most opulent and honourable promotions in the church : and the authority and estimation with which they must have been surrounded, in being thus cultivated by the most venerable ecclesiastics. It is indeed true that the dignified clergy of the early and darker ages were learned beyond the level of the people. Peter de Blois, successively Archdeacon of Bath and London, about the year 1160, acquaints us that the palace of Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, was perpetually filled with bishops highly accomplished in literature ; who passed their time there in reading, disputing, and deciding important questions of the state. He adds that these prelates, although men of the world, were a society of scholars : yet very different from those who frequented the universities, in which nothing was taught but words and syllables, unprofitable subtleties, elementary speculations, and trifling distinctions.<sup>3</sup> De Blois was himself eminently learned, and one of the most distinguished ornaments of Becket's attendants. He tells us that in his youth, when he learned the *Ars Versificatoria*, that is, philological literature, he was habituated to an urbanity of style and expression : and that he was instituted, not in idle fables and legendary tales, but in Livy, Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, Josephus, Trogius Pompeius, Tacitus, and other classical historians.<sup>4</sup> At the same time he censures with a just indignation the absurdity of training boys in the frivolous intricacies of logic and geometry, and other parts of the scholastic philosophy which, to use his own emphatic words, "Nec domi, nec militiæ, nec in foro, nec in claustro, nec in ecclesiâ, nec in curia, nec alicubi profunt alicui."<sup>5</sup> The Latin Epistles of De Blois, from which these anecdotes are taken, are full of good sense, observations on life, elegant turns, and ingenious allusions to the classics. He tells Jocelyne, Bishop of Salisbury, that he had long wished to see the Bishop's two nephews, according to promise : but that he feared he expected them as the Britons expected King Arthur or the Jews the Messiah.<sup>6</sup> He describes, with a liveliness by no means belonging to the archdeacons of the twelfth century, the difficulties,

<sup>1</sup> Fiddes, *ibid.* *Records*, No. 6, c. 4, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Mori *Utop.* cited by Stapleton, pp. 157, 138. And Roper's *More*, p. 27, edit. *ut supr.*

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* vi. fol. 3, a. *Opera.* edit. Paris, 1519.

<sup>4</sup> *Epist.* cii. fol. 49, b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* That is, "Which are of no real use or service, at home, in the camp, at the bar, in the cloyster, in the court, in the church, or indeed in any place or situation whatsoever."

<sup>6</sup> *Epist.* li. fol. 24, a.

disappointments and inconveniences of paying attendance at court.<sup>1</sup> In the course of his correspondence, he quotes Quintilian, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Seneca, Virgil, Quintus Curtius, Ovid, Statius, Suetonius, Juvenal, and Horace, more frequently and familiarly than the fathers.<sup>2</sup> Horace seems his favourite. In one of the letters, he quotes a passage concerning Pompey the Great from the *Roman History* of Sallust in six books (now lost) which appears at present only in part among the fragments of that valuable historian.<sup>3</sup> In the *Nugæ Curialium* of Mapes, or some other Latin tract written by one of the scholars of the twelfth century, I remember to have seen a curious and striking anecdote, which in a short compass shews Becket's private ideas concerning the bigotries and superstitious absurdities of his religion. The writer gives an account of a dinner in Becket's palace, at which was present (among many other prelates) a Cistercian abbot. This abbot engrossed almost the whole conversation, in relating the miracles performed by Robert, the founder of his order. Becket heard him for some time with patient contempt: and at length could not help breaking out with no small degree of indignation: And these are your miracles!<sup>4</sup>

The inferior clergy were in the mean time extremely ignorant. About 1300, Boniface VIII. published an edict, ordering the incumbents of ecclesiastical benefices to quit their cures for a certain time, and to study at the universities.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly our episcopal registers are full of licences granted for this purpose. The rector of Bed-  
hampton, Hants, being an acolyte, is permitted to study for seven years from the time of his institution in *literarum scientia*, on condition that within one year he is made a sub-deacon, and after seven years a deacon and priest.<sup>6</sup> Another rector is allowed to study for

<sup>1</sup> "Ut ad ministeriales curiæ redeam, apud forinsecos janitores biduanam forte gratiam aliquis multiplici obsequio merebitur. Regem dormire, aut ægrotare, aut esse in consiliis, mentientur. Ostiarios cameræ confundat altissimus! Si nihil derideris ostiario actum est. Si nihil attuleris ibis, Homere, foras. Post primum Cerberum, tibi superest alius horribilior Cerbero, Briareo terribilior, nequior Pygmalione, crudelior Minotauro. Quantaunque tibi mortis necessitas, aut discrimen exheredationis incubat, non intrabis ad regem." *Epist.* xiv. fol. 8, b.

<sup>2</sup> Latin and French, the vernacular excepted, were the only languages now known. [Gilbert] Foliot, Bishop of London, cotemporary with De Blois and Becket, was esteemed, both in secular and sacred literature, the most consummate prelate of his time. Becket, *Epistol.* lib. iii. 5. Walter Mapes, their cotemporary, giving Foliot the same character, says he was "vir trium peritissimus linguarum, Latinæ, Gallicæ, Anglicæ, et lucidissime disertus in singulis. [Walter Mapes *De Nugis Curialium*, edit. 1850, pp. 19, 20.]

<sup>3</sup> "De magno Pompeio refert Sallustius, quod cum alacribus saltu, cum velocibus cursu, cum validis vecte certabat," &c. *Epist.* xciv. fol. 45, a. Part of this passage is cited by Vegetius, a favourite author of the age of Peter de Blois. *De Re Milit.* lib. i. c. ix. It is exhibited by the modern editors of Sallust, as it stands in Vegetius.

[The anecdote is in Mapes, *ubi sup.* pp. 41-2.]

<sup>5</sup> See his ten *Constitutiones*, in the *Bullarium magnum* of Laertius Cherubinus, tom. i. p. 198, seq. Where are his *Erectiones studiorum generalium in civitate Firmana, Romæ, et Avenione*, A.D. 1303.

<sup>6</sup> Mar. 5, 1302. *Registr. Pontiffar. Winton.* fol. 38.

seven years, *in loco quem eligit et ubi viget studium generale*.<sup>1</sup> Another receives the same privilege, to study at Oxford, Orleans, or Paris.<sup>2</sup> Another being desirous of study, and able to make a proficiency, is licensed to study in *aliquo studio transmarino*.<sup>3</sup> This, however, was three years before Boniface became pope. Another is to study *per terminum constitutionis novellæ*.<sup>4</sup> But these dispensations, the necessity of which proves the illiteracy of the priests, were most commonly procured for pretences of absence or neglect. Or, if in consequence of such dispensations, they went to any university, they seem to have mispent their time there, in riot and idleness, and to have returned more ignorant than before. A grievance to which Gower alludes in the *Vox Clamantis*, a poem which presents some curious pictures of the manners of the clergy, both secular and monastic.<sup>5</sup>

Et sic Ars nostrum Curatum reddit inertem,  
De longo studio fert nihil inde domum :  
Stultus ibi venit, sed stultior inde redibit, &c.

By Ars we are here to understand the scholastic sciences, and by Curatus the beneficed priest. But the most extraordinary anecdote of incompetency, which I have seen, occurs so late as the year 1448. A rector is instituted by Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, on the presentation of Merton Priory in Surrey, to the parish of Sherfield in Hampshire. But previously he takes an oath before the bishop, that on account of his insufficiency in letters, and default of knowledge in the superintendence of souls, he will learn Latin for the two following years ; and at the end of the first year he will submit himself to be examined by the bishop, concerning his progress in grammar ; and that, if on a second examination he should be found deficient, he will resign the benefice.<sup>6</sup> [This state of ignorance probably led to the circulation of some of the ludicrous stories of the illiterate condition of the early English minor clergy, which are to be found in *A. C. Mery Talys*, 1526, and other books of the same class.] In the Statutes of New College at Oxford, given in 1386, one of the ten chaplains is ordered to learn grammar, and to be able to write ; in order that he may be qualified for the arduous task of assisting the treasurers of the society in transcribing their Latin evidences.<sup>7</sup> In the statutes of Bradgate college in Kent, given in 1398, it is required that the governor of the house, who is to be a priest, should read well, construe Latin well, and sing well.<sup>8</sup> At an episcopal visitation of St. Swithin's priory at Winchester, an ample society of Benedictines,

<sup>1</sup> 16 kal. Octobr. 1303, *ibid.* fol. 40.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1304, *ibid.* fol. 42.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1291, *ibid.* fol. 84.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 1302, *ibid.* fol. 37, b.

<sup>5</sup> Cap. xvii. lib. 3. *MSS. Coll. Omn. Anim. Oxon.* xxix. [Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1850.] "Hic loquitur de Rectoribus illis, qui sub episcopo licentianti fingunt se ire scholas, ut sub nomine virtutis vitia corporalia frequentent."

<sup>6</sup> Registr. Waynflete, Winton. fol. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Statut. Coll. Nov. Rubric. 58.

<sup>8</sup> "Sciat bene legere, bene construere, et bene cantare." Dugd. *Monast.* tom. iii. *Eccles. Collegiat.* p. 118, col. 2.

William of Wykeham orders the monastery to provide an Informator or Latin preceptor, to teach the priests who performed the service in the church without knowing what they were uttering, and could not attend to the common stops, to read grammatically.<sup>1</sup> These, indeed, were not secular priests: the instance, however, illustrates what is here thrown together.

Wickliffe says, that the beneficed priests of his age "kunnen [know] not the ten commandments, ne read their sauter, ne understand a verse of it."<sup>2</sup> Nor were even the bishops of the fourteenth century always very eminently qualified in literature of either sort. In 1387, the Bishop of Worcester informed his clergy that the Lollards, a set of reformers whose doctrines, a few fanatical extravagances excepted, coincided in many respects with the present rational principles of protestantism, were followers of Mahomet.<sup>3</sup>

But at this time the most shameful grossness of manners, partly owing to their celibacy, prevailed among the clergy. In the statutes of the college of Saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire, dated 1337, and given by the founder Bishop Grandison, the following injunction occurs. "Item statuimus, quod nullus Canonicus, Vicarius, vel Secundarius, pueros choristas [collegii] secum pernoctare, aut in lectulo cum ipsis dormire, faciat seu permittat."<sup>4</sup> What shall we think of the religious manners and practices of an age, when the subjoined precautions were thought necessary in a respectable collegiate church, consisting of a dean and six secular canons, amply endowed?<sup>5</sup>

From these horrid pictures let us turn our eyes, and learn to set a just value on that pure religion, and those improved habits of life and manners, which we at present enjoy.

We must view the liberal ideas of the more enlightened dignitaries of the twelfth century under some restrictions. It must be acknowledged, that their literature was clogged with pedantry, and depressed by the narrow notions of the times. Their writings show that they knew not how to imitate the beauties of the ancient classics. Exulting in an exclusive privilege, they certainly did not see the solid and popular use of these studies: at least they did not choose, or would not venture, to communicate them to the people, who on the other hand were not prepared to receive them. Any attempts of that kind, for want of assistances which did not then exist, must have been premature; and these lights were too feeble to dissipate the universal darkness. The writers who first appeared after Rome was ravaged by the Goths, such as Boethius, Prudentius, Orosius, Fortunatus, and Sedulius, and who naturally (from that circumstance, and because they were Christians) came into vogue at that period, still continued

<sup>1</sup> Feb. 8, 1386, MSS. Harl. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Wilkins, *Concil.* tom. iii. 202.

<sup>4</sup> Cap. 50. MS. apud Archiv. Wulves. Winton.

<sup>5</sup> "Statutum est, quod si quis convictus fuerit de peccato Sodomitico, vel arte magica," &c. From the statutes of Stoke-Clare College in Suffolk, given by the dean Thomas Barnesley, in 1422, Dugd. *Monast.* ut sup. p. 169, col. 1.

in the hands of common readers, and superseded the great originals. In the early ages of Christianity a strange opinion prevailed, in conformity to which Arnobius composed his celebrated book against the gentile superstitions, that pagan authors were calculated to corrupt the pure theology of the gospel. The prejudice, however, remained, when even the suspicions of the danger were removed. But I return to the progress of modern letters in the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> [It is necessary to point out that a gap in the numbering of the Sections has been occasioned here by the re-arrangement of a portion of the work, and by the circumstance of the last volume having been printed *first*; but the text is complete.]

END OF VOLUME III.





